

Contextualising the
Gosuini de Expugnatione Salaciae Carmen
The development of Crusading Ideology in the Portuguese *Reconquista*

Charles Jonathan Wilson

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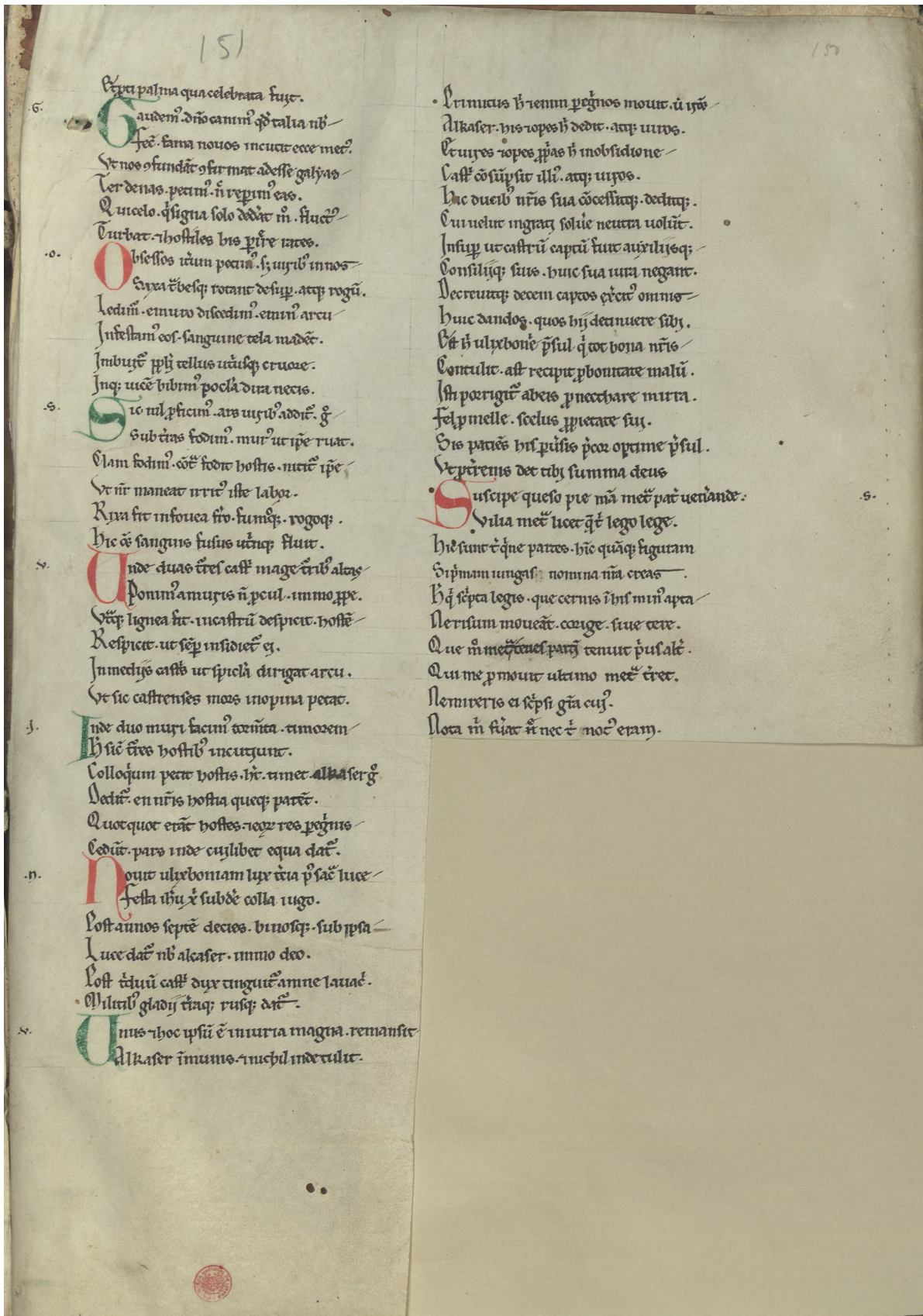
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Abstract

The *Gosuini de Expugnatione Salaciae Carmen* (the *Carmen*) is a Latin text whose unique exemplar is found in a codex dating to the latter half of the thirteenth century belonging to the library of the Portuguese Cistercian monastery of Alcobaça. A versified work in elegiac couplets, the *Carmen* recounts the Portuguese conquest, in combination with Northern European crusaders *en route* by sea to the Holy Land, of a strategically vital Muslim fortress during the formative years of the autonomous kingdom of Portugal; namely the capture of Alcácer do Sal in 1217. In contemplating the circumstances of production of this important text, this dissertation undertakes an examination of the interface between the Crusades and the Portuguese *Reconquista* and in so doing considers similar events highlighted in the historiography, the conquests of Lisbon in 1147 and of Silves in 1189. Since it is argued herein that the hitherto unknown author of the *Carmen* is Goswin de Bossut, a monk of the Cistercian house of Villers in Brabant who flourished as cantor of that eminent abbey in the 1230s, and since evidence for the involvement of the Cistercians in the Portuguese Reconquista is otherwise strong, there is an exploration of the origins of the Order in Portugal along with a reassessment of the possible involvement of Bernard of Clairvaux in the planning of Afonso I Henriques' Lisbon campaign. The likely commissioner of the *Carmen* was Bishop of Lisbon, Soeiro Viegas, one of the leaders of the Alcácer enterprise. Accordingly there is due exposition of the career and possible motivations of Bishop Soeiro along with an investigation into the plausibility of his protagonism in a wider policy, underway after 1147, to attract Northern European crusaders to the fight on the Portuguese-Andalusi frontier. In examining the person of Goswin of Bossut, the postulated author, evidence gleaned from his known works, namely three *vitae* and one musical office, is combined with a consideration of those individuals, some more well-known than others, likely to have come within his circle of colleagues and acquaintances. From a nexus of connection mingling Cistercian ideology with a sometimes convoluted network of religious operating in the Southern Low Countries and in Portugal, emerges the proposition that Goswin's literary canon should now be extended not only to include the *Carmen* but also a small number of other important works whose authorship has until now remained a mystery. Finally the Appendix contains a full edition of the text of the *Carmen* along with, for the first time, an English translation of the work.



6. **G**audiu palma qua celebrata fuit.
 Gaudem. dno canim qd talia nb
 fec. fama nouos incuit ecce mee.
 Et nos ofundat qd mat adesse galyas
 Ter denas. pecam. n regim eas.
 Quicelo. q signa solo ddat m. fuce
 Turbat. r hostiles bis ptre rices.
 10. **O**bfessos utun pecam. h uigib in nos
 Suxa e besq rotant desup. atq rogū.
 Ledum. emuro discedim. emm arcu
 Infestam col. sanguine tela madet.
 Imbuys ppi tellus utiqq cruce.
 Inq: uice bibrim pocla dia necis.
 15. **S**ic mlt p fiam. ars uigib addit. g
 Sub aras fodim. mur' ut ipe ruat.
 Clam fodim. cot' fodit hostis. mte ipe
 Et n'r maneat irrite iste labor.
 Rya fit infouca fit. fumq. rogoq.
 Hic os sanguis fusus utiqq fluit.
 20. **U**nde duas tres cast' mage trib' altas
 Ponnim amuris n' pcul. immo ppe.
 Sct' lignea fit. incastrū despiciu. hoste
 Respiciu. ut sep' insidiet' q.
 Inmedijs castib' ut spicla diringat arcu.
 Et sic castrenses mors inopina peccat.
 25. **I**nde duo muri facim' armita. timorem
 Hic tres hostib' incutunt.
 Colloqum pecc hostis. h'c. timet. alkaser g.
 Dedit. en nris hostia queq' parit.
 Quotquot erat hostes. roq' res pgnis
 Cedut. pars inde cuilibet equa dat.
 30. **N**ouit ulxboniam lux tra p' sac' luce
 Fella ihu x' subde colla iugo.
 Post annos septē decies. binosq. sub ipa
 Luce dat' nb alkaser. immo deo.
 Post tēpū cast' dux tinguē amne lauae.
 Multū gladij tūq' rusq' dat'.
 35. **U**nus r hoc ipū ē iniuria magna. remansit
 Alkaser imunis. nichil inde tulit.

40. **P**rimicus h' remm pgnos mouit. u' ipe
 Alkaser. bis ropes h' dedit. atq' uiros.
 Et uiros ropes p'pas h' inobfidione
 Cast' cōsūp'it illi. atq' uiros.
 Hic duceb' nris sua cōcessitq. dclatq.
 Qui uelut ingratq' solue neutra uolūt.
 Insup' ut castrū captū fuit auxilijsq.
 Consilijsq' suis. huic sua iura negant.
 Decreuitq' decem captos cēca' omnis
 Huic dandos. quos h'j detinere sibi.
 Et h' ulxbonē p'sul q' tot bona nris
 Conculit. at' recipit p'bonitate malū.
 In p'origit' ab eis p'nechare mirta.
 Felp melle. scelus p'petate suj.
 Sis patēs h' p'p'is p'ca optime p'sul.
 45. **V**e p'crems det tibi summa deus
Suscipe queso pie mā meē pat' ueniāde.
 Sula meē luce q' lego lege.
 Hic sunt ē q'ne partes. h'ic quāq' figuram
 S'ipnam iungat. nomina nra creas.
 H'q' sēpta legis. que cernis i h'is m' n' apta
 Nerisum moueat. cōrige. siue cere.
 Que m' meē tūel parq' tenuit p'ulakē.
 Qui me p'mouit ultimo meē t'et.
 Nemirris ei sēpsi g'ra cui?
 Nota m' fūat h' nec ē noc' eram.

Fig. 1, Codex Alc. 415, fol. 150r. (photograph: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisboa).

Contextualising the *Gosuini De Expugnatione Salaciae Carmen* the development of crusading ideology in the Portuguese *Reconquista*

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JW, Silves, 2015.

Abbreviations

ANTT Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (National Archive of Portugal).

AV Vatican Archive.

Bruel *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, ed. by Auguste Bernard and Alexandre Bruel, 6 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1876-1903).

Bulário *Bulário Português Inocência III (1198-1216)* ed. by Avelino Jesus da Costa and Maria Alegria Marques (Coimbra: Instituto Nacional de Investigação científica, 1989).

Canivez - *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis ab anno 1116 ad anno 1786*, ed. by Dom Joseph-Marie Canivez, 8 vols. (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue, 1933-41).

DEL *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi, The Conquest of Lisbon*, ed. and Eng. trans. by Charles Wendell David with a foreword and bibliography by Jonathan Phillips (New York, Columbia University Press, 2001).

DIN *De Itinere Navali*, ed. by Charles Wendell David as 'Narratio de Itinere Navali Peregrinorum Hierosolymam Tendentium et Silviam Capientium, A.D. 1189', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol.81, No. 5 (Dec. 31, 1939) pp. 591-676.

DM Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, 2 vols., ed. by Joseph Strange (Cologne: H. Lempertz and Comp, 1851; Reprint, Ridgewood, NJ: Gregg International, 1966).

DMP *Documentos Medievais Portugueses, Documentos Particulares*, ed. by Rui de Azevedo (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1940).

DR *Documentos medievais portugueses: Documentos Regios*, vol.1: *Documents dos Condes Portucalenses e de D. Afonso Henriques, AD 1095/1185* ed. by Rui de Azevedo (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da Historia, 1958).

DS *Documentos de D. Sancho I (1174-1211)*, ed. by Rui P. de Azevedo, Avelino de J. da Costa and Marcelino Pereira (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1979).

ep *epistola*.

Gallia Christiana Denis de Saint-Marthe, B. Hauréau; Maurists, *Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa : qua series et historia archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, et abbatum Franciae vicinarumque ditonum ab origine ecclesiarum ad nostra tempora deducitur, & probatur ex authenticis instrumentis ad calcem appositis*, 16 Vols. (Paris: Lutetiæ Parisiorum, Johannes-Baptista Ciognard, 1715-1874; Facsimile Reprint, Farnborough: Gregg Internaional, 1970).

JL *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum p. Chr. N. 1198*, ed. by P. Jaffé, et al; 2nd ed. by S. Lowenfeld, et al, 2 vols. (Leipzig: 1888).

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Martène et Durand *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, ed. by E. Martène and U. Durand (Paris, 1717; Facsimile Reprint, New York: Burt Franklin, 1968).

- MGH** *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, ed. by G.H. Pertz and others (Hanover, 1826-) – *Antiquitates, Diplomata, Epistolae, Leges, Scriptorum, Necrologia*.
- NLT** *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux*, ed. and trans. by Chrysogonus Waddell, OCSO (*Studia et Documenta*, 9) (Brecht: Cîteaux: Commentarii cistercienses, 1999).
- PL** *Patrologiæ cursus completus; seu, Bibliotheca universalis omnium ss. patrum, doctorum, scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum. Series latina*, general ed., Jacques Paul Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-64).
- PMH** *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica a saeculo octavo post Christum usque ad quantum decimum* ed. by Alexandre Herculano and J.S. Mendes Leal, 7 vols. (Lisbon: Olisipone, 1856-1888. vol. 1: *Scriptores*; vol.2 *Leges et consuetudines*; vol.3: *Diplomata et Chartae*; vols. 4-7: *Inquisitiones*; Reprint, Lisbon: Klaus Repr, 1967).
- Potthast** *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum inde ab A. post Christum natum MCXCVII ad A. MCCIV* ed. by Augustus Potthast, 2 vols. (Berlin: Rudolf de Decker, 1874; Reprint, Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1957).
- Pressutti** *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, ed. by Pietro and Leo Pressutti (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1978).
- PUP** *Papsturkunden in Portugal*, ed. by Carl Erdmann, in *Abhandlungen der Gessellshcaft der wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische klasse* (Berlin: Neue folge 20/3, 1927).
- Register 1, 2, 3, etc.** *Die Register Innocenz' III*. Publikationen des Historischen Instituts beim Österreichischen Kulturinstitut in Rom, II. Abteilung: Quellen, 1. Reihe. (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.1964-).
- RHC-Oc** *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*, 5 vols. (Paris: Libraires Associés, 1844-95).
- RHC-Or** *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Orientaux*, 5 vols. (Paris: Libraires Associés, 1872-1906).
- RHGF** *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. by M. Bouquet and L. Delisle, 24 vols. (Paris: Palmé, 1869-1904).
- RIS** Lodovico Antonio Muratori and Filippo Argelati, eds., *Rerum Italicarum Scriptorum Ab Anno Aerae Christianae Quingentesimo Ad Millesimumquingentesimum: Quorum Potissima Pars Nunc Primum in Lucem Prodit Ex Ambrosiana, Estensis, Aliarumque Insignium Bibliothecarum Codicibus*. (Mediolani: Ex Typographia Societatis Palatinae in Regia Curia, 1723).
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- SBO** Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sancti Bernardi opera ad fidem codicum recensuerunt* ed. by J. Leclercq, H.M. Rochais 8 vols. (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957-77).
- SCEC** Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade, Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).
- Schriften** *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters, späteren Bischofs von Paderborn und Kardinalbischofs von S. Sabina, Oliverus*, ed. by Herman Hoogeweg (Tübingen: Litterarischer Verein, 1894).

SCSC Jonathan Phillips and Martin Hoch eds., *The Second Crusade. Scope and Consequences* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001).

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The Gosuini de Expugnatione Salaciae Carmen

the development of crusading ideology in the Portuguese *Reconquista*

Introduction

The Gosuini de Expugnatione Salaciae Carmen

The *Gosuini de Expugnatione Salaciae Carmen* (the *Carmen*) is a text whose unique exemplar is found in a codex dating to the latter half of the thirteenth century belonging to the library of the Portuguese Cistercian monastery of Alcobaça.¹ The text, in Latin and copied from an original now lost, recounts the Portuguese conquest, in combination with maritime Northern European crusaders, of a strategically vital Muslim fortress during the formative years of the autonomous kingdom of Portugal; namely the conquest of Alcácer do Sal in 1217. Presented herein is an edition of the *Carmen* together with the work for the first time in English translation in the hope that it will be a significant contribution to the opening of the Portuguese medieval debate to the broader world of international Anglophone scholarship.

'the development of Crusading Ideology in the Portuguese *Reconquista*'

Whilst, in the past two decades, studies have been undertaken examining the interface in the central middle ages between the Crusades and the *Reconquista* in parts of Iberia, notably Aragon and León-Castile, this cannot be said of Portugal. Here, the principal study still remains Carl Erdmann's 1940 essay *A Idea de Cruzada em Portugal*² which, although ground-breaking for its era, does little more than scratch the surface of this rich but woefully under-explored terrain. Today, after three-quarters of a century of Iberian studies, Erdmann's work stands in urgent need of supplementation. The text of the *Carmen* offers an unparalleled opportunity whereby this can be achieved. Redolent of a restless, sometimes divided yet ceaselessly-innovative Portuguese polity, this remarkable work, examined in the context of other important coeval sources including the well-known *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* (the Conquest

¹ Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Cod.Alc..415, fols.147r.-150r.

² Carl Erdmann, *Á Idea de Cruzada em Portugal* (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1940).

of Lisbon in 1147), provides a previously ignored yet outstandingly useful vantage-point from which to observe and chart the adoption and adaption of foreign ideas of Holy War, namely 'crusading', into the uniquely Portuguese fight for autarchy and nationhood; hence the secondary objective of this dissertation announced in the subtitle.

The *Carmen* in context

The *Carmen* was written by a certain Gosuinus, shortly after 18th October 1217, the date of surrender of Muslim Alcácer. The text, a poetical work displaying many idiosyncrasies yet written in regular elegiac couplets, recounts the voyage of a fleet of crusaders from Flanders, Saxony, Westphalia and Frisia which departs from the North Sea in the Spring of 1217 bound for the Holy Land in a prelude to the Fifth Crusade. Stopping to repair their vessels in the port of Lisbon in June, the crusaders are persuaded, through appeals to Christian duty and the promise of plunder, to join the Portuguese assault on the important Muslim port-fortress of Alcácer do Sal. The poem narrates the events of the campaign, including the various combats fought in the environs of Alcácer which culminate in the capitulation of the fortress following a siege of approximately three months' duration.

The text is of considerable importance for several reasons, not least because it is by far the most detailed and complete account that has survived for the definitive taking of Alcácer do Sal by a combined force comprising northern Crusaders under the command of William Duke of Holland and a Portuguese land army under the command of the bishops of Lisbon and Évora, the Masters of the military orders of the Temple and the Hospital and the Portuguese Commander of the Order of Santiago da Espada. Occurring only five years after the landmark Christian victory over Almohad forces at Las Navas de Tolosa, the fall of Alcácer do Sal opened the route by which the Portuguese Reconquista would roll southwards in the subsequent three decades to absorb the regions comprising today's southern Portugal, namely, the Alentejo and the Algarve.

Further, the text is of considerable interest for the style in which it is written since not only is it rich in crusading imagery, Christian symbolism and patristic and classical references, but also it presents numeric configurations and other cryptic paraphernalia, one of the more obvious being the acrostic device which englobes the work. Following an explicit direction given in the text, the reader takes the first letter of each of the fifteen stanzas and thereby discovers two names; SUERIUS and GOSUINUS.

The *Carmen* and its Commissioner

SUERIUS can almost certainly be identified as Bishop Soeiro Viegas of Lisbon, the fourth bishop of the diocese following its restoration in 1147. In the years immediately surrounding the fall of Alcácer, and also throughout the turbulent years of the second decade of the thirteenth century until his death in 1232/3, Soeiro was a highly controversial and embattled figure. Nevertheless, the prelate is prominently praised in the *Carmen* and lamentation is made for the injustice he suffers through not being adequately recompensed for his exertions as chief architect of the great Christian victory consummated in the capture of the fortress. In the course of a comprehensive discussion of this dynamic yet shadowy figure, this dissertation explores Soeiro's likely motivations as the probable commissioner of the *Carmen*.

The *Carmen* and its Author

GOSUINUS is the likely author of the piece, in all probability an eyewitness to the events he describes and almost certainly a cleric. It is one of the principal contentions of this dissertation that GOSUINUS is in fact Goswin of Bossut (fl. 1231-1238) cantor of the important Cistercian monastery of Villers (diocese of Liège) in Brabant and author of at least three Lives; *Ida the Compassionate of Nivelles*, *Arnulf lay brother of Villers* and *Abundus, Monk of Villers*, and several other works both poetical and musical.

The *Carmen* and the Cistercians

Goswin's likely authorship of the *Carmen* and the presence of a copy of it in the monastery of Alcobaça are among factors highlighting another valuable aspect of the text and the circumstances of its production, namely the implications of this conjuncture for deepening our understanding of the involvement of the Cistercian Order in early thirteenth-century Portugal and of Cistercian participation in the broader theatre of the international crusading movement. These matters are addressed in the dissertation in some detail as significant factors conditioning the evolving relationship between the Crusades in the East and the war on Islam at the south-western frontier of Christendom.

The *Carmen* in Coeval Historiography

Importantly, the *Carmen* represents the third and, chronologically, the last narrative in a cluster of accounts, all free-standing (in that none forms part of any larger chronicle) recounting the three best-documented incidents of involvement of Northern European sea-

borne crusaders in the Portuguese *Reconquista*. Two of these texts have already been the subject of significant studies, the most notable in the English language being those by Charles Wendell David of the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, concerning the 1147 conquest of Lisbon,³ and the *Narratio de Itinere Navali*, concerning the 1189 conquest of Silves.⁴ This dissertation purposes to go some way towards completing this 'trilogy' through the presentation (arguably long-overdue) of an edition of the *Carmen* with English translation and historical analysis, enabling comparisons to be more readily drawn between the three episodes.

The *Carmen*, Edition and English Translation

There are three previous inconsistent and inadequate editions of the *Carmen*. The first was given by Fr António Brandão in 1632 in Part IV of the *Monarchia Lusitana*;⁵ the second was prepared by Alexandre Herculano and published in 1856 in the *Portugalia Monumenta Historica*;⁶ and the third was produced by Fr Fortunato de Boaventura in his *Commentariorum de Alcobacensi mstorum bibliotheca*.⁷ These problems were largely resolved by a fourth edition undertaken by Aires A. Nascimento and published in 2002.⁸ The edition of the *Carmen* appearing herein does not deviate substantially from that produced by Nascimento since the manuscript is in good and readily-legible condition. The text, however, has never previously been translated into English. Indeed, the only modern language rendering of the Latin to date is the Portuguese translation provided by Aires A Nascimento and published at the time of his 2002 edition,⁹ which supplanted the highly problematic and inaccurate Portuguese translation by Santos Alves which appears in an appendix to the 1974 edition of the *Monarchia Lusitana*.¹⁰ In addition to providing a much needed English rendition of the text, this dissertation presents an appraisal of the work in its historical and historiographical contexts.

Importantly, the *Carmen* is a key work in the contemporary documentation of a series of successful Portuguese military exploits against the Muslims of al-Andalus, news of which was

³ Charles Wendell David, with foreword by Jonathan Phillips, *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi, The Conquest of Lisbon* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

⁴ Charles Wendell David, 'Narratio de Itinere Navali Peregrinorum Hierosolymam Tendentium et Silviam Capientium, A. D. 1189.' *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 81, no.5 (1939), pp. 591-676 (hereafter 'DIN').

⁵ António Brandão, *Monarquia Lusitana* 4th ed. (Lisbon: Casa da Moeda, facsimile repr. 1974) Part IV, pp. 264-67.

⁶ PMH, *Scriptores*, pp. 101-04.

⁷ Fortunato de São Boaventura, *Commentariorum de Alcobacensi mstorum bibliotheca libri tres in quibus haud pauca ad rem litterariam illustrandam, ac fortassis augendam facientia, hucusque abdita, reserantur* (Coimbra: Typographia Academico-regia, 1827), vol. III, pp. 633-37.

⁸ Aires A. Nascimento, 'Poema de Conquista: A Tomada de Alcácer do Sal aos Mouros (1217) in *Poesia latina medieval (siglos V-XV)*. *Actas del 4º Congreso del «Internationales Mittellateinerkomitee»* Santiago de Compostela, 12-15 septiembre de 2002, pp. 619-37.

⁹ Aires A. Nascimento, 'Tradução em português de que modo Alcácer foi tomada pelos Francos', reproduced in Maria Teresa Lopes Pereira, *Os Cavaleiros de Santiago em Alcácer do Sal, Século XII a fins do Século XV* (Lisboa: Colibri, 2015), pp. 253-257.

¹⁰ Brandão, *Monarchia Lusitana*, Part IV, pp. 133-36.

widely promulgated in the Latin West with reports of the victories at Santarém, Lisbon, Silves and Alcácer appearing in chronicles and annalistic entries across Europe. It was these records that underpinned the survival of the newly constituted Portuguese royal house and, crucially, guaranteed to it the papal legitimisation without which Portugal stood in clear danger of becoming, once more, a mere Leonese fief.

Note on Titles

Although in the manuscript the *Carmen* appears under the title *Quomodo capta fuit Alcazer a Francis*,¹¹ most frequently used herein will be that appearing in the title to this dissertation which was attributed to the work by Alexandre Herculano when editing it for inclusion in his *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica* and which has been the title most in use in the historiography since the latter nineteenth century. Likewise and for the same reason, the work immediately preceding the *Carmen* in the manuscript under the title *Quomodo sit capta Sanctaren civitas a rege Alfonso comitis Henrici filio*,¹² will be referred to herein under the title attributed to it by Herculano, *De Expugnatione Scalabis* (hereafter frequently shortened to *Scalabis*).

General Note on Sources

Principal Narrative Sources

The earliest narratives to contemplate the Christian Reconquest of Spain are three chronicles produced in the kingdom of Asturias during the reign of Alfonso III (866-911); the *Chronica Albedensia*, completed shortly after 881 and ending with Alfonso III's raid in that year on Mt. Oxifer in the environs of Mérida; the *Cronica Profetica*, a blend of royal annals and prophetic statements completed in April 883, and the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, produced between 883 and 886.¹³ With a tradition of court historiography having been thus established, chronicles detailing later reigns began to appear with the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* being continued, c.1000, by Sampiro, a notary and bishop of Astorga (d.1042), covering the period up to the accession

¹¹ Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Cod.Alc.415, fol.148v.

¹² Ibid, fol.147r.

¹³ All three chronicles had been edited and translated into Spanish by Juan Gil Fernandez et al., *Cronicas Asturianas* (Oviedo: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Oviedo, 1985).

of Alfonso V in 999.¹⁴ A redaction of the *Chronicle of Sampiro* was included in the anonymous *Historia Silense*, written around 1110, supposedly by a monk of the Castilian monastery of Silos, a work intended to be a celebration of the life and deeds of king-emperor Alfonso VI (d.1109), although it never accomplished its purpose remaining unfinished, arriving only up to the death of Fernando I in 1065.¹⁵ Meanwhile, more or less contemporary with the author of the *Historia Silense* was Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo who, sometime before 1132, compiled his *Chronicon Regum Legionensium*, a short history of the monarchs of León from the accession of Vermudo II in 982 up to the death of Alfonso VI in 1109.¹⁶ Mention should also be made here of the *Crónica Najarense*, an anonymous monastic chronicle from Nájera compiled in about 1180 which, *inter alia*, makes use of the chronicles listed above to chart Spanish royal history likewise up to 1109.¹⁷ However, probably the most important single twelfth-century Spanish source is the anonymous *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, a work comprising both prose and verse elements commemorating the deeds of Alfonso VII of León-Castile (1126-1157) up to the conquest of Almería in 1147.¹⁸

The thirteenth century yielded a prodigious historiographical crop in Spain. During the reign of Fernando III of León-Castile (1217-1252) the three principal narrative sources for the history of the kingdoms of Castile and León were produced, each being the work of an author more or less connected to the Spanish royal court. The *Historia de rebus Hispaniae sive Historia Gothica*, by Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada of Toledo (d.1247), probably the earliest and most well-known of the three, is a lengthy general history of Spain from antiquity down to 1243.¹⁹ Indeed, such is the breadth and nature of the *de Rebus Hispania* that it established the framework on which the most important later historical works of medieval Spain would be

¹⁴Ed. by J. Pérez de Urbel, *Sampiro: Su crónica y la monarquía leonesa en el siglo X* (Madrid: Diana artes gráficas, 1952); Derek Lomax, *Reconquest of Spain* (London: Longmans, 1978), p. 5; Richard Fletcher, 'A Twelfth-Century View of the Spanish Past' in *The Medieval State, essays presented to James Campbell*, ed by J.R. Maddicott and D.M. Palliser (London: Hambledon, 2000), pp. 147-161, p. 154; Peter Linehan, *History and Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 107-108, and cf, p. 129 on Sampiro as bishop.

¹⁵ *Historia Silense*, ed. by J. Pérez de Urbel and A. González Ruiz-Zorilla (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1959); The text was probably composed by a monk of San Isidoro of León sometime between 1109 and 1118; Fletcher, 'A Twelfth Century View' p. 153; Simon Barton and Richard Fletcher, *The World of El Cid* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 9 *et seq.* See also, Linehan, *History and Historians*, p. 128 *et seq.*

¹⁶ Ed. by B. Sánchez Alonso as *Crónica del Obispo don Pelayo* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1924); Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid*, pp. 68-89.

¹⁷ Ed. by Juan A. Estévez Sola as *Crónica Najarense* (Madrid: ediciones Akal, 2003); Lomax, *Reconquest*, p. 5.

¹⁸ Ed. by A. Maya Sanchez, *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, in *Chronica Hispana saeculi XII, - Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis* 71 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1990) pp. 109-248; Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid*, pp. 148-61.

¹⁹ Ed. by Juan Fernández Valverde, *Historia de rebus Hispanie sive Historia Gothica – Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 72 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1987).

modelled.²⁰ The *Chronicon Mundi*, by Bishop Lucas of Tuy (d.1249), purposed to be a history of the world beginning with the Creation; happily, Lucas managed to confine himself largely to Spanish affairs up to the Christian conquest of Cordoba in 1236.²¹ The *Chronica Latina regum Castellae*, probably written by the royal chancellor, Bishop Juan of Osma (d.1246), is narrower in focus and, although it covers the period 970-1243, it concentrates mainly on events in the kingdom of Castile during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.²²

Alfonso X, *El Sabio*, of León-Castile (1252-1284) famously took court historiography to the next level with his direction of the compilation of the *Estoria de España*, also known as the *Primera Crónica General de España*, which covers the entirety of Spanish history up to 1252 and which makes use of previous royal chronicles as well as a good many classical, Islamic and other sources, some not readily identifiable, the original source manuscripts having been long lost.²³ This work, written in the Spanish vernacular, was recognised as the authoritative history of Spain not only in Castile, but also in Catalonia and Portugal.²⁴

For Catalonia and Aragon, the main narrative source is the *Gesta comitum Barcinonensium et regum Aragoniae*, written by the monks of Santa Maria de Ripoll, recounting the reigns of the Counts of Barcelona from Wifred (878-897) to James II (1291-1327).²⁵ Written in three stages, it is the first composition, *redacció primitiva*, made between 1162 and 1184 and ending with the reign of Ramon Berenguer IV (1131-1162) which is of principal interest here.²⁶ There is also the *Crónica de San Juan de la Peña*, an Aragonese chronicle written around 1370 partly in the monastery of San Juan de la Peña at the request of Peter VI of Aragon (1336-87) and designed to be an official History of the Crown of Aragon, almost certainly influenced by

²⁰ Joseph F. O'Callaghan, 'Introduction' in *The Latin Chronicle of the Kings of Castile* (Tempe: Arizona State University, 2002), p.xix.

²¹ Ed. by André Schott in *Hispania Illustrata*, IV (Frankfurt: Claudium Marnium, 1608), pp. 1-116.

²² Ed. by Luís Charlo Brea, *Chronica latina regum Castellae*, in *Chronica hispana saeculi XIII*, ed. by Luís Charlo Brea, Juan A. Estévez Sola and Rocío Carande Herrero, *Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis* 73 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), pp. 7-118; Eng. trans. by Joseph F. O'Callaghan as *The Latin Chronicle of the Kings of Castile* (note 20, above); on authorship, see idem, pp.xxx-xxxvii and Derek W. Lomax, 'The Authorship of the *Chronique latine des rois de Castille*', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 40 (1963), pp. 205-11.

²³ Ed. by Ramon Menéndez Pidal, *Primera Crónica General de España* (Madrid: Gredos, 1977).

²⁴ See generally, Luís Krus, 'Os heróis da Reconquista e a realeza sagrada medieval peninsular: Afonso X e a Primeira Crónica Geral de Espanha', in, idem, *A Construção do Passado Medieval, Textos Inéditos e Publicados* (Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2010), pp. 115-26.

²⁵ Ed. by Lluís Barrau-Dihigo and Jaume Massó Torrents, *Gesta Comitum barcinonensium Cròniques Catalanes*, II (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1925), which includes the *redacció primitiva* and a later *redacció definitiva* along with a Catalan edition.

²⁶ Cf. Nathaniel L. Taylor, 'Inheritance of Power in the House of Giufred the Hairy: Contemporary Perspectives on the Formation of a Dynasty' in *The Experience of Power in Medieval Europe, 950-1350, essays in Honour of Thomas N. Bisson*, ed. by Robert F Berkhofer III, Alan Cooper and Adam J. Kostó (Farnham: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 129-51 at p. 133 *et seq.*

Alfonso X's *Estoria de España*.²⁷ These can be supplemented by the *Llibre dels feyts esdevençuts en la vida del molt alt senyor En Jacme, lo Conqueridor*, written in the Catalan vernacular and possibly penned or dictated personally by King Jaime I of Aragón (1208-1276),²⁸ and by the *Llibre del rei En Pere d'Aragó i els seus antecessors passats* also known as the *Chronicle* of Bernat Desclot (c.1240-c.1288).²⁹ Although these chronicles are from the later thirteenth century, they are considered to be generally reliable in relation to earlier events.³⁰

In Portugal, there is nothing to compare with the broad-sweep official, or semi-official, histories mentioned above until Alfonso X's *Estoria de España* was adapted and translated into the Portuguese vernacular in the 1340s, coming to be known as the *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*.³¹ An exhaustive study of the *Crónica Geral*, including comparisons with the *Estoria de España*, and other textual antecedents and derivatives was undertaken by Luís Filipe Lindley Cintra, taking up the entirety of the lengthy first volume of his four-volume edition of the text, published between 1953 and 1983.³²

Another Portuguese general history is that which came to be known as the *Crónica de Portugal de 1419*, after Artur de Magalhães Basto, in June 1942, announced to the *Congresso Luso-Espanhol para o Progresso das Ciências* at Porto, the discovery of an important fifteenth-century manuscript containing a history of the reigns of the first five kings of Portugal.³³ Although, as reflected in the name, the *Crónica* is believed to have been begun only in 1419, it was almost certainly compiled following the Alfonsine tradition whereby the text was

²⁷ Ed. by Antonio Ubieta Arteta, *Crónica de San Juan de la Peña*, Textos medievales, 4 (València: Anubar, 1964); Eng trans by Lyn Harry Nelson, *The Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña: A Fourteenth-Century Official History of the Crown of Aragon* (Pittsburg: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991).

²⁸ Ed. by M. Aguiló y Fuster (Barcelona: Llibreria d'Alvar Verdager, 1873).

²⁹ Ed. by Miquel Coll i Alentorn, *Crònica de Bernat Desclot*, 5 vols. (Barcelona: Barcino, 1949-1951; 1987).

³⁰ Cf. O'Callaghan, 'Introduction' in *Latin Chronicle*, p. xii.

³¹ Ed. by Luís Filipe Lindley Cintra, *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*, 4 vols. (Lisbon: Casa da Moeda, 1953-1983).

³² *Ibid.*

³³ The fifteenth century text was found along with other items of lesser importance in a codex which had formerly been stored in the library of the monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra but which had been deposited in the Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto (as Mss. 886) by the time it was consulted by Artur de Magalães Basto in the early 1940s. A few years later, Magalães Basto published his edition of the codex under the title *Crónica de Cinco Reis de Portugal, indedito quatrocentista reproduzido do cód.886 da Biblioteca Públ. Munisipal do Pôrto; seguido de capítulos inéditos da versão portuguesa da Crónica Geral de Espanha e outros textos*, Vol. 1 (Porto: Livraria Progredior, 1945). He promised a second volume to the work containing a study of the texts drawing on articles previously published by him on the subject, however it never materialised. Meanwhile, only a short time after Magalães Basto's discovery, Carlos da Silva Tarouca, who was engaged in cataloguing and describing the important bibliographical collection of the Casa Cadaval, came across a manuscript apparently from the Manueline period which contained a copy of the same chronicle, this time with the addition of the reigns of Kings D. Dinis (1279-1325) and D. Afonso IV (1325-1357). Tarouca published his edition of the manuscript along with a critical commentary in 1952 under the title *Crónicas dos Sete Primeiros Reis de Portugal*, 3 vols (Lisbon: A.P.H., 1952-1954). In 1998, Adelino de Almeida Calado published a new edition of the complete text, prefaced by an exhaustive study, including an examination of the codicological characteristics of both the Santa Cruz and Casa Cadaval manuscripts, under the title *Crónica de Portugal de 1419* (Aveiro: Universidade de Aveiro, 1998).

meticulously assembled from earlier sources.³⁴ Indeed throughout the *Crónica*, the anonymous redactor frequently refers to other written texts that he is obviously following although he does not identify them.³⁵

The later fifteenth century was a prolific period for Portuguese royal historiography with chronicles being produced by a group of official historians, Rui de Pina (1440-1521), Fernão Lopes (c.1385-c.1460), Gomes Eanes de Zura (1410-1474) and Duarte Galvão (1446-1517), who had access to a vast quantity of material and, although they wrote according to the political exigencies of their time, they transcribed into their works much valuable material that would otherwise have been lost. This historiographical tradition reached a high-water mark in the seventeenth century with the *Monarquia Lusitana*, a monumental eight-volume history of Portugal from its origins, begun in the late sixteenth century by the Cistercian monk of Alcobaça, Bernardo de Brito (1569-1617) who published the first volume in 1597, the second in 1609, and purposed to continue the narrative up to his own time.³⁶ Appointed chief chronicler of the realm (*cronista mor*) in 1614, his work was continued after his death, three years later, by fellow Cistercian monk, António Brandão (1584-1637), who produced volumes III and IV of the work, which are those most relevant to the present study. Used with due care, the *Monarquia Lusitana* continues to provide much useful material and, conveniently, presents editions and transcriptions of many twelfth and thirteenth century texts, some of which have only survived because of their inclusion in the work.

Also writing in the seventeenth century, Rodrigo da Cunha (1577-1643) was an important Portuguese prelate occupying the offices of Bishop of Portalegre (1615-1618), Bishop of Porto (1618/1626), Archbishop of Braga (1626-1634) and of Lisbon (1635-1642). A prolific Historian of the Portuguese Church, he produced his *Catálogo e História dos Bispos do Porto* in 1623,³⁷ a two part *História Eclesiástica dos Arcebispos de Braga* in 1634-1635,³⁸ and a *História*

³⁴ the historiographical tradition established by Afonso X in the compilation of the *Primeira Crónica Geral de Espanha*; for a general discussion of the tradition and its application to the *Crónica de Portugal de 1419* see Filipe Alves Moreira, 'A Crónica de Portugal de 1419: Fontes, Estratégias e posteridade', *Faculdade de Letras do Porto*, 2010 p. 66 *et seq.*

³⁵ The question of the authorship of the *Crónica* is still a live issue. The publication of the critical edition of the *Crónica* by Avalino de Almeida Calado has now cast very serious doubt on any attribution of the work to Fernão Lopes; B. Vasconcelos e Sousa, 'Medieval Portuguese Royal Chronicles. Topics in a Discourse of Identity and Power,' *E-Journal of Portuguese History* [serial online]. Winter2007;5 (2) N.PAG-7. Available from: Historical Abstracts, Ipswich, MA. Accessed March 23, 2011. Cf. A. Megalhães Basto, *Estudos. Cronistas e Crónicas Anticas. Fernão Lopes e a 'Crónica de 1419'* (Coimbra: University of Coimbra, 1959) and Luis Filipe Lindley Cintra, 'Introdução' to the *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*, vol. I, pp. CDV and CDVII-CDIX.

³⁶ *Monarquia Lusitana* 4th ed. (Lisbon: Casa da Moeda, facsimile repr. 1974).

³⁷ Rodrigo Da Cunha, *Catálogo E História Dos Bispos Do Porto* (Porto: I. Rodriguez, 1623).

³⁸ Rodrigo Da. Cunha, *Historia Eclesiastica dos Arcebispos de Braga* (Reprinted -Braga: Barbosa & Xavier, 1989).

Eclesiástica da Igreja de Lisboa in 1642.³⁹ He had ready access to a wealth of documentation which he appears to have used in a meticulous and faithful manner with the texts of many documents surviving through transcriptions made in his works which would otherwise have been irrevocably lost. Where he does not include transcriptions, he frequently includes detailed and precise references to documents and collections of documents, including cartularies, the originals of which have long-since disappeared.⁴⁰

In the nineteenth century, the most important early Portuguese documentary sources were laboriously collected from locations all over Portugal, collated, edited and published by Alexandre Herculano in the *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica*, the great compilation of Portuguese historical texts inspired by the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. This compilation continues to be the cardinal reference for all medieval historians of Portugal and provides here the obvious starting point for a brief survey of the most important Portuguese texts of the late-eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Up to the last quarter of the eleventh century, information concerning events in territory today comprising Portugal is, for the most part, only to be found in the works of authors external to the region. Thereafter, the situation improves somewhat with the survival of a cluster of fragmented and interrelated annals, the earliest of which dates to c.1079.⁴¹ Herculano included extracts of these in the first volume of the *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica*, however the authoritative treatment of the material is that published in 1947 by Pierre David, who performed an extensive comparison of the various manuscripts, highlighting the links between them, and re-edited them giving them the collective name by which they are usually known today, the *Annales Portugalenses Veteres*.⁴² The *Annales* trace events in the far western peninsular from a hazy Visigothic past, chronologically gaining in detail and cogency, up to the attack on Badajoz by Geraldo Sem Pavor in 1168.⁴³

One of these *Annales* in particular, the so-called *Chronica Gothorum*, apparently produced in the royal monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra probably soon after 1185, yet controversial since it only survives in a transcription included by Brandão in the *Monarquia Lusitana*,

³⁹ Rodrigo Da Cunha, *Historia Ecclesiastica Da Igreja De Lisboa: Vida E Acçoens De Sevs Prelados, E Varoes Eminentes Em Santidade, Que Nella Florecerao ...* (Lisboa: Manoel Da Sylva, 1642).

⁴⁰ Carlos A Moreira Azevedo, *Historia Ecclesiastica dos Arcebispos de Braga*, Review, *Lusitania Sacra* - 2a Série - Tomo 2 (1990), pp. 281-282; *História de Portugal, Dicionário de Personalidades*, Vol. XIV (Lisbon: QN-Edição e Conteúdos, 2004).

⁴¹ Pierre David, *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Nord du Portugal du vie au xiiie siècle* (Lisbon: Livraria Portugalia Editoria, 1947), p. 265; Cf, Stephen Lay, *The Reconquest Kings of Portugal* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 265.

⁴² David, *Études*, pp. 257-340.

⁴³ *Ibid*, p. 334.

furnishes considerable information on the reign and activities of Afonso Henriques. The value of this source for the historian has been confirmed through the exhaustive analysis and comparison of the text with other sources, published by Monika Blöcker-Walter in 1966, who re-edited the work under the title *Annales D. Alfonsi Portugallensium Regis*.⁴⁴

Among other works produced in Santa Cruz during the twelfth century, of substantial importance are three hagiographies, the *Vitae* of two founders of the monastery, Tello and Theotonio and the *Vita* of a local priest, one Martinho of Soure. All produced during the central years of the century, the texts yield much useful information relating to conditions on the frontier and contemporary attitudes on a number of levels, including reactions to Mozarabs and Muslims. Although included in the *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica*, all three *Vitae* were re-edited and published in 1998 by Aires A. Nascimento, along with analysis and parallel translations into Portuguese.⁴⁵

Added to the above there is the so-called *De Expugnatione Scalabis*, an extra-ordinary text purporting to be Afonso Henriques' own first-person account of his conquest of Santarém in 1147.⁴⁶ If this attribution of authorship is somewhat unlikely, the text, so precise in detail, is nevertheless profoundly redolent of eye-witness testimony. Although its production has been ascribed to the *scriptorium* of twelfth-century Santa Cruz, this is far from certain as will be discussed later in this study.

Three other free-standing accounts of battles arise for mention at this juncture, the first being the well-known *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, usually considered to be an Anglo-Norman eye-witness account of the conquest of Lisbon in 1147.⁴⁷ The unique manuscript to contain a copy of the text is found in the collection of Archbishop of Canterbury Matthew Parker (1504-1575), housed in the Parker Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.⁴⁸ Externally, the manuscript copy reveals nothing of any value in determining the origins of the underlying original. The best study in English of the *Lyxbonensi* remains that accompanying Charles Wendell David's edition of the text, produced in 1936, now reprinted (2000/2001) with a useful foreword by Jonathan Phillips. Meanwhile, in Portugal, coincident but unconnected with the reprint of David's edition, was the appearance of a new edition and translation of the text into

⁴⁴ *Annales D. Alfonsi Portugallensium Regis*, ed. by M. Blöcker-Walter, *Alfons I von Portugal. Studien zu Geschichte und Sage des Begründers der portugiesischen Unabhängigkeiten* (Zurich, Fretz und Wasmuth Verlag, 1966).

⁴⁵ Aires Augusto Nascimento, *Hagiografia de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, ed. and trans. by (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 1998).

⁴⁶ Ed. by Alexander Herculano, *PMH Scriptores*, vol.1 pp. 93-95.

⁴⁷ Ed. and Eng. trans. by Charles Wendell David, *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi: The Conquest of Lisbon*, 2nd ed. with new foreword by Jonathan Phillips (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

⁴⁸ Ms. N°470, fols. 125r-146r.

Portuguese undertaken by Aires A. Nascimento and prefaced with an introduction by Maria João Branco.⁴⁹ Also surviving for the 1147 conquest of Lisbon is an eyewitness account contained in a newsletter, known as the the 'Lisbon letter', or the 'Teutonic source', and sent in three slightly differing forms to addressees in Flanders and Germany.⁵⁰

Also subject of an edition and study by Charles Wendell David is the so-called *De Itinere Navali*, an anonymous, lengthy, and very detailed, eye-witness account of the conquest of Silves in 1189, apparently penned by a German crusader on his way by sea to the Third Crusade.⁵¹ The text survives in an early thirteenth-century copy whose unique manuscript is found in the archive of the *Accademia delle Scienze* in Turin.⁵²

The third and final text in this series of free-standing accounts of individual campaigns is, of course, the *Gosuini de Expugnatione Salaciae Carmen* which is the essential departure point for this study.

Two other important Portuguese narrative texts both relate in one way or another to Lisbon's association with the early fourth-century Christian martyr, S. Vicente of Zaragoza. The *Indiculum foundationis monasterii beati Sancti Vincentii*, redacted in 1188, is an account of the foundation in Lisbon of an important Augustinian monastery dedicated to the Saint in the immediate wake of the 1147 conquest of the city. The text also includes an account of the battle for Lisbon based on the recollections of two veterans of the 1147 siege.⁵³ In spite of the dedication of a monastery to him in the city, the Saint himself would not arrive to Lisbon until 1173, an event which prompted the composition, by Master Estevão cantor of Lisbon Cathedral, of the *Miracula S. Vincentii*. Redacted perhaps in the late 1180s, the text relates a number of miracle-stories along with an account of the translation of the Saint's body by boat from Cabo de São Vicente, the renowned promontory in the extreme southwest of the peninsula, to the port of Lisbon where it was received by the population of the city.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Ed. and trans. by Aires A. Nascimento, *A Conquista de Lisboa aos Mouros, Relato de um Cruzado* (Lisbon: Vega, 2000).

⁵⁰ Ed. by Susan B. Edgington, 'The Lisbon Letter of the Second Crusade', *Historical Research* 69 (1996), pp. 328-39, at pp. 336-39. See also idem, 'Albert of Aachen, St Bernard and the Second Crusade', *SCSC*, pp. 54-70.

⁵¹ Ed. by Charles Wendell David, 'Narratio de Itinere Navali Peregrinorum Hierosolymam Tendentium et Silviam Capientium, A. D. 1189.' *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* (1939) 81, no.5: pp. 591-676 (herein abbreviated to 'DIN').

⁵² Ms. N°0193.

⁵³ Ed. and Port. trans. by Aires A. Nascimento, *Indiculum foundationis Monasterii Beati Vincentii Ulixbone*, in *A Conquista de Lisboa*, pp. 179-99.

⁵⁴ Ed. and Port. trans. by Aires A. Nascimento and Saul A. Gomes, *S. Vicente de Lisboa e Seus Milagres Medievais* (Lisbon: Edições Didaskalia, 1988).

Further useful information, particularly for the reigns of Afonso Henriques and Sancho I, is contained in a curious assemblage of texts gathered in the monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra, where both kings are entombed. Known as the *Crônicas breves e memórias avulsas de S. Cruz de Coimbra*,⁵⁵ like much of the material mentioned above, they have been the subject of re-edition since their inclusion in the *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica*, with Fernando Venâncio Peixoto da Fonseca's authoritative edition and study appearing in 2000.

Finally, before moving away from narratives to consider other sources, it would be remiss indeed to fail to mention the enormous *Historia Compostelana*, a work of multiple authorship, indispensable for the history of early twelfth-century Spain with which it is largely contemporaneous.⁵⁶ Its primary function is that of a *gesta* commemorating the remarkable feats of Diego Gelmírez, bishop from 1100 to 1120, and thereafter archbishop until his death in 1140, of Santiago de Compostela. Unsurprisingly therefore, in addition to memorialising the life of the good bishop-archbishop, the work furnishes a crucial record of an important phase in the evolution of one of the most important sites of Christian pilgrimage outside the Holy Land. However, the usefulness of the *Compostelana* does not stop there. Diego Gelmírez was also guardian of the future Alfonso VII of León-Castile (1126-1157), was chief advisor to the new king from 1126-1130 and was heavily concerned with Alfonso VII's mother, the turbulent 'Queen' Urraca (1109-1126) being, at different times, her main supporter and her chief opponent.⁵⁷ In consequence, the *Compostelana* is a vital source for the history of early twelfth-century León-Castile. In addition, when Gelmírez achieved the elevation of his see to metropolitan status from Pope Calixtus II in 1120, he also secured appointment as papal legate for the provinces of Portugal and Galicia, with the effect that the *Compostelana* further contains a wealth of material for the history of the Gregorian reform movement in Hispania. Still more, into the bargain the work contains transcribed, either in whole or in part, an astonishing one hundred and sixty-one documents.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Ed. by Fernando Venâncio Peixoto da Fonseca *Crônicas Breves e Memórias Avulsas de S. Cruz de Coimbra* (Lisbon: CLPIC, 2000).

⁵⁶ Ed. by E. Falque Rey, *Historia Compostellana*, CCCM 70 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988); Spanish trans. by Manuel Suarez, *Historia Compostelana* (Santiago de Compostela, 1950).

⁵⁷ On Gelmírez and also on Urraca, see generally Richard Fletcher, *Saint James's catapult: the life and times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984) and Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca, 1109-1126* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982) and idem, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VII, 1126-1157* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998).

⁵⁸ On aspects of the usefulness of the work as a historical source and authorship see Bernard F. Reilly, 'The *Historia Compostelana*: The Genesis and Composition of a Twelfth-Century Spanish *Gesta*', *Speculum*, 44/1 (Jan., 1969), pp. 78-85.

Livros de Linhagens

Tensions between the Portuguese crown and the high nobility gave rise to the appearance of the *Livros de Linhagens* ('books of lineages'). Compiled in response to royal encroachment on aristocratic lands and privileges, the first of these, the so called *Livro Velho de Linhagens* was produced in the late thirteenth century, with two more being produced in the mid fourteenth century, known as the *Livro de Linhagens do Deão* and the *Livro de Linhagens de Conde D. Pedro*, respectively. The works were included by Herculano in the *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica* and were re-edited and published, in 1980, in a new series of the *Monumenta* by Joseph Piel and José Mattoso.⁵⁹ Although much of the material contained in the texts is tendentious, interlaced with the various genealogies are narrative tracts of considerable historical and literary importance which recount the activities of various important figures.⁶⁰

Diplomata et Chartae/Leges et Consuetudines

The narrative record is supplemented by a comparatively ample collection of preserved official documents including charters of donation, bestowal of privileges and ownership of land, and also town charters (*forais*), law codes and results of official inquiries. Much of this material was included by Herculano in the *Diplomata et Chartae* and *Leges et Consuetudines* volumes of the *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica*. This work was continued and supplemented by the publication of two important collections edited by Rui de Azevedo, one containing private documentation from the period 1101-1115 published in 1940,⁶¹ and another, published in 1958-1962 containing public documentation from the reigns of Count Henry and D. Teresa along with material from the reign of Afonso Henriques.⁶² The process was continued for the period 1174-1211 with relation to Sancho I.⁶³ Up to now, documents produced during the reigns of Afonso II and Sancho II have not been the subject of similar publications although

⁵⁹ *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica, nova series: vol 1, Livros Velhos de Linhagens, vol.II, Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro*, ed. by J. Mattoso and J. Piel (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências, 1980).

⁶⁰ See, inter alia, José D'Assunção Barros, 'Um livro manuscrito e seu sistema de micropoders: os Livros de Linhagens da Idade Média Portuguesa', *Em Questão*, Porto Alegre, v. 12, n. 2, pp. 273-96, jun./dez. 2006; idem, 'Aspectos do Imaginário Cavaleiresco nos Livros de Linhagens da Idade Média Portuguesa', *Anuário de Literatura*, ISSN: 2175-7917, vol. 15, n. 1, 2010, pp. 123-53; José Mattoso, *A Nobreza Medieval Portuguesa, A Família e o Poder* (Lisbon: Estampa, 1994); idem, 'As Três Faces de Afonso Henriques', *Penélope Fazer e Desfazer a História* 8 (1992), pp. 25-42.

⁶¹ *Documentos Medievais Portugueses, Documentos particulares, vol.III, AD. 1101-1115* (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências, 1940).

⁶² *Documentos Medievais Portugueses. Documentos régios, vol.1 – Documentos dos condes portugueses e de D. Afonso Henriques, AD 1095-1185*, Book 1 Lisbon Academia Portuguesa da Historia., 1958; Book II *Aditamentos, Fontes e Índices* (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da Historia, 1962). These volumes are accompanied by a collection of facsimiles under the title *Documentos Medievais Portugueses. Documentos régios. Tábuas do volume I* (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da Historia, 1945 [sic]).

⁶³ *Documentos de D. Sancho I (1174-1211)*, ed. by Rui P. de Azevedo, Avelino de J da Costa and Marcelino Pereira (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1979).

much is to be found in the *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica* whilst other important documents appear in the first volume of the *Monumenta Henricina*, a multi-volume collection of official documents with a focus on the Portuguese Discoveries and Portuguese overseas relations, compiled to celebrate the fifth centenary of the death of *Infante* D. Henrique (Henry the Navigator, 1394-1460).⁶⁴

Among the collections from Portuguese ecclesiastical archives, the most important are those of the see of Braga, the *Liber Fidei Sanctae Baracarensis Ecclesiae*⁶⁵ and the see of Coimbra, the *Livro Preto de Sé de Coimbra*.⁶⁶

Papal Documentation

All of the above is augmented and enriched by a relative abundance of papal documentation. For Portugal, during the period relevant to this study, the principal collections are Carl Erdmann's *Papsturkunden in Portugal*, undertaken under the *Pius-Stiftung für Papsturkunden* ('the *Papsturken* project'), for the period up to 1198;⁶⁷ for the reign of Innocent III, the collection *Bulário Português, Inocência III (1198-1216)*, edited and compiled by Avelino de Jesus da Costa and Maria Alegria F. Marques,⁶⁸ and for the reign of Honorius III, António Domingues de Sousa Costa's *Mestre Silvestre e Mestre Vicente, juristas da contenda entre D. Afonso II e suas irmãs*.⁶⁹ The third title in this list requires a little explanation since, at first blush, it appears to be a work of secondary literature, which indeed it is in a significant respect, treating of conflicts within the Portuguese royal house under Alfonso II. However, this curious opus, published in 1968, serves a dual function since included in it is a comprehensive and meticulous collection of papal documentation, edited by Sousa Costa from the Vatican archives, relating to Portugal for the reign of Honorius III (1216-1227), and indeed for Gregory IX (1227-1241) and a good deal more besides. As such, it is the standard and 'canonical' collection of papal documentation concerning Portugal for the period of these popes. The documentation is presented in full transcription throughout the work in lengthy footnotes which often occupy almost entire pages. A detailed chronological index of the documentation

⁶⁴ *Monumenta Henricina*, ed. by Comissão Executiva das Comemorações do V Centenário da Morte do Infante D. Henrique (Coimbra: Comissão Executiva etc., 1960), vol 1, documents from 1143-1411, dir. by A. Dias Dinis.

⁶⁵ *Liber Fidei Sanctae Baracarensis Ecclesiae* ed. by A. de Jesus da Coasta, 3 vols. (Braga: Junta distrital de Braga, 1965-1990).

⁶⁶ *Livro Preto de Sé de Coimbra*, ed. by M.A. Rodrigues (Coimbra: Arquivo da Universidade, 1999).

⁶⁷ *Papsturkunden in Portugal*, ed. by Carl Erdmann, in *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse* (Berlin: Neu Folge 20/3, 1927).

⁶⁸ *Bulário Português Inocência III (1198-1216)*, ed. by A. de Jesus da Costa and M.A. Fernandes Marques (Coimbra: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1989).

⁶⁹ António Domingues de Sousa Costa, *Mestre Silvestre e Mestre Vicente, juristas da contenda entre D. Afonso II e suas irmãs* (Braga: Editorial Franciscana, 1963).

provided at the end of the work facilitates smooth navigation through the material. For the period covered by the present study, the collection published by Peter Linehan in 2013, *Portugalia Pontificia*, inspired somewhat by Franco Bartoloni and intended to cover the period 1198-1417, is unhelpful, merely referring the reader to the abovementioned collections, *Bulário Português* and Sousa Costa's *Mestre Silvestre e Mestre Vicente*.⁷⁰

As is well-known, the compilation of papal registers, although achieving considerable systematisation with the beginning of the pontificate of Innocent III, remained a trifle erratic and doubts persist as to precise criteria for Registration. Christopher Cheney outlined some of the problems in 1966, observing

'We realise that some documents were only composed for use in certain eventualities and never took effect; that drafts lay about in the papal offices – and might be copied – which would never go out with official sanction; that decretals might be re-touched by the lawyers after their despatch; that acts of general councils were revised before they were formally published. Above all, the studies in the papal registers put us on our guard [...]. Was registration meant to be complete? Was it for the benefit of the administration or of its clients? Was there only one type of register? How did the clerk decide what date to set upon the enregistered copy?'⁷¹

Since, on occasion during the course of this investigation, the availability of other source material is so reduced that it is impossible to affirm or deny information contained in the Registers, we can do little more than to acknowledge the difficulties and proceed with due caution.

Other Source Material

This overview of source material has, in the interests of brevity, concentrated mainly on the principal sources for Portuguese affairs during the relevant period. Other primary matter referenced in the following pages will be dissertated, either in the main text or in footnotes, as it occurs.

⁷⁰ Peter Linehan, *Portugalia Pontificia: Materials for the History of Portugal and the Papacy, 1198-1417* (Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2013).

⁷¹ See generally Christopher R. Cheney, *The Study of the Mediaeval Papal Chancery* (Glasgow: Jackson, 1966), quotation is from p. 35; also, C.R. and Mary G. Cheney, 'A draft Decretal of Pope Innocent III on a case of Identity' *QFIAB* xli (1961), pp. 29-47. See also Reginald L. Poole, *Lectures on the History of the Papal Chancery down to the time of Innocent III* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915). Regarding the holdings of the Vatican and related publishing projects see Leonard E. Boyle, *A Survey of the Vatican Archives and of its Mediaeval Holdings* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2001).

Note on Translations

All translations from other languages into English are by me, except where indicated.

Chapter 1

Traversing the Interface: Crusade and Reconquista from Lisbon to Alcácer do Sal

Introduction

The initial impetus for the composition of the *Carmen* springs from the coming together of two distinct political and cultural phenomena, one conventionally referred to as the Crusades, the other, the Iberian Reconquest, or, more simply, the *Reconquista*. In the version that has survived to us, the text of the *Carmen* was also influenced by the specifically Portuguese conditions under which it was produced.

For an investigation of the process of incorporation of foreign ideas of Holy War into the emergent kingdom of Portugal, a more inviting scenario can scarcely be imagined than that postulated in the *Carmen*. Not only does it present Portuguese *reconquistadores* working in partnership with Northern European crusaders towards the common goal of the reduction of a strategic Iberian Muslim fortress, it also marks the end of an historiographical era. The reports of the 1217 capture of Alcácer do Sal are the last records we possess of the involvement of sea-borne crusaders in the Portuguese southward drive against Islam. In this respect, Alcácer is the final instalment in a series of similar episodes spanning three or more generations, producing a series of coeval narratives, of which the *Carmen* can be seen as a culmination. Through these texts, some lengthy and richly detailed, it is possible to trace the progression of attitudes of Portuguese *reconquistadores* and crusaders to each other, to chart the changes in their perceptions of the relationship and interplay between their different wars on Islam and to monitor the reception and effectiveness both among the crusaders of Northern Europe and among Portuguese warriors, of various papal pronouncements setting out what God expected of his soldiers.

The conquest of Alcácer had important antecedents. Since at least the early twelfth century, Iberians witnessed the regular passage of fleets carrying northern European crusaders along their coasts. From places including England, Denmark, Frisia, Flanders, Lower Saxony and North Rhineland, these maritime pilgrim-warriors, when making necessary supply-stops in Hispanic ports, could sometimes be persuaded, usually in exchange for plunder, to take temporary service under Iberian Christian monarchs for the prosecution of the campaign against the Muslims of al-Andalus. Where Portugal is concerned, the historiography highlights

the three best-documented instances of this phenomenon, namely the 1147 conquest of Lisbon, the conquest of Silves in 1189 in the Iberian south (today's Algarve), and that of which the *Carmen* treats, the conquest in 1217 of Alcácer do Sal, which lies about 100 km south of Lisbon on the estuary of the River Sado. The reason for the peculiar geography of the conquests, given the chronology, is the massive Almohad counter attack that followed the conquest of Silves and, in 1191, not only re-conquered Alcácer do Sal but also drove the Portuguese frontier back to the Lisbon side of the Tagus.

Of course, by the time crusaders began seeking anchorage and supplies in Portuguese ports, Holy War was nothing new to the peoples they encountered there and, before examining some of the developments in attitudes to Christian violence in the wake of the First Crusade and their possible effects in the western peninsula, it is necessary to set out a little Iberian background.

Part 1

The Broad Context: Iberian Reconquest

From 711, North African Muslim armies, comprising mainly Berbers led by Arab commanders, crossed the Strait of Gibraltar and attacked Christian Visigothic Hispania. King Roderic (c.710-12) was defeated, promptly thereafter vanishing from the historical record, and by autumn 714, the Muslims had conquered almost the whole of Iberia.⁷² The only area to remain under Christian control was the comparatively tiny northern mountain province of Asturias where the semi-mythical Pelayo (Pelagius), possibly a fleeing Visigothic noble, vanquished a Muslim force in an encounter, traditionally dated to 717, which became known in the Christian sources as the Battle of Covadonga.⁷³ These adumbrations, contained for the most part in three Asturian chronicles dating to the late ninth and early tenth centuries,⁷⁴ formed the bedrock of a long-lived historiographical tradition still advocated in the twentieth century, sometimes referred to as the 'neogothic myth'.⁷⁵ Accordingly, Covadonga achieved legendary status as the supposed

⁷² Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal, A Political History of al-Andalus* (Harlow: Longman, 1996) pp. 3-11.

⁷³ For a discussion of the evidential problems relating to the beginnings of the *Reconquista* see Roger Collins, *The Arab Conquest of Spain* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989) pp. 23-36 and 140-67.

⁷⁴ *Crónicas Asturianas: Crónica De Alfonso III (Rotense Y "A Sebastián"): Crónica Albeldense (y "profética")*. ed. by Juan Gil Fernández, José L. Moralejo, and Ruiz De La Peña, Juan Ignacio (Oviedo: Servicio De Publicaciones, Universidad De Oviedo, Departamento De Historia Medieval, Departamento De Filología Clásica, 1985).

⁷⁵ Peter Linehan, 'Religions Nationalism and National Identity in Medieval Spain', in *Spanish Church and Society 1150-1300* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1983) I, pp. 161-199 esp. p. 176.

beginning of a monolithic Christian struggle to eject the Muslim invaders from the peninsula.⁷⁶ In essence, the narrative presented Iberian history from 711 to 1492 as a paradigmatic and unceasing interfaith confrontation in which Hispanic Christians pursued a monomaniacal struggle to reconquer their divine birth-right from Muslim ('pagan') usurpers. Today, following the work of scholars including, in the Anglophone world, Simon Barton, Richard Fletcher and Peter Linehan, this model stands almost entirely discredited.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, few would doubt that by the time Urban II preached the First Crusade against the Saracens of the East at Clermont in 1095, a Christian Holy War against a Muslim enemy in the West, although waged with varying intensity and perhaps even with the occasional hiatus, had been a more-or-less conspicuous feature of Iberian life already for the best part of four hundred years.

During the decade immediately preceding Clermont, Iberia had lived in an atmosphere of increasing religious antipathy. It was a state of affairs that stood in marked contrast to the middle years of the century during which the peninsula had experienced a time of relative religious ambivalence, although it had certainly not been a time free from warfare. The devastating Muslim raids on the Christian north during the late tenth and early eleventh centuries led by the chief ministers of caliphal Cordoba, al-Mansur (d.1002) and his son and successor, Abd al-Malik, ceased with the death of the latter in 1008. With his passing, the power of the great Umayyad Caliphate centred on Cordoba, which embraced almost all Muslim Iberia, went into steep decline.⁷⁸ In less than a generation it had disintegrated into a constellation of petty kingdoms, or *taifa* states, as a gaggle of local strongmen came forward to seize power in their own regions, none of them possessing alone sufficient power to reunite the peninsular Muslims.⁷⁹ With immediate provincial concerns overriding any residual hegemonic aspirations, by the 1030s a certain spirit of *convivencia* was detectable in Iberia, such that matters of religion and Holy War were relegated to a secondary plane in favour of a *realpolitik* whereby both Christian and Muslim princes, who were often engaged in armed

⁷⁶ For the early development of the tradition see the particularly useful survey of the historiography included by Jose Antonio Maravall, where he treats of 'La Tradicion de la Herencia Goda', in his *El Concepto de España en la Edad Media* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Librería Europa, 1954), pp. 313-58. Among the most renowned twentieth century advocates are Ramon Menéndez Pidal, e.g., in *Los Espanoles en La Historia* (Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe, 1959) at p. 56, and Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, in particular see his 'Prólogo' in *Historia de España*, ed. by Ramón Menéndez Pidal (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1980) XVI vols, vol.VII, p.xxii.

⁷⁷ Simon Barton, 'The Roots of the national question in Spain' in *The National Question in Europe in Historical Context*, ed. by Mikulás Teich and Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 108-27; R.A. Fletcher, 'Reconquest and Crusade in Spain c. 1050-1150', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series, vol.37 (1987), pp. 31-47; Peter Linehan, 'Religions Nationalism and National Identity in Medieval Spain' pp. 161-99.

⁷⁸ For a useful summary of the campaigns of al-Mansur and Abd al-Malik, see Lomax, *Reconquest*, pp. 46-48.

⁷⁹ David J. Wasserstein, *The rise and fall of the party kings: politics and society in Islamic Spain, 1002-1086* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), pp. 82-115. Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, pp. 130-53.

disputes with their co-religionists, showed willing to ally with whichever party, or polity, most suited the enrichment of their own domains, regardless of religious affiliation.⁸⁰

Renewed polarisation appears to have begun following the conquest of Toledo in 1085 by King-Emperor Alfonso VI of León-Castile (1072-1109) and continued with the re-unification of al-Andalus, at the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth, under the Almoravids, or *al-murabitun*,⁸¹ a piously austere Berber dynasty originating in the western Sahara.⁸² They had arrived to Iberia in 1086 at the instance of *taifa* rulers, in particular al-Mutamid of Seville and the kings of Granada and Badajoz, who were too weak to stop the Christian advance unaided. Quickly overrunning al-Andalus, the Almoravids imposed their own new brand of evangelical and war-like Islam.⁸³

On the Christian side, the arrival of the Africans coincided with an influx of agents of the Church reform movement as the popes, beginning with Alexander II (1061-73), began, for the first time, to take an active interest in the *Reconquista*.⁸⁴ Alfonso VI of León-Castile, having by 1072 emerged as the most powerful of the Iberian Christian princes, was swift to seek to associate himself with this reinvigorated papacy in order to harness its new prestige in the service of his own ambitions.⁸⁵

In particular, Gregory VII, like his predecessor Alexander II (1061-73),⁸⁶ was concerned to extinguish in Iberia the so-called Mozarabic liturgical rite and replace it with the canonical Roman liturgy, thereby bringing the Spanish church more closely under papal control.⁸⁷ However, it was much more than the extirpation of a local liturgical practice, it was a fundamental attack upon an entire ancient ecclesiastical order introducing, *inter alia*, a new structure of ecclesiastical organization (Romano-Gallic), a canon law which trumped local custom, a reduction in the offices of the Minor Orders and, crucially, forced Spanish clergy to take their instructions from Rome, something they had not previously done. At the human

⁸⁰ Fletcher, 'Reconquest and Crusade' pp. 35-36.

⁸¹ Possibly meaning a group of warriors engaged in *jihad*; see the discussion by Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, p. 157.

⁸² On the conquest of Toledo and its immediate consequences see the comprehensive treatment given by Bernard F. Reilly in, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1988) pp. 161-209.

⁸³ Lomax, *Reconquest* pp. 68-69; Bernard F. Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain, 1031-1157* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992) p. 86 *et seq.* Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, pp. 154-88.

⁸⁴ Lomax, *Reconquest*, p. 58; Richard Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978) p. 181 *et seq.*

⁸⁵ Cf. Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, p. 96.

⁸⁶ Alexander II had dispatched Cardinal Hugh Candidus as papal legate to Spain on three occasions with the aims, *inter alia*, of strengthening ties between the papacy and Spain and extinguishing the Hispanic rite; see H.E.J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 220.

⁸⁷ Sometimes referred to as the Visigothic or Hispanic rite; Cf. Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993) p. 82.

level it was the takeover of the Spanish church by foreigners, principally Frenchmen, who received the great majority of high ecclesiastical offices. Unsurprisingly, this new conception of the Christian Order occasioned considerable opposition in some areas.⁸⁸

It is against the background of these concerns that there appears to have emerged between Alfonso VI and the pope a species of uneasy and unspoken *quid pro quo*; so long as Alfonso VI complied in actively promoting the establishment of the Roman rite in Spain, Gregory, and his successors, would support the king-emperors of León-Castile in their imperialist pretensions, promoting their hegemony in Hispania, in the desire of achieving a solid Christian front, united under one powerful leader, in a hoped-for co-ordinated southward advance over the Muslims of al-Andalus.⁸⁹ This vision of a unified Christian battle-line remained extraordinarily precious to the papacy and was only gradually abandoned following the death of Alfonso VII in 1157, when the kingdoms of León and Castile became separated once more, with seemingly little chance of early re-unification.⁹⁰ Indeed such was the persistence of the ideal that it was not until 1179 that Alexander III would eventually, and somewhat reluctantly, recognise Alfonso Henriques as Portugal's first king.⁹¹

Part II

Portugal and the Crusades

Terminology

The primary issue for any consideration of crusading during much of the twelfth century, especially in areas outside the Holy Land, is as to how far we can usefully talk of 'crusading' or 'crusaders' when no equivalent terms were used by contemporaries to describe the phenomena either in theory or practice.⁹² Much ink has been spent in recent decades on this

⁸⁸ Fletcher, *Episcopate in the Kingdom of León*, pp. 25-26

⁸⁹ Carl Erdmann, *O Papado e Portugal no Primeiro Século da História Portuguesa* (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1935).

⁹⁰ Damien J. Smith, 'Pope Alexander III and Spain' in *Pope Alexander III (1159-81), the art of survival*, ed. By Peter D. Clarke et al (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012) pp. 203-42; José Mattoso, *D. Alfonso Henriques* (Rio de Mouro: Temas e Debates, 2007) p. 360.

⁹¹ Mattoso, *D. Alfonso Henriques*, pp. 359-62.

⁹² Jonathan Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002) p. 2; Andrew Jotischky, *Crusading and the Crusader States* (Harlow: Longman Pearson, 2004) p. 6; Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006) p. 7; Giles Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008) p. 18, Michael Markowski (1984) Crucesignatus: its origins and early usage, *Journal of Medieval History*, 10:3 pp. 157-165.

single question, undoubtedly one of the most vexed topics in crusading historiography.⁹³ Indeed, Colin Morris acknowledged, 'One of the disconcerting things about twelfth century thought is that it found no evident place for crusading,'⁹⁴ whilst Christopher Tyerman stated that, for the period from the council of Clermont up to the 1187 loss of Jerusalem, 'what we call "the Crusades" in fact covered a fragmented series of military and religious activities that lacked coherence...with nobody seriously trying to incorporate these diverse strands into one institution, theory, or even name.'⁹⁵ Highlighting the significance of this terminological void, Tyerman was prompted to add, 'To put it crudely, we know there were crusaders: *they* did not; or if they did, their perception was far from the canonically or juridically precise definition beloved of some late twentieth century scholars.'⁹⁶

Nevertheless, as Jonathan Phillips commented, 'simply because a movement lacks formal and defined institutions does not mean that contemporaries failed to understand what was happening'.⁹⁷ Indeed, writing of the reception in the West of the news of the momentous success of the First Crusade and the various narrative accounts it generated in the early twelfth century among 'a first generation of crusade historians', the same author commented, 'Their enthusiasm to record this episode bears testament to the unprecedented impact of the First Crusade on the writing and recording of history in the medieval West – and, of course, it reflects the interest shown in the crusade by the people of Europe too.'⁹⁸

Even Tyerman himself, whilst answering firmly in the negative to the question 'Where there any crusades in the Twelfth century?', admits that so spectacular was the success of the First Crusade that 'the model of Urban II's Holy War was adapted and applied to campaigns against the Muslims in Spain and the western Mediterranean.'⁹⁹ Certainly, the series of privileges and bulls issued in relation to Iberia demonstrates the evolution of a specific idea of Holy War that would later become known as 'crusading' from the time of the First Crusade even though Urban II's model may have been neither universally nor consistently applied.¹⁰⁰

⁹³ For an excellent survey of the historiography see Housley's, *Contesting the Crusades*.

⁹⁴ Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy, The Western Church from 1050-1250* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989) pp. 277.

⁹⁵ Christopher Tyerman, 'Were There any Crusades in the Twelfth Century?' *English Historical Review*, Vol.110 (1995) pp. 553-77 at pp. 554-55; cf., Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades* (London: Continuum, 2005) p. 112.

⁹⁶ Tyerman, 'Where There any Crusades' p. 555.

⁹⁷ Jonathan Phillips, *The Crusades, 1095-1197* (Harlow: Longman, 2002), p. 5; cf, Jotischky, *Crusading and the Crusader States*, pp. 7-8.

⁹⁸ Jonathan Phillips, SCEC, p. 21.

⁹⁹ Tyerman, 'Where There any Crusades', p. 562.

¹⁰⁰ Cf, Tyerman, *Ibid*; Phillips, *The Crusades*, p. 6. However, it is important to note here Jean Flori's position who notes that spiritual rewards were bestowed upon fighters in Spain 'as if they had fought in a crusade' and who sees the revocation of the crusading status of Spain for non-Iberians in 1213 as proof that the extension of the practice of crusading to Spain was a temporary gesture precipitated by particular circumstances: *Cette assimilation n'est*

Acknowledging certain inevitable anachronistic elements in the use of terms such as 'crusades', 'crusaders' and 'crusading' herein, let us observe that any discussion of crusades in Iberia necessarily puts one in what Giles Constable called the 'pluralist' camp of crusading historians, for whom the essential ingredients of the practice involved a participant taking the cross with the intention of perpetrating penitential warfare in a cause defined as holy by the pope and preached by the Church, though the destination need not be exclusively the Holy Land.¹⁰¹ Yet, perhaps the position emerging most clearly from the pages of this study will be more akin to that which Housley has described as 'modified traditionalist' which is to say that whilst crusading to the Levant was the highest and most popular notion of crusading practice, campaigns in other areas of the world, as well as those taking place following the extinction of the Latin Christian presence in Palestine and Syria in 1291, were perceived as crusades by those participating and therefore should be treated accordingly by historians.¹⁰²

At the same time, given a field of activity in which the protagonists themselves frequently consisted of diverse groups of people whose individual perceptions of, and motivations for undertaking, the task in hand differed considerably, and especially given the inchoate nature of crusading for much of the period under discussion in this Chapter, due respect will be given to terms such as 'crusading venture' or 'wars of a crusading type' which it shall be the endeavour to reference and contextualise such that no serious misunderstandings can arise.¹⁰³

Portuguese Responses to the First Crusade

News of Urban's great announcement in November 1095 almost certainly arrived in good time in the County of Portucale. Indeed it is almost beyond doubt that clergy from the Cathedral of Braga were in attendance at the Council of Clermont, at the very least in order to contest the petition of Bishop Dalmace of Iria/Compostela who took advantage of the occasion to obtain not only the transference of his episcopate from Iria to nearby Santiago de Compostela, but also received the exemption of his see from the authority of Braga and Toledo, coming to

donc ni institutionnelle ni permanente, mais conjoncturelle et révocable, ce qui ne pourrait évidemment pas être ce cas d'une authentique croisade, Jean Flori, 'Pour une redéfinition de la croisade', in *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*. 47e année (n°188), Octobre-décembre 2004, pp. 329-349. at p. 337; Cf, Housley, *Contesting*, p. 5.

¹⁰¹ Constable, *Crusading in the Twelfth Century*, pp. 18-19; Cf, Housley, *Contesting*, pp. 3-4, 20, 99; Phillips, SCEC, p. 1.

¹⁰² Housley, *Contesting*, p. 5. Indeed Tyerman appears ultimately to have adopted this position; C. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades 1095-1588* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), idem, *The Invention of the Crusades* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), idem, *God's War* (London: Penguin, 2006).

¹⁰³ Here I use the terms suggested by Housley, *Contesting*, at p. 20. The same author also suggested that a touch of 'generalism', i.e., defined as wars fought *deo auctore*, 'crusading became axiomatic whenever medieval war was placed within an ideological context.', *ibid*, p. 6. In this way a common link may be drawn between the conventional crusader and the member of the military order (a type of Holy Warrior notoriously difficult to classify), see *ibid*, pp. 20-21.

depend directly on the Holy See.¹⁰⁴ Bishop Bernard of Toledo is also attested as having been present along with, very probably, the bishops of Lugo, Pamplona and Vic and representatives of the royal monastery of Sahagún.¹⁰⁵

Evidence gleaned from charters demonstrates a number of early Spanish crusaders in the Eastern campaigns around the turn of the century including Pedro Gutiérrez of León, Count Fernando Díaz of Asturias, the Catalans Count Bernard II of Besalu and Hugh II of Empurias and several likely participants from Aragon and Navarre.¹⁰⁶ However, in spite of the improvement in the documentary record for Portugal beginning from about this same time, there is no secure evidence of any Portuguese participation. There is a tradition that Count Henry, the Burgundian, of the County of Portuscale (Portugal) had set out for the Holy Land in 1103¹⁰⁷ and, certainly, the Count disappeared from Iberia for some months in that year, his whereabouts being suggested in a Portuguese document issued in May in relation to services rendered by governor of Coimbra, Soeiro Mendes de Maia, to Henry's wife, daughter of King-Emperor Alfonso VI, *Infanta* Teresa during her husband's absence on the 'journey to Jerusalem'.¹⁰⁸ However, the domestic unrest present in the County occasioned in part by efforts to suppress the Mozarabic rite in favour of the Roman liturgy, suggests the unlikelihood of his having undertaking an expedition which would involve his absence from his lands for several years and, unsurprisingly, we find the Count returned to Portugal in 1104, having reached only as far as Rome. The underlying purposes of this journey have remained a matter of speculation. According to Alexander Herculano and José Mattoso, it is possible he learned that the crusade of Emperor Henry IV which he may have been planning to join had been called off due to rebellions in Germany.¹⁰⁹ However, perhaps a more likely explanation is that given the challenges presented to the Burgundian faction in León-Castile, Henry had embarked

¹⁰⁴ Probably the Bishop of Braga did not attend; Richard A. Fletcher, *Saint James's catapult: the life and times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), p. 51 and p. 107; *Historia Compostelana*, pp. 21-23; JL 5601.

¹⁰⁵ For Iberian ecclesiastical attendees at Clermont see R. Somerville, 'The council of Clermont (1095), and Latin Christian society', *Archivum Historiae Pontificae*, 12 (1974), pp. 55-90 at pp. 71-73 and 87.

¹⁰⁶ Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, p. 301, note 85, Jonathan Riley Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 201, 212; Bull, *Knightly Piety*, pp. 96-98. See also Simon Barton 'From Tyrants to Soldiers of Christ: the nobility of the twelfth-century León-Castile and the struggle against Islam', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* xlv (2000) pp. 28-48 at p. 35.

¹⁰⁷ Alexandre Herculano, *História de Portugal*, 4 vols. (Lisbon: Livraria Bertrand, 1980-83) vol.1, pp. 278-279, but c.f. Mattoso's note [19] at p. 386.

¹⁰⁸ DMP, Vol.III, pp. 96-97.

¹⁰⁹ Luis Gonzaga de Azevedo, *História de Portugal*, 6 vols. (Lisbon: Edições Biblion, 1944) vol III, pp. 56-57; Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques* (pp. 88-89; Erdmann, *Idea de Cruzada*, p. 6.

on a diplomatic mission to renew and secure alliances north of the Pyrenees in case of a succession crisis.¹¹⁰

Of course, the County of Portucale was not immune from the new enthusiasm for Jerusalem that swept through Latin Christendom following the conquest of the Holy city in July 1099 and several Portuguese pilgrimages to Jerusalem can be attested in its wake. The French Cluniac monk Mauricio, having been appointed Bishop of Coimbra in 1099, went to Jerusalem between 1104 and 1108 accompanied by the priest D. Telo, then a canon in the Cathedral of Coimbra, later a founder of the royal monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra.¹¹¹ Telo, whom Erdmann described as 'the first Portuguese to see the Holy City',¹¹² was to make the trip again a few years later, this time, according to his *Vita*, 'with a not inconsiderable crowd of pilgrims'; the very same who would later join him in the foundation of Santa Cruz on their return.¹¹³ To add to these are the nobleman Riba Douro Egas Ermiges in 1117, the knight Pedro Golçalves of Braga in 1122 and a number of other pilgrimages made by individuals of lesser-renown or social distinction for whom the records are more threadbare.¹¹⁴

Among these various personages from Portucale, it is possible some took the cross before setting-off eastwards, especially perhaps those members of the chivalry. However, whilst their wearing of the cross meant that they would be readily identifiable as crusaders by contemporaries, we are obviously deprived of that visual information, being reliant on textual sources which are frequently obtuse¹¹⁵ and, since both pilgrims and crusaders were often referred to simply as *peregrini*, the difference between the two is notoriously difficult to draw.¹¹⁶ The matter is complicated further by the fact that some pilgrims were prepared to fight in the Holy Land, if necessary, once their pilgrim devotions had been completed and by the fact that some, like Count Charles the Good of Flanders (c.1108), Fulk V of Anjou (1120) and Conrad of Staufen, future King Conrad III of Germany (1124) went to the Levant purposing

¹¹⁰ Lay, *Reconquest Kings*, p. 48; T. de Sousa Soares, 'O governo de Portugal pelo Conde Henrique de Borgonha. Suas relações com as monarquias leonesa-Castelha e Argonesa', *Revista Portuguesa de História*, 14 (1974), pp. 365-397 at p. 376.

¹¹¹ *Vita Tellois*, in *Hagiografia de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, ed. and trans. by Aires A. Nascimento (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 1998) pp. 56-57; Brother E Austin O'Malley, F.S.C., *Tello and Theotonio, the Twelfth Century Founders of the Monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1954) p. 40; Maria Teresa Nobre Veloso, 'Maurício, monge de Cluny, bispo de Coimbra, peregrino na Terra Santa', *Estudos em homenagem ao Professor Doutor José Marques* (Porto: Universidade de Porto, 2006) vol 4. pp. 125-35.

¹¹² Erdmann, *Idea de Cruzada*, p. 7.

¹¹³ *cum non modica perigrinorum turba, Vita Theotonii*, in *Hagiografia de Santa Cruz*, pp. 155-65.

¹¹⁴ José Mattoso, *Ricos-homens, infancias e cavaleiros: a nobreza medieval portuguesa nos séculos XI e XII* (Lisbon: Guimarães and Cia, 1985), p. 199 and idem, *Afonso Henriques* p. 89; Erdmann gives the following examples: after 1108 Honoricus a cleric of Braga, in 1122 one Petrus Gunsalviz, in 1162 Count Gonzalo, and attested in documents of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries but without more precise dating, one Nuno Vilulfiz and one Afonso Sarrazini; Erdmann, *Idea de Cruzada*, pp. 11-12.

¹¹⁵ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, p. 113.

¹¹⁶ Housley, *Contesting*, p. 50, Markowski, 'Crucesignatus', passim;

to fight without taking the cross.¹¹⁷ In any event, since the devotional aspect of crusading appears to have remained paramount and, since it seems that pilgrimage properly called, traditionally undertaken without weapons, was far more attractive to European chivalry than crusading, interest in which remained intermittent until at least the Second Crusade, it may well be that the early Portuguese visitors to the Holy Land mentioned above were indeed simple pilgrims and no more.¹¹⁸ Indeed, apart from one Templar and one Hospitaller¹¹⁹ there is only one other Portuguese knight, one Sueiro Raimundo, for whom there exists any evidence of crusading in Palestine and this is very insecure, his participation in the Third Crusade remaining nothing more than a mere possibility.¹²⁰

'Crusading' East and West

During the long 12th century there was, in Iberia, an increasing appearance of 'crusade-type warfare' – the appearance of elements including papal bulls, vows, taking the cross, the offer of spiritual benefits to combatants and notions of penitential warfare. However, in the specific case of Portugal, in accordance with Carl Erdmann's view voiced in the 1930s, the first time we can identify 'crusading' in the Portuguese *Reconquista* is not until the campaign, in 1217, undertaken by a combined force of passing Northern European maritime crusaders and Portuguese forces, to capture Alcácer do Sal.¹²¹ This stands in marked contrast to other areas of Iberia, particularly Catalonia, the first place to which 'crusading' was transplanted, arguably from the late 1090s.¹²² Thereafter, there was considerable 'crusading' activity in Catalonia and Aragon and, somewhat later, in León-Castile, whilst, at the same time, considerable progress was made on these frontiers in the prosecution of the *Reconquista*. In contrast, none of this can be said to have happened in Portugal, where the frontier remained more or less static until at least the early 1130s and where, even when the *Reconquista* began to be prosecuted in a systematic way, there was resistance in the kingdom to the notions of 'crusade-type' warfare.

¹¹⁷ Phillips, SCEC, p. 2.

¹¹⁸ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, p. 115.

¹¹⁹ Gualdim Pais, Master of the Order of the Temple in Portugal and Fernando Afonso (first-born bastard son of Afonso Henriques), Grand Master of the Order of the Hospital of St John – both served in the Holy Land.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 11. José Mattoso, *Ricos-homens*, p. 199; Barton 'Tyrants to Soldiers of Christ', p. 35. Things look even more bleak for Portuguese crusading to the Holy Land when we take account of the fact that no Portuguese kings participated in the Crusades, nor is there any evidence that one went so far as to take the cross before D. Afonso III in 1268, and that was a mere political manoeuvre, singularly failing to produce an actual expedition. Leontina Ventura, *D. Afonso III* (Rio de Mouro: Circulo de Leitores, 2006) pp. 151-52. The assertions made by O'Callaghan in *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003) at pp. 182-83, that Portuguese kings such as Afonso Henriques and Sancho I took the cross are entirely baseless and should be rejected. If Portuguese kings had done such an extraordinary thing, we can be virtually certain it would have been reported. Instead, all of the contemporary chroniclers both foreign and Portuguese are entirely silent on the matter.

¹²¹ Erdmann, *Idea de Cruzada*, pp. 44-45.

¹²² Norman Housley, 'Jerusalem and the Development of the Crusade Idea, 1099-1128', in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. by B. Z. Kedar (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and Variorum, 1992), pp. 27-40 at pp. 31-32.

Of course, the proclamation of a crusade enabled rulers to recruit from territories beyond those that lay under their control on the basis that the appeal was an international call to penitential warfare in defence of Christendom in general.¹²³ As such, the device was attractive to Hispanic Christian princes through its potential for attracting to their banners much needed reinforcements in order for them to continue their programmes of expansion against the Muslims of al-Andalus. Since shortage of manpower was endemic to the Hispanic Christian polities, including Portugal, it is curious that such a device was not employed earlier in the kingdom.

With regard to the peninsular northeast, crusading notions entered Catalonia at a very early stage, probably 1096 if not earlier, in order to support an intense, and increasingly desperate, campaign to take the old Metropolitan city of Tarragona.¹²⁴ Thereafter, the intense competition between rival Iberian Christian polities, the Catalan counties, Aragon, and León-Castile to conquer the Ebro Valley and also the Mediterranean port of Tortosa, led to an acceleration of the introduction and development of 'crusading' notions, as individual rulers tried to 'steal the edge' on their competitors in the recruitment of reinforcements from abroad, notably from France and from Genoa and Pisa.¹²⁵ The various campaigns include, the so called Balearics Crusade of 1113-1115 undertaken by a combined force of Catalan, Pisan and French forces under Ramon Berenguer III¹²⁶ and the various Campaigns of Alfonso I, 'the Battler', of Aragon.¹²⁷

Meanwhile Count Henry of the County of Portucale (d.1112) and his wife Teresa (daughter of Alfonso VI), had not prosecuted the *Reconquista* in any dedicated way and had directed their energies towards ambitions in Galicia and León, such that the Portuguese frontier with al-Andalus remained largely static along the line of the Mondego for the first third of the twelfth century.¹²⁸ However, in 1128, Afonso Henriques succeeded in becoming chieftain of the

¹²³ Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'Peace Never Established: the Case of the Kingdom of Jerusalem', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series, vol.28 (1978), pp. 87-102.

¹²⁴ Lawrence J McCrank, *Restoration and Reconquest in Medieval Catalonia: The Church and Principality of Tarragona, 971-1177* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Virginia, 1974); see also Jonathan Jarrett, *Rulers and Ruled in Frontier Catalonia, 880-1010* (London, Boydell and Brewer, 2010).

¹²⁵ Jennifer Price, 'Alfonso I and the Memory of the first Crusade: Conquest and Crusade in the Kingdom of Aragón-Navarre, in *Crusades – Medieval Worlds in Conflict*, ed. by Thomas F. Madden, James L. Naus and Vincent Ryan (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 75-94.

¹²⁶ *Liber maiolichinus de gestis Pisanorum illustribus*, ed. C. Calisse, *Fonte per la Storia d'Italia* 29 (Rome, 1904); William Heywood, *A History of Pisa, Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921), pp. 58-70; G. B. Doxey, *Christian Attempts to Reconquer the Balearic Islands before 1229*, unpublished PhD Dissertation (Cambridge, 1991).

¹²⁷ Clay Stalls, *Possessing the Land, Aragon's Expansion into Islam's Ebro Frontier under Alfonso the battler 1104-1134* (Leiden: Brill, 1995); Price, 'Alfonso I and the Memory', pp. 75-94; José María Lacarra, *Alfonso el Batallador* (Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros, 1978).

¹²⁸ See *inter alia*, Lay, *Reconquest Kings*, pp. 32-69; José Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, pp. 25-58.

Portuguese. Shortly thereafter, in order to escape the controlling influence of the Portuguese high nobility, in about 1131, he moved his capital southward from Guimarães to the frontier city of Coimbra. Thereafter, he took control of a planned programme of conquest of the Andalus south.¹²⁹

By the early 1130s considerable crusading had been done in Iberia and in the East, and the Portuguese, ever well-informed, had had a chance to observe how conquest might be driven forward successfully. A stable frontier economy had in fact already been established for several generations based on institutionalised raiding of Muslim towns and settlements, whereby the commoner-knights (*cavalheiros villões*) of the townships (*concelhos*) 'harvested' a range of goods, including coinage and precious metals, which were in short supply in the North, and took captives that could then be ransomed back for good money.¹³⁰ This activity was predicated on the survival and economic health of the target Muslim populations. Thus, when King Afonso Henriques converted the war of raiding into a programme of conquest, he accordingly preferred to keep the target populations in place, so that he could benefit from their agricultural labour, enterprise, established trade networks and the levying of taxes.¹³¹

Ever aware of the need for reinforcements, Afonso Henriques, unlike for example Ramon Berenguer III of Barcelona, did not have available to him ready access to Pisa or Genoa, as a simple matter of geography. Further, he did not wish to seek help from his Iberian Christian neighbours because his intentions were towards autonomy and the creation of his own sovereign kingdom, through the conquest of the Muslim south. In the light of this, passing crusader fleets on their way to Palestine provided an attractive solution - perhaps the only acceptable and practical solution - to Afonso's shortages of manpower, especially for big

¹²⁹ Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, pp. 61-80.

¹³⁰ Elena Lourie, 'A Society Organised for War: *Medieval Spain*' in *Crusade and Colonisation* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1990) I, p. 68-69; José Mattoso, *Ricos Homens*, p. 195-96. For the importance of booty and the strict rules governing its distribution as 'community property' see Powers, 'Spoils and Compensation: Municipal Warfare as an Economic Enterprise', in *A Society Organised for War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), Ch.7 pp. 162-87, esp. p. 165.

¹³¹ This policy is well reflected in Afonso's granting of generous charters to conquered Muslim populations, encouraging them to remain under Christian rule, rather than emigrate to Islamic lands; PMH, *Leges*, p. 396; Joel Serrão and A.H. de Oliveira Marques, *Portugala em Definição de Fronteiras, Do Condado Portugalense 'a Crise do Século XIV* (Lisbon, editorial Presença, 1996), pp. 33-34; Maria Filomena Lopes de Barros, *Tempos e Espaços de Mouros: A Minoria Muçulmana no Reino Português (séculos XII-XV)* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2007) p. 41. One of the principal objections the Portuguese (i.e., the king and his advisors) may have had to 'crusading' was their possible perception that it had a distinct tendency towards 'total war', with its concomitant capacity for the complete annihilation of the enemy – an end that was at odds with Portuguese economic prosperity. The expression 'total war' is of course not free from controversy, however, as used herein, it is the definition of Trutz Von Trotha that shall be preferred, and which was conveniently summarised by Thomas Rohkrämer as 'a mobilization of all members of the societies involved and a dehumanization of the enemy that results in the war aim of complete annihilation or expulsion,' in Manfred F. Boemeke, *et al*, eds. *Anticipating Total War: The German and American Experiences, 1871-1941* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) p. 190, note 4; for Von Trotha's full contribution see, 'The Fellows Can Just Starve', pp. 415-35, of the same volume.

operations such as the conquest of Lisbon in 1147. However, the Northern crusaders could be unruly, so their contribution to the Portuguese *Reconquista* had to be, as far as possible, strictly controlled.

In this respect it appears the Portuguese had good reason to be on their guard. In Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*, we learn that, in 1109, the Norwegian King Sigurd, sailing to Jerusalem in a fleet of sixty ships stopped in to Portugal at Sintra where the Norwegians took the town and slaughtered the population for refusing to adopt Christianity.¹³² Next to come under the Norwegian scourge was Lisbon, 'a great town in Spain half Christian and half heathen', where Sigurd won another victory and 'got great wealth'. Continuing southward, the fleet arrived to Alcácer do Sal, where, besides winning 'untold' plunder, Sigurd 'slew so many folk that he laid the town waste'.¹³³

We may ask the question – who was it that benefited from Sigurd's visit to the western coasts of Iberia? Certainly not the Portuguese. Such events are likely to have been highly detrimental to the economies of townships such as Coimbra.

According to Snorri Sturluson, Sigurd and his men had been inspired by tales of the First Crusade brought back to Norway by returning warriors that had participated in it. And this brings us to one of the principal problems facing the Portuguese at this time, namely the portrayal of Muslims, and more specifically the acceptability of their annihilation in 'crusading' literature circulating in Latin Christendom during the twelfth century.

An important theme in the preaching of the First Crusade, and in the literature produced thereafter, was the notion that any presence of Muslims in the Holy Land was a desecration and a pollution of the most sacred places of Christ.¹³⁴ In accordance with this view, a frequently monstrous image of the Muslim was disseminated, as an implacable, pernicious and persistent enemy of Christ and his Faith. This portrayal of the Muslim Other, often imbued with a dehumanizing and terrorizing element, appears in many cases to have been, as Penny Cole has neatly described it, 'calculated to override, in even the most cultivated Christian

¹³² Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla or The Lives of the Norse Kings*, edited with notes by Erling Monsen, translated into English with the assistance of A.H. Smith (Cambridge, 1932) p. 606 *et seq*; Snorre Sturlason (Snorri Sturluson) *The Heimskringla, A History of the Norse Kings*, trans. by Samuel Laing with revisions and notes by Rasmus B. Anderson, 4 vols. (London: Norroena Society, 1907) pp. 848-61.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ The predominance in the literature of the theme of Muslims as polluters was surveyed by Penny J. Cole, 'O God, the Heathen have come into Your Inheritance (Ps. 78.1) The Theme of Religious Pollution in Crusade Documents, 1095-1188', in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth Century Syria*, ed. by M. Shatzmiller (Leiden: Brill, 1993), pp. 84-112.

thinker, all consideration of charity and common humanity'.¹³⁵ Thus, reports of the slaughter carried out by victorious First Crusaders at Jerusalem, which began circulating in northern Europe in the first years of the twelfth century, carry with them scant sense of disapproval. Rather, there seems to be an underlying acceptance that all is within the divine order of things.¹³⁶

Particularly rabid in his treatment of the Muslims in this respect was Robert of Reims probably the most popular chronicler of the Crusades during the Middle Ages.¹³⁷ Importantly for Portugal, given the origins of many maritime crusaders participating in the Portuguese *Reconquista*, Robert's work enjoyed a remarkably wide circulation in Germany.¹³⁸

As a result, the Portuguese may have viewed the arrival of these foreign armed pilgrims with a considerable degree of trepidation. Long familiarity with Muslims as neighbours meant that those aspects of crusading rhetoric that painted Muslims as implacable 'Others' were inappropriate in the Portuguese context. Rather, elements of crusading rhetoric were pragmatically adopted into a repertoire of tools-of-persuasion to be used on certain groups of outsiders, particularly passing fleets of crusaders, to encourage their active support on the Portuguese-Andalusi frontier. It is against this background that it is instructive to take a fresh look at one of the most important texts in Portuguese medieval history, certainly one of the most well-known outside Portugal, the so-called *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*.

The Enigma of the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*

Described by Jonathan Phillips as 'one of the most intriguing documents in the history of the crusades',¹³⁹ the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* is ostensibly a copy of a letter penned in the winter of 1147/48 by an Anglo-Norman crusader cleric identified in the text only as 'R'.¹⁴⁰ The text, written as if 'R' was an eyewitness-participant in the events he describes, relates in detail how a combined force of mainly Anglo-Norman, German and Flemish crusaders, making a late

¹³⁵Cole, 'O God the Heathen', p. 86.

¹³⁶ On the early cultural legacy of the First Crusade see Jonathan Phillips, SCEC, pp. 17-36; also Susan B. Edgington, 'The First Crusade: reviewing the evidence', in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, ed. by Jonathan Phillips (Manchester: MUP, 1997), pp. 57-77.

¹³⁷ *The Historia Iherosolimitana of Robert the Monk*, ed. by D. Kempf and M.G. Bull (Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2013); trans. as *Robert the Monk's History of the first Crusade*, trans. by Carol Sweetenham (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2005); cf. Sweetenham, 'Introduction', in *Robert the Monk's History* pp. 59-60.

¹³⁸ Kempf and Bull, 'Introduction', *Historia*, p.xliv; For Germans and the call to the Second Crusade see Phillips, SCEC, pp. 80-97, 102, 128-35.

¹³⁹ Jonathan Phillips, 'Ideas of Crusade and Holy War in *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* (The conquest of Lisbon)', *Studies in Church History*; 2000, 36, pp. 123-41, p. 124.

¹⁴⁰ DEL, p. 39. That the unique Ms containing the text is a copy see in C.W. David's exposition at *Ibid.*, pp. 32-40.

spring voyage to Palestine in 1147 puts in to the Portuguese port of Porto to take on supplies and is addressed by the Bishop of Porto who appeals to the constituent crusaders to join with the Portuguese king, Afonso I Henriques, in an attack on the Muslim city of Lisbon. The fleet proceeds to the mouth of the River Tagus where, after striking a bargain with the king for the remuneration of their services, the men of the fleet, in an alliance with Portuguese forces, set about laying siege to the city bringing about its surrender some 17 weeks later on 25th October, 1147. The victory was to be one of the very few Christian successes of the mostly disastrous Second Crusade.¹⁴¹

The text is a rich source of information in a number of respects, including the organisation and command structure of the fleet, the ethnicity and social classes of its personnel,¹⁴² the military aspects of the undertaking¹⁴³ and, importantly for us, it demonstrates Portuguese attitudes not only to the foreign crusaders, but also to their own home-grown *Reconquista*.¹⁴⁴ It is in this last respect that the text is surprising since the supposedly Anglo-Norman author demonstrates both knowledge and a definite pro-Afonso Henriques sentiment that one would not expect from a foreigner ephemerally passing through the kingdom in transit to the Eastern Mediterranean. Indeed, such is the eccentricity of this aspect of the text that it is difficult to reconcile the identity of 'R' with one 'Raul' the Anglo-Norman priest who, in April of 1148, donated to the royal monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra, the battle-field church and cemetery for Anglo-Norman war dead that he had founded during the Lisbon siege, as Harold Livermore famously postulated in 1990.¹⁴⁵

The mystery begins to disappear, however if we take account of the very high likelihood that the work, as we know it, is not entirely what it declares itself to be, namely a newsletter sent by 'R', perhaps the abovementioned Raul, to a certain Osbert of Bawdsey, a cleric attached to the Glanville family of East Anglia,¹⁴⁶ informing him of the progress of a Palestine-bound crusading expedition up the time of writing. Rather, the version of the text that survives to us appears to have at least two authors, one 'R', the author of the original letter now lost which supplies the basic narrative substratum, and another who is a later Portuguese interpolator or, indeed, team of interpolators.

¹⁴¹ On the 1147 conquest of Lisbon, see Phillips' useful and comprehensive rendering of the event in SCEC, pp. 136-167.

¹⁴² DEL, pp. 4-16.

¹⁴³ Matthew Bennett, 'Military aspects of the conquest of Lisbon, in SCSC, pp. 71-89.

¹⁴⁴ Stephen Lay, 'The Reconquest as Crusade in the Anonymous *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*', *Al-Masaq*, vol.14 2, September 2002, pp. 123-30; Phillips, 'Ideas of Crusade and Holy War' pp. 123-41.

¹⁴⁵ ANTT, Santa Cruz, N^o3, n^o.18; Harold Livermore, 'The Conquest of Lisbon and its Author', *Portuguese Studies* [1990] 6 pp. 1-16.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

That the text contains interpolations, or at the very least curious features suggesting amendments and embellishments, has already been noted by a number of commentators, particularly Jonathan Phillips and Maria João Branco.¹⁴⁷ Their different and important observations, however, bear considerable further development, as I hope to demonstrate.

The essential accuracy of the underlying original, that is to say, the letter written by 'R' and perhaps sent to England, is confirmed in an independent source contemporary with the conquest, the so-called 'Lisbon Letter' (or, 'Teutonic source'), the primitive version of which is that by the priest Winand, also an eye-witness-epistolary-testimony, which was sent in three slightly differing versions to addressees in the Rhineland and Flanders.¹⁴⁸ Significant is that whilst the *Lyxbonensi* is a work of far greater length than the Lisbon Letter, a considerable portion of that extra length is taken up with two speeches, two extended sermons and an intricate dialogue.¹⁴⁹ These 'set-pieces', around which the narrative is constructed, are suspiciously consistent and, taken together, promote an identifiable, coherent and extraordinarily specific agenda in perfect harmony with the policy of the emergent ruling house of nascent Portugal.

Obviously these interpolations, and for present purposes we will assume that is exactly what they are, must have occurred sometime between the end of the events described in the text and the date of the copy that survives to us which Pierre David considered to have been produced in the period 1160-1175.¹⁵⁰ I suggest we can be a little more specific and postulate that it was produced before the arrival of the relics of S. Vicente to Lisbon in 1173, since the *Lyxbonensi* makes no mention of this Saint who would become so important for the city, as we shall see in another chapter.

Closer examination of the narrative swiftly reveals a considerable intellect at work under the surface. The observations of C.W. David, who described the author as someone whose reading

¹⁴⁷ Jonathan Phillips, 'Ideas of Crusade' pp. 123-141; Maria João Branco, "A conquista de Lisboa revisitada" in *Arqueologia Medieval*, 7, 2001, pp. 217-234, at pp. 220-222 and idem, 'Introdução' in Nascimento, *A Conquista de Lisboa aos Mouros*, pp. 9-51, esp. p. 11.

¹⁴⁸ The three versions are as follows: the letter of Arnulf, PMH *Scriptores*, I, pp. 406-7, and RHGF vol.14, 325-27; that of Winand in E. Dummler, *Brief des kolnischen Priesters Winand an Arzbischof Arnold I von Koln nebst dem Fragmente eines Briefs kolnischer Peregrini an denselben aus einer Wiener Handschrift XVI saec.* (Vienna: 1851); and the letter of Duodechin, 'Annales Sancti Disibodi', ed by G.Waitz, MGH *Scriptores*, XVII, pp. 27-28; cf. DEL, pp. 48-49 and 52-57 where C.W. David refers to the base text of the three letters as the 'Teutonic Source'; see also Susan B. Edginton, 'The Lisbon Letter of the Second Crusade', *Historical Research* lxi (1996), pp. 328-39.

¹⁴⁹ There are also passages resembling sailing directions and several observations regarding natural history and geography which are taken from Solinus; cf. Edginton, 'The Lisbon Letter' p. 335.

¹⁵⁰ Pierre David dismissed the possibility tentatively advanced by C.W. David of a possible dating as late as the early thirteenth century, 'Sur la relation de la prise de Lisbonne (1147) rédigée par un clere anglo-normand', *Bulletin des études portugaises et de l'Institut Français au Portugal. Nouvelle série II* (1947) pp. 241-54; Harold Livermore, 'The "Conquest of Lisbon" and its author', p. 3; DEL.p. 32.

hardly extended beyond the Bible and Solinus, and of Giles Constable, who described the *Lyxbonensi* as a 'valuable description of the attitude of a simple crusader',¹⁵¹ can only have value if they are taken as referring to 'R' as an almost passive and unconscious transmitter of the acts and ideas of the characters in his narrative, but this would be missing the point. This highly sophisticated and precisely-crafted work demonstrates, as Phillips has observed, a deep knowledge of the latest developments in theology, canon law and the emerging ideology of the 'crusade'. Readily identifiable are several main recurring themes including:- a preoccupation that the Christian warriors should always act with the right intention; that they be on their guard for the vices of greed and envy which not only vitiate right intention but are the source of division and disputes; and that such disputes destroy the unity of the army and lead to a concomitant reduction in its effectiveness.¹⁵²

Literary allusions, biblical references and statements of legal theory proliferate in the text. In this respect the first address presented, a sermon delivered to the crusaders newly arrived to the Portuguese coast by Bishop Pedro Pitões of Porto urging them to lend their aid, strikes the key-note for the remainder of the piece.¹⁵³ Bishop Pedro's words have been well analysed by Phillips¹⁵⁴ and it will suffice here to note that the exhortation contains clear echoes of the works of Bernard of Clairvaux and his secretary Nicholas, of the writings of Guibert of Nogent and possibly also those of Robert of Rheims and Ralph of Caen.¹⁵⁵ In addition, strong appeal is made to St Augustine's formulation of the Just War with the elements, legitimate authority (*auctoritas principis*), right intention (*intention recta*), and just cause (*causa iusta*) taking pride of place.¹⁵⁶ This is backed up with a direct quotation from Isidore of Seville, 'A war is just which is waged after a declaration to recover property or to repulse enemies',¹⁵⁷ and followed by a number of examples of Just War taken from the Bible and from patristic works, Augustine, Jerome and Chrysostom, all of which are to be found in the collections of canon law produced

¹⁵¹ DEL. p. 45; Giles Constable, 'The Second Crusade as seen by contemporaries', *Traditio*, 9 (1953), pp. 266-76, at pp. 221, where he also observes, rather incongruously, 'His remarkable and vivid narrative is perhaps the most detailed surviving record of any military expedition in the twelfth century.'; cf, Phillips, 'Ideas of Crusade', p. 124, also by the same author 'Foreword' in DEL pp.xx-xxv.

¹⁵² Phillips, *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ DEL, pp. 71-85.

¹⁵⁴ Phillips, 'Ideas of Crusade', pp. 128-129.

¹⁵⁵ Phillips opines that Guibert may be the most likely source here on account of the parallels with his descriptions of the Scots as barbarians (DEL, p. 107), cf, Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, ed R.B.C. Huygens, CC:CM 127 A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), pp. 76-352, pp. 132, 156; Phillips, 'Ideas of Crusade' p. 129, note 25.

¹⁵⁶ Medieval canonists found the Augustinian doctrine of Just War summarised in the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville (c.560-636), *Etymologiae*, ed. by W.M. Lindsay (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911), 18.1.2. On St Augustine and the Just War see, *inter alia*, Frederick H. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 16-39; R.A. Markus, 'Saint Augustine's Views on the "Just War"', in *The Church and War*, ed. by W.J. Sheils (London: Blackwell, 1983) pp. 1-13, James Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969) pp. 19-20.

¹⁵⁷ DEL., pp. 80-81; Phillips, 'Ideas of Crusade' p. 132; cf, Arthur Nussbaum, 'Just War. A Legal Concept?' *Michigan Law Review*, vol.42, N°3 (Dec. 1943) pp. 453-79, p. 456.

by Ivo of Chartres and Gratian.¹⁵⁸ Further, the Bishop famously cites Jerome in an attempt to bring the proposed expedition to Lisbon within the ambit of the crusaders' holy undertaking by presenting it as an integral part of their pilgrimage, admonishing the crusaders, 'Be not seduced by the desire to press on with the journey which you have begun; for the praiseworthy thing is not to have been to Jerusalem, but to have lived a good life along the way: for you cannot arrive there except through the performance of His works.'¹⁵⁹

Elsewhere in the text other patristic, biblical and legal references abound including, significantly, passages bearing striking coincidence with Eugenius III's bull launching the Second Crusade, the *Quantum praedecessores*.¹⁶⁰

The Real Purpose of the *Lyxbonensi*

If the scenario presented in the *Lyxbonensi*, a partnership between foreign crusaders and Portuguese *reconquistadores*, and also the rhetorical style in which it is written, suggest the work harbours great potential for informing us about twelfth-century Portuguese responses to ideas of crusade-type warfare, in order to adequately realise that potential, we must first answer a question the solution to which has, up to now, eluded investigators: What was the real purpose of the *Lyxbonensi*?

To begin with the obvious, in the first place, the work celebrates the conquest of Lisbon. Indeed, the achievement was momentous for it massively expanded the territory of the new-born kingdom of Portugal and established the Portuguese southern frontier definitively along the line of the Tagus. It was in many ways key to the establishment of Portugal as a viable autonomous polity.¹⁶¹ Furthermore, this was not the first time Afonso Henriques had tried to capture this important fortress at the mouth of a key riparian artery. We know of at least one previous attempt, made in 1140 or 1142, which is mentioned in the Portuguese annal known as the *Chronicon Gothorum*, also known as the *Annales D. Alfonsi Portugallensium Regis*, believed to have been completed in the late twelfth century.¹⁶² Indeed, C.W. David suggested

¹⁵⁸ DEL., pp. 81-83; Phillips, 'Ideas of Crusade' p. 130. Isidore's summary of Augustine's formulation of the Just War was incorporated by Ivo of Chartres into both his *Decretum* and his *Panormia*, and was transmitted through these collections to Gratian's *Decretum*; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, 18.1.2; Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum* 10.116, PL, 161:727; *Panormia* 8.54, PL, 161:1315; Gratian, *Decretum Magistri Gratiani*, ed. by Emil Friedbert, in *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, vol.1 (Leipzig: Bernhard taczehnitz, 1879), Clausa 23, Questio II, c.1 'Quid sit iustum bellum'; Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, p. 20.

¹⁵⁹ DEL., pp. 78-79.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 105-7; Phillips, 'Foreword', DEL., p.xxv.

¹⁶¹ José Mattoso, 'Dois séculos de vicissitudes políticas', in *História de Portugal*, dir. by José Mattoso 8 vols (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1994) II *A monarquia feudal (1096-1480)* p. 78.

¹⁶² *Annales D. Alfonsi Portugallensium Regis*, ed. by M. Blöcker-Walter, pp. 151-61; PMH, *Scriptores*, I,15; Pierre David, *Études Historiques sur la Calice et le Portugal*, pp. 261-90.

plausibly that this same failed bid to capture the city is referred to in the text of the *Lyxbonensi*.¹⁶³ Certainly, this cluster of information, alone, ought to sound a clangorous alarm that we should be on our guard and that the very detailed text of the *Lyxbonensi* is far more than the straightforward newsletter it purports to be.¹⁶⁴

Whilst we know nothing of the circulation of the *Lyxbonensi*, besides the fact that there was sufficient interest in it for it to be copied at least once in the latter twelfth century,¹⁶⁵ if we consider the work to be a chronicle, which it undoubtedly appears to be in many respects, it figures as part of a small but significant number of other coeval, or closely-coeval, texts apparently designed to promulgate news of the achievement.¹⁶⁶ Beyond the abovementioned Lisbon Letter, closely coeval with the conquest, other accounts of the conquest of Lisbon are included in more broadly coeval (slightly later) accounts, the first of these, a putative *Primeira Crónica Portuguesa*,¹⁶⁷ a fragment of which survives in the *IV Crónica Breve de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*,¹⁶⁸ the relevant part of which is considered to have been produced shortly after the famous episode in 1169 at Badajoz when Afonso Henriques was injured to the point where he could nevermore mount a horse and was captured by his son-in-law Fernando II of León, being ransomed sometime later following the payment of a huge sum and the concession of several strategic castles to his Leonese rival.¹⁶⁹ Two other accounts followed, one contained in the *Indiculum Foundationis Monasterii Beati Vincentii Ulixbone*, produced in 1188,¹⁷⁰ the other in the abovementioned *Chronica Gothorum/Annales Domni Alfonsi Portugallensium Regis*, redacted between 1185 and 1195.¹⁷¹ Although we cannot be certain of the extent of transmission of these various accounts, that they represent part of a campaign of propaganda is suggested by the fact that news of the 1147 capture of Lisbon is contained in just about all of the chronicles and annals produced in the Latin West for the remainder of the twelfth century,

¹⁶³ DEL, p. 16; Lucas Villegas-Aristizábal, 'Revisiting the Anglo-Norman Crusaders' Failed Attempt to Conquer Lisbon c. 1142' *Portuguese Studies*, vol.29, No.1 (2013), pp. 7-20.

¹⁶⁴ Branco, 'Introdução', p. 9-10.

¹⁶⁵ The text exists in a unique exemplar in a manuscript contained in a codex, part of the collection of Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker (1504-1574), housed in the Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; Ms N^o. 470, fols. 125r-126r. The best study of the manuscript in English is that by C.W. David, DEL, pp. 26-40.

¹⁶⁶ Branco, 'Introdução', p. 9-10.

¹⁶⁷ Filipe Alves Moreira, *Afonso Henriques e a Primeira Crónica Portuguesa* (Porto: Estratégias Criativas, 2008).

¹⁶⁸ *Crónicas Breves e Memórias Avulsas de Santa Cruz se Coimbra*, ed. by Fernando Venâncio Peixoto (Lisboa: Instituto Camões, 2000) pp. 65-74.

¹⁶⁹ *Crónicas Breves*, p. 70; José Mattoso, 'As Três Faces de Afonso Henriques', *Penélope, fazer e desfazer História 8* (1992) pp. 25-42 at pp. 34-36.

¹⁷⁰ PMH, *Scriptores*, I, pp. 91-93; see also Phillips, SCEC, p. 142.

¹⁷¹ Mattoso, 'As Três Faces de Afonso Henriques' pp. 25-42; and see idem, *Afonso Henriques*, p. 108.

a trend continued during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, where the event was almost always reported as the defining point of Afonso's reign.¹⁷²

Whilst the possible propagandist uses to which the *Lyxbonensi* may have been put are readily imaginable, this aspect alone does not explain its many extra-ordinary features. Although it presents a very favourable image of Afonso Henriques, it is clearly a far more complex and layered text than any of the coeval Portuguese chronicles mentioned in the previous paragraphs. If it was intended merely to be used to promote a particular image of the king, whilst at the same time divulging the news of the great victory he had won for Christendom, a less complex and more straightforward text with fewer digressions (one is tempted to say 'difficulties') would have sufficed and would probably have been more effective. It follows, therefore, that the purpose of the *Lyxbonensi* must have been something more.

Branco, in addition to commenting on the high-level of detail included in the text, also remarked upon the studied and tempered character of the narrative where the anonymous author transcribes documents to which he could only have had access if they were furnished to him by the royal chancellery.¹⁷³ Indeed one has to agree, the author appears to transcribe speeches, sermons and even letters, as if he had the transcripts laid out before him in his *scriptorium*, not to mention the particularised accounts he gives of the terms of the various agreements included in the narrative. Tellingly, in this respect, the only time it appears unlikely he had a written document in front of him, as appears to have been the case when he recounts the speech of Hervy of Glanville, he gives a note in the margin that the speech he relates is *not* in Glanville's exact words, inviting a contrast with other inclusions in the work which, by implication, are presented verbatim.¹⁷⁴ Who, then, is the author of the work as we know it?

As mentioned earlier, 'R' the author was maintained by Harold Livermore to be one Raul, an Anglo-Norman priest travelling with the crusaders in 1147/1148. It was this identification that was widely accepted until 2001 when Branco poured some impressively cold water on the idea. She persuasively advanced the view that 'R' was much more likely to have been one Robert, also an Anglo-Norman cleric who, unlike Raol, opted to settle in newly conquered

¹⁷² Branco, 'Introdução', p. 11. An extensive list of the various coeval or near coeval reports in annals and chronicles is given by Luis Saavedra Machado, 'Os ingleses em Portugal', *Biblos*, 9 (1933) 559-563 and is supplemented by that given by José Mattoso in a note in Herculano, *História de Portugal*, 1980, vol.I at pp. 677-78; see also Constable, 'The Second Crusade', p. 226, note 70.

¹⁷³ *O cuidado posto na narrativa desperta-nos ainda mais para o carácter estudado e temperado da narrativa, onde o anónimo autor transcreve documentos aos quais só poderia ter tido acesso se lhe fossem facultados pela chancelaria régia...;* Branco, 'Introdução' p. 11.

¹⁷⁴ DEL, pp. 103-04.

Lisbon instead of continuing his voyage to the Levant, and was appointed dean of the newly restored see. He is attested as occupying the office until at least 1173.¹⁷⁵ As Branco observed, Dean Robert would have been in a very good position to have access to the close circle of the king and the municipal and ecclesiastical elites, and he may have even been a member of the regular clergy, as his inclusion in the *Livro de Aniversários* of the monastery of S. Vicente de Fora appears to indicate.¹⁷⁶ Robert would very likely have had easy access to the very specific material assembled in the *Lyxbonensi*. Whilst obviously it is impossible to say with any precision what may have been taken from an original document and what might be the result of additions and embellishments made by the author/interpolator, the list of documents included in the text is impressive nevertheless:

- Agreement between the Crusaders inter-se;¹⁷⁷
- Letter from Afonso Henriques to Bishop of Porto;¹⁷⁸
- The Sermon delivered by the Bishop of Porto;¹⁷⁹
- The Speech of Afonso Henriques to the Crusaders;¹⁸⁰
- The Covenant of Agreement between Afonso Henriques and the Franks;¹⁸¹
- Letter to 'Abu Muhammad, king of Évora';¹⁸²
- The reply from 'Abu Muhammad' the author says he gives the 'tenor' of the letter, but in fact he quotes;¹⁸³
- Sermon of 'a certain priest' before the Anglo-Norman siege tower goes into action;¹⁸⁴
- The terms of the capitulation agreement;¹⁸⁵
- The details and boundaries of the restored see of Lisbon;¹⁸⁶

For the parts of the text that are less likely to have been lifted from original documents, namely the speech of Hervy of Glanville¹⁸⁷ and the pre-combat parley between Archbishop

¹⁷⁵ Branco, 'Introdução' pp. 30-31. Robert appears as dean of Lisbon at the same time that Estevão author of the account of the report of the 1173 translation of the relics of St Vincent to the city, occupied the office of cantor.

¹⁷⁶ The entry given by Branco, *Ibid*, is: *Obiit (...) Robertus, qui fuit decanus Ulixbone*; Ms British Museum, Add. Mss. 1544, f. 54v. However there is no explicit reference to Robert having been a canon of S Vicente de Fora.

¹⁷⁷ DEL, pp. 56-57.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 68-69.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 70-71.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 98-99.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid*, pp. 110-11.

¹⁸² *Ibid*, pp. 136-37.

¹⁸³ *Ibid*, pp. 138-39.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 146-47.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 170-71.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid*; pp. 180-81.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 104-05.

João Peculiar of Braga and a Muslim elder of the city of Lisbon,¹⁸⁸ the author/interpolator, unless he was writing from personal experience, either invented them or, equally possibly, relied upon the testimony of others. In either case, the passages in question are replete with erudite references suggesting a composer who had ready-access to a library.

It is far easier to suppose that the dean of the Cathedral of Lisbon would have had all of this information available to him rather than a crusader-priest on the verge of embarking to complete his pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

Nevertheless, it has been Livermore's identification of the author of the *Lyxbonensi* as the priest Raul that has informed most of the discussion around the text over the past two-and-a-half decades. A clear concomitant of this has been the presumption that the text both represents the views of a crusader on his way to the Second Crusade, and also the responses of crusaders to the Portuguese war on the Muslims. In relation to the former, Phillips commented that the *Lyxbonensi* was a 'snapshot of the ideas of an active and successful crusader from the mid-twelfth century.'¹⁸⁹

On this basis certain attitudes demonstrated by Raul are found to be highly exceptional among other contemporary crusade commentators, as Phillips himself has highlighted:- he sympathises with the sufferings of the defeated Muslims 'to quite an extraordinary extent for an active crusader' it being a sentiment 'not apparent in other crusade writers';¹⁹⁰ his expressions of hope for the voluntary conversion of some of the Muslims 'stand out in contemporary crusade writing' the usual attitude being 'far more hostile'; although crusade propaganda depicted crusading as an act of Christian love (*charitas*) that love was defence of one's Christian neighbours (brethren) and one's Christian faith, the Christian tenet of loving one's enemies was, however, omitted because of the need to inculcate hatred against the various enemies of the crusaders, yet here we have Raul taking a 'unique line' in contemporary crusade ideology by applying the wider view of Christian love through his call for conversion of Muslims.¹⁹¹

Other anomalies include Raul's previously mentioned extraordinary ability to access documentation, his clear sense that the Portuguese *Reconquista* is a Just War, his presentation

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, pp. 114-15.

¹⁸⁹ Phillips, 'Ideas of Crusade' p. 126.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, pp. 139-140.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., p. 140; and see Jonathan Riley Smith, 'Crusading as an Act of Love', *History* 65 (1989), pp. 177-92, in particular, p. 185 - 'Love of neighbour was always treated in crusade propaganda in terms of fraternal love for fellow-Christians, never in terms of love shown for enemies as well as friends. And this one-sided view of love did not properly reflect Christian teaching in the past or at the time.'

of a laudatory portrait of Afonso Henriques and his surprising inclusion of certain aspects of the Lisbon enterprise that would appear adverse to the advancement of a consistently pro-Anglo-Norman position.

In the light of the foregoing, Branco's suggestion of Dean Robert as the 'R' of the *Lyxbonensi* has several attractive features. In addition to his office of dean of the newly constituted cathedral enabling access to the necessary documents and information, Robert's remaining in Lisbon, rather than continuing the voyage East, would have given him time to construct this carefully-planned and nuanced text. It would also have acclimatised him to a more distinctly Portuguese view-point in various respects including:- enabling him to develop an awareness of the peculiarities of the Portuguese war on the Andalusí Muslims and, in particular, its juridical basis; bringing him to a more nuanced understanding of the Islamic Other; allowing him to become appraised of the policies and ambitions of Afonso Henriques; and perhaps instilling in him a desire to promote a favourable image of his new king. In this last respect, we may note that many crusader participants in the conquest of Lisbon opted to accept Afonso Henriques' invitation to settle in the kingdom and that the king not only appointed one of them, Gilbert of Hastings, bishop of the restored see, but several clerics of the fleet entered the Cathedral with him, Robert being one of them.¹⁹² During the incumbency of Bishop Gilbert, who disappears from the records in 1162, relations with the King and the Archbishop of Braga were essentially good.¹⁹³ In this respect we might imagine that Dean Robert would be inclined to present a sympathetic picture of his monarch in any text he might produce.

However, it is not necessary for us to look for 'R' among the members of the Chapter of Lisbon, or indeed among any of the Anglo-Norman settlers in Portugal in the mid to late twelfth century, since what may well be presented to us in the *Lyxbonensi* is indeed the work of an initial author 'R', possibly Raul, but subject to substantial later Portuguese interpolation. The real value of Branco's analysis lies not so much in the suggestion of Dean Robert as the author of the text as in the notion that the text was compiled in Portugal, with the support of Portuguese institutions and from a Portuguese point of view. Indeed, what we have in the *Lyxbonensi* is not a crusader's view of Portuguese *reconquistadores*, but the complete opposite; the *reconquistadores'* view of the crusaders.

Still, this does not entirely explain certain features in the text such as the frequent mentions of dissent among the crusaders, a notable absence of praise for the Portuguese and various other

¹⁹² Branco, 'Introdução' pp. 30-31; idem, 'A conquista de Lisboa revisitada', pp. 221-226.

¹⁹³ Maria João Violante Branco, 'Reis, Bispos e Cabidos: A Diocese de Lisboa Durante o Primeiro Século da sua Restauração' *Lusitana Sacra*, Série 2, Tomo X, 1998 pp. 55-94 at pp. 56-64.

elements not immediately reconcilable with the presentation of a truly heroic version of the great Christian victory at Lisbon. The (anachronistic) notion that the author was merely recording events in the manner of a disinterested diarist must be dismissed given the abovementioned sophisticated overlay of biblical rhetoric, patrology and canon law. As for the *Lyxbonensi* being a letter, it is notable that 'R' begins the text in a clear epistolary style with address, superscription, and salutation, but this style is not maintained. After the opening of the letter, the text quickly takes the form of a chronicle and the work ends not with a *Vale* which would be the usual manner of closing a letter, but with a hortatory flourish rather in the manner of the closing of a sermon.¹⁹⁴

So what was the purpose of the *Lyxbonensi*? Certainly this is a question which almost all commentators who have addressed the text have paused to comment upon but have never resolved. Branco wondered in 2001, in her Introduction to Nascimento's edition and translation of the *Lyxbonensi*, what it was about Lisbon that prompted such contemporary literary attention since there were other landmark military victories, both in the establishment of Afonso Henriques as ruler of the emergent Portuguese realm, and in the *Reconquista* prosecuted by him, such as São Mamede in 1128, or Ourique in 1139, the first establishing Afonso as chieftain of the Portuguese, the second being his supposedly great triumph over the Saracens following which he assumed the title of 'king' in his documentation. It is notable that these events, unlike the 1147 conquest of Lisbon, only came to be presented as defining moments in the reign of Afonso Henriques in the historiography of much later generations.¹⁹⁵

Perhaps it was Phillips who came closest to solving the enigma when he wrote, 'While there is no evidence to suggest that the *De Expugnatione* was, in any sense, a piece of active recruitment propaganda, it undeniably provided a blueprint for how a successful crusade should be conducted...'¹⁹⁶ I suggest he was only a fraction wide of the mark. The major difference between Lisbon and previous key Portuguese victories was the involvement of passing maritime crusaders. It was the first successful joint venture of its kind and, thereafter, Afonso and his successors would seek to systematically integrate these passing pilgrim-warriors into their operations (see Chapter 3 herein).¹⁹⁷ Triumph, however, had meant the efficient balancing of a multiplicity of concerns, namely:- the management and direction of frequently volatile crusaders (many being some-time pirates) who subscribed to an ideology of

¹⁹⁴ Cf, DEL. p. 37.

¹⁹⁵ Branco, 'Introdução' p. 10.

¹⁹⁶ Phillips, 'Ideas of Crusade' p. 126; idem, SCEC, p. 137.

¹⁹⁷ Jonathan Wilson, 'Tactics of Attraction: Saints, Pilgrims and Warriors in the Portuguese Reconquista', *Portuguese Studies*, vol.30 N^o.2 (2014), pp. 204-21.,' Branco, 'A conquista de Lisboa revisitada', pp. 219-20.

war different to that normally practised in Iberia; the maintenance of unity in a force assembled from several different sometimes rival polities; the addressing of the particular spiritual expectations of the crusaders in addition to meeting their worldly expectations of tangible reward; it further meant the controlling of that force once it was in Portuguese territory. Misjudgement in any one of these areas could easily lead to the collapse of the whole undertaking; something Afonso Henriques and his advisors could ill-afford since the stakes were astronomically high. Following at least one, and probably more, unsuccessful attempts at these combined operations, notably the failed attempt on Lisbon in 1142, the conquest of 1147 had finally hit upon the winning formula and it was imperative to remember it so that it could be repeated. In this way the *Lyxbonensi* is a detailed record of the complex and subtle mechanisms by which the victory was brought about. It is a comprehensive set of instructions containing model sermons and speeches, methods of dispute avoidance and dispute resolution, judicial argument and ideologies applicable to crusaders but at the same time acceptable to indigenous *reconquistadores*; in short, the *Lyxbonensi* is a blue print, not for a crusade, but for a successful Portuguese/foreign-maritime-crusader joint venture.

On this interpretation, the *Lyxbonensi* appears rather as an extended *exemplum*; that is to say, a prolonged and intricate specimen of that well-known didactic genre with a long pedigree but which, in the second half of the twelfth century, would begin to proliferate in collections, the earliest of which famously being produced in the abbeys of Clairvaux and its affiliates.¹⁹⁸ Read in this light many, if not all, of the incongruities and peculiarities of the text identified by previous commentators, become explainable. For example, 'R''s otherwise anomalous hopes for Muslim conversion are readily explainable in a Portuguese cleric, or team of Portuguese clerical interpolators, who not only would have had a far greater understanding of the realities of the Muslim Other, but who would likely be aware of the fact that the papacy had expressly encouraged Muslim conversion on the Peninsula through bulls issued in 1088, 1101 and 1156.¹⁹⁹ Indeed Rome appears to have regarded the Christianization of infidels a duty of the archbishop of Toledo, as primate of Spain, thus it was a principle to be applied in all Christian Iberia.²⁰⁰ Furthermore the rule of the Order of Santiago, compiled in the 1170s, combined a degree of sympathy for the Saracens with a desire for conversion much along the lines of the sentiments expressed in the *Lyxbonensi* since it stipulates that the brethren of the Order should not plunder Saracen lands 'for the sake of robbery and cruelty, but whatever they do,

¹⁹⁸ Stefano Mula, 'Geography and the Early Cistercian Exempla collections', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 46.1 (2011) pp. 27-43; Martha G. Newman, 'Making Cistercian Exempla, or, the Problem of the Monk Who wouldn't Talk', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 46.1 (2011) pp. 45-67.

¹⁹⁹ Mansilla, doc.26, p. 44, doc.45 (a.1101) p. 65, doc.101 (a.1156) p. 121.

²⁰⁰ Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 44-48, esp.p. 47.

let them do it for the exaltation of the Name of Christ, or to defend Christians against their attacks, or in order to be able to attract them to the knowledge of the Christian faith'.²⁰¹ It is of some note that there is no suggestion here of forced conversion.

This is not to say that the *Lyxbonensi*, being a multifaceted text with a vivacious and powerful narrative, did not also operate in the simultaneous capacities as an active piece of recruitment propaganda and as a chronicle promoting Afonso Henriques' great victory. At the same time, the involvement of the foreign maritime force in the winning of Lisbon is hard to understate. It was not only physical geography that orientated the Portuguese towards the sea. These crusaders-in-transit supplied the endemic Portuguese shortage of manpower without necessitating recourse to neighbouring Iberian Christian kingdoms for reinforcements which would have entailed a sharing of the spoils of war, notably a partition of the conquered land with the concomitant implications for compromising Portuguese aspirations to autonomy and expansion. Whilst some crusaders could be enticed to stay as faithful subjects of the Portuguese king in order to consolidate newly conquered territories through settlement, an overly powerful foreign presence could be dangerous. This had long been known among the northern Iberian princes as the sometimes violent responses to unsolicited foreign aid indicate. An example of this is to be found in an Aragonese charter where reference is made to King Sancho Ramírez in 1088 forcing an expedition of William IX of Aquitaine into Spain to return home.²⁰² On the other hand, a previous expedition in about 1076 led by Hugh of Burgundy had been acceptable to Sancho since its ambitions were limited to a raid comprising the looting of chattels, the taking of captives and, importantly, a quick return to France.²⁰³ This recipe for foreign aid, reinforced if not established at Barbastro in 1064,²⁰⁴ had clear attractions for Afonso Henriques, who manifestly had intentions of sharing power with no one.

In its careful compilation the *Lyxbonensi* can be seen as part early preaching tool, in anticipation of those of the Paris schools of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, and in part a kind of *florilegium*, gathering together in one place a whole series of principles, references and quotations designed to ensure the smooth running of a

²⁰¹ ...ita tamen quod caus rapinae vel crudelitatis, eorum terram non predentur, vel quicquid contra eos fecerint pro exaltatione nominis Christi faciatur, vel ut chistianos ab eorum impugnatione defendant, vel ad culturam christianae fidei valeant provocare; Enrique Gallego Blanco, *The rule of the Spanish Military Order of St. James 1170-1493 Latin and Spanish Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 1971) pp. 110-111; Kedar, *Crusade and Mission* p. 48; cf, Phillips, 'Ideas of Crusade' p. 140.

²⁰² *Documentos correspondientes al reinado de Sancho Ramírez*, ed. by J. Salarrullana de Dios and E. Ibarra y Rodríguez = *Colección de documentos para el estudio de la historia de Aragón*, 3 and 9 (Saragossa, 1907-13) ii. 49, p. 134; on the date see Bull, *Knightly Piety*, p. 83.

²⁰³ Bull, *Knightly Piety*, p. 82-83.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid*; see also Alberto Ferreiro, 'The siege of Barbastro 1064-64: a reassessment', *Journal of Medieval History* (1983) 9:2, pp. 129-44.

reconquistador/Crusader joint venture.²⁰⁵ Some indication that it was designed to be used in this way is to be found in the unique manuscript of the *Lyxbonensi* where the various discreet passages, notably the letters, speeches and sermons, almost always begin with enlarged capitals.²⁰⁶

Portuguese and the Crusades in the *Lyxbonensi*

Reading the *Lyxbonensi* as a 'joint-venture *exemplum*' it can readily be seen that the Portuguese perceived their war on the Muslims of al-Andalus as proceeding from a juridical basis markedly different from that of the papal mission undertaken by the crusaders. The pre-combat parley between Archbishop João Peculiar and a Muslim elder is particularly illuminating in this respect.²⁰⁷ The dialogue between the two contains a notable absence of religious rancour. Rather the entire exchange revolves around the principle of the Augustinian/Isidorian formulation of the Just War.²⁰⁸

Archbishop João Peculiar begins the exchange by immediately setting out the ingredients necessary for establishing the application of the concept. The Christians are seeking the redress of a wrong and a restoration of the *status quo*. The Muslims have wrongly taken the land from the Christians and now they must return it. This is the *causa justa* element of the principle since it is, from the Christian point of view, a reasonable and morally acceptable motive for conflict. It is supported later in the speech by references to Muslim 'desolation of cities, villages and churches without number'.²⁰⁹

Next the Archbishop lays down the two components necessary for establishing the *intentio recta* criterion; firstly, that motives must be pure, and secondly, that there must be no alternative to the use of force. With reference to the first, the Archbishop makes various statements including that the Christians have not come 'to subdue you and drive you out and

²⁰⁵ Some precedent for the use of the *Lyxbonensi* in this manner is provided in the request of Everwin of Steinfeld, prior of a Premonstratensian house near Cologne, to Bernard of Clairvaux that the Cistercian abbot provide a work including orthodox arguments and authorities that preachers and debates could employ for the refutation of heretics who were often well versed in the scriptures; Beverly Mayn Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania, 1145-1229* (York: York Medieval Press, 2001) pp. 82-83. On early preaching tools, see Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus florum of Thomas of Ireland* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1979) pp. 48-51.

²⁰⁶ DEL, p. 35.

²⁰⁷ Ibid, pp. 115-125.

²⁰⁸ Ernst-Dieter Hehl has exhaustively catalogued the impressive array of canon law, particularly from Ivo of Chartres, and from Gratian's famous *Clausa 23*, in the speech of the Bishop of Porto in *Kirche und Krieg im 12. Jahrhundert. Studien zu kanonischem Recht und politischer Wirklichkeit* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1980) in his Appendix I, pp. 259-61; Phillips, 'Introduction' in DEL, pp. xxiii-xxiv. On the circulation of legal texts in Portugal see Isaias da Rosa Pereira, 'Livros de Direito na Idade Media' *Lusitania Sacra* (1964-1966) pp. 7-60 and, idem, 'Livros de Direito na Idade Media' *Lusitania Sacra* (1967-1969) pp. 81-96.

²⁰⁹ DEL, pp. 116-17.

despoil you' but out of a sense of 'natural justice'.²¹⁰ With reference to the second, the Archbishop makes it clear that the purpose of the parley with the Muslims is 'to speak of peace' and to give them the opportunity of surrendering the land peacefully; '...spare your blood. Accept peace while it is propitious...Consider your safety while there is time...'²¹¹ If they refuse, then there will be no alternative but war.

The exchange contains none of the rhetoric of the Holy War and there are few religious allusions beyond the reference to the 'inborn kindness of Christians...that, while it seeks its own, it seizes not the property of others' and the brief expression of hope on the part of the Archbishop that some of the Muslims might voluntarily convert to Christianity, a sentiment in accordance with the provision in the rule of the Order of Santiago, mentioned above.²¹²

The retort of the Muslim elder likewise contains neither language of Holy War nor any trace of religious acrimony. Indeed, somewhat remarkably, the elder does not even take issue with the *causa justa*. What irks him is the *intentio recta* element of the Just War formulation, which he considers not to have been established. Indeed, for him the representations made on the point are highly disingenuous since the Archbishop seeks to 'misrepresent vices as virtues' by hiding the Christians' true motives under a false 'zeal for righteousness'.²¹³ In truth the Christians are motivated by greed and cupidity with a good dose of pride and ambition mixed in. Observing several previous failed attempts to conquer the city, 'How many times now within our memory have you come [hither] with pilgrims and barbarians to subdue us and drive us hence?' the elder leaves the outcome to the will of God.²¹⁴ Here the message in the *exemplum* is obvious; previous attempts to conquer Lisbon have failed because of a lack of right intention. This is a powerful echo and reinforcement of the *intentio recta* theme pervading the Bishop of Porto's sermon to the crusaders earlier in the work. Significantly, perhaps, it is the Bishop of Porto, present during the dialogue, who brings the sequence to a close with a short speech in which he says 'an undertaking of which the outcome has so often proved uncertain requires repeated endeavours in order that it may sometime succeed', the final teaching to be conveyed in the passage being, quite simply: perseverance will bring dividends in the end.²¹⁵

²¹⁰ Ibid, pp. 114-15.

²¹¹ Ibid, pp. 118-19.

²¹² Ibid, pp. 118-19.

²¹³ Ibid, pp. 120-21.

²¹⁴ Ibid, pp. 120-21.

²¹⁵ Ibid, pp. 124-25.

There can be little doubt that the parley section of the *Lyxbonensi* is an appeal to the correct conduct of a Just War; with the right intention and a steadfast persistence, God will surely grant victory to the Christians over the Muslims who are unjustly maintaining dominion over their lands. What it certainly is not is an appeal for a 'crusade', aspects of which, as the ideology emerged in the twelfth century, the Portuguese were likely to be keen to avoid. As mentioned earlier, whilst the Portuguese *Reconquista* certainly meant expansion over the Muslim South, it was of the utmost importance that populations, infrastructures and trading-links were preserved. As far as possible, hearts and minds were to be won over to ensure healthy and thriving subject populations, loyal to the Portuguese crown, which could then exploit their enterprise, not least through taxation. The existence of such a policy is amply reflected time and again through the royal grant of generous *forais* (charters) to Muslims who agreed to stay in their lands under new Christian masters.²¹⁶ The same approach is manifest in repeated Portuguese appeals made during sieges, such as at Lisbon in 1147²¹⁷ and at Silves in 1189,²¹⁸ that the defenders agree terms of surrender in return for which those Muslims who so desire may remain in their homes, keep their belongings and continue to practice their religion, whilst others that may wish to leave shall be free to do so in peace. Such were the ends of the Portuguese war on al-Andalus.

'Crusading', on the other hand, was far more problematic, the results of which had been seen in horrific form in the much reported slaughter of thousands of inhabitants of Jerusalem in 1099 by victorious First Crusaders. That, having perpetrated this great massacre and thoroughly looted the city the Franks 'all came rejoicing and weeping from excessive gladness to worship at the Sepulchre of Saviour Jesus'²¹⁹ and that they then 'joyously visited the holy places as they had long desired to do'²²⁰ and further that of all the eyewitness Latin accounts that record these pious scenes none find such behaviour contradictory, is explicable only through a doctrine of Holy War informed by crusade preaching in the wake of Urban II's example at Clermont. Under this principle the notion that killing may be morally wrong is

²¹⁶ See for example the charter of 'fidelity and steadfastness' (*carta fidelitatis et firmitudinis*) granted by Afonso Henriques to the 'Free Moors' of Lisbon, Almada, Palmela and Alcácer; PMH, Leges, p. 396; see also Joel Serrão and A.H. de Oliveira Marques, *Portugal em definição de Fronteiras, Do Condado Português à Crise do Século XIV* (Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1996), pp. 33-34; Maria Filomena Lopes de Barros, *Tempos e Espaços de Mouros: A Minoría Muçulmana no Reino Português (séculos XII-XV)* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2007), p. 41.

²¹⁷ DEL, pp. 165-73.

²¹⁸ DIN, pp. 628-32. King Sancho I famously offered the crusaders substantial sums of money if they would agree to forego the, necessarily destructive, sack of the conquered city. The offer was refused.

²¹⁹ *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. and trans. R. Hill (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), p. 92.

²²⁰ Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana (1095-1127)*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913); trans. as *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*, trans. by F.R. Ryan, introduction by H.S. Fink (Knoxville TN, University of Tennessee Press, 1969), quotation at p. 123.

eradicated because it is the work of God. For many Crusaders, killing for Christ had become in itself a devotional act.²²¹

Indeed, in Palestine, it appears that, particularly in the early twelfth century, the practice of the Franks on capturing a town was to massacre the Muslim population. Paschal II had praised the First Crusaders who had taken Jerusalem proclaiming 'Christ dwells in your hearts and through you seems to have vanquished his enemies...we see the enemies of the Christian faith, oppressors of the Christian people, through the divine mercy destroyed by your hand'.²²² Following the slaughter in Jerusalem, much the same occurred at Caesarea in 1101²²³ and at Tortosa in 1102.²²⁴ At Acre in 1104, a portion of the population was massacred, principally by Genoese marines, in spite of terms of surrender agreed between the Muslim garrison and King Baldwin that no harm would come to the citizens.²²⁵ Similar happened at Tripoli in 1109 when, in spite of a like agreement, Genoese contingents ignored the king's promises and beheaded all Saracens they found save for those close enough to Baldwin to be protected by his men.²²⁶ In an aspect having strong resonance with the situation on the Portuguese frontier, it is notable that, by the time of the latter two examples, a distinction had emerged between the Frankish settlers in Palestine, and the transient Italian mariners. The former had by now understood that the practice of mass slaughter encouraged towns to resist rather than agree terms of surrender, and also deprived the land of personnel needed to serve trade and agriculture. In contrast, the Italian sailors were out to enrich themselves with booty and, whilst ease of plundering favoured killing, the ideology of the crusade enabled them to do it with God's blessing.²²⁷

Clearly, this doctrine of 'total war' was incompatible with Portuguese political and, perhaps above all, economic interests and, in this respect, the *Lyxbonensi* appears to draw a clear distinction between the Augustinian Just War/Holy War and the 'crusade', since crusader ill-treatment of Muslims was in conflict with the Augustinian principle that the end of war is

²²¹ Cf, Norman Housley, *Fighting for the Cross* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2008) p. 218; On possible exaggerations of numbers killed, see David Hay, 'Gender Bias and Religious Intolerance in Accounts of the "Massacres" of the First Crusade' in *Tolerance and Intolerance*, ed. by M. Gervers and J.M. Powell (Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, 2001, pp. 3-10 and Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'The Jerusalem Massacre of July 1099 in the Western Historiography of the Crusades' *Crusades* 3 (2004) pp. 15-76, *passim*, which includes an extensive analysis of the historiography.

²²² *Epistolae et Privilegia*, N°21 PL 163.42 C-D; JL 5835, quoted by John Gilchrist, 'The Papacy and War against the 'Saracens', 795-1216' in *The International History Review*, vol x, 1988, pp. 174-97, p. 191 and see also his comment 'There is something frightening and unwholesome in the language of the crusade popes as they address the Christian army in its moments of triumph or defeat...' at p. 190.

²²³ Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition* pp. 154-55.

²²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 166.

²²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 176; Albert of Aachen, IX, 27-9.

²²⁶ Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition* pp. 195-96.

²²⁷ Cf, Hans Eberhard Mayer, 'Latins Muslims and Greeks in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', *History*, 1xiii (1978) pp. 175-92, p. 180.

peace.²²⁸ Indeed, as John Gilchrist has established, following Clermont in 1095 there were present two ideologies, one which was the canonistic notion of the Just War/Holy War and one of the 'crusade' (essentially aggressive war against pagans).²²⁹ There now seems little room for doubt that the theory put forward by Erdmann in the 1930s that canonists, particularly Anselm of Lucca, Ivo of Charters and Bonizo of Sutri, among others, whose works were drawn together in Gratian's *Decretum* (1141), had transformed aggressive warfare conducted on behalf of the Church into a duly principled activity, is misconceived²³⁰ and that, in fact, as Gilchrist put it, 'the concepts and ideas unleashed by Urban II [were] quite revolutionary and based upon forces that had little to do with canon law.'²³¹ Indeed, the initial clerical reaction to Urban's Clermont address appears to have been distinctly underwhelming,²³² whilst, 'crusade' ideology was so far removed from the thinking of the canonists that it was not until the thirteenth century that it was brought into the canon law tradition of the Just War in Hostiensis' *Summa aurea* in about 1253.²³³

An important point to note here is that during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, canonists made no distinction between Holy War and Just War in the Augustinian doctrine and, indeed, Augustine himself had made no such differentiation; a war authorised directly by God was obviously and undeniably just.²³⁴

Certainly, in the *Lyxbonensi*, the prominent and clearly identifiable ideology is that of the Augustinian Holy War/Just War. It is also clearly a Portuguese Holy War/Just War since, in the address delivered by the Archbishop of Braga to a Muslim elder during the parley before

²²⁸ R.S. Hartigan, 'St Augustine on War and Killing: the Problem of the Innocent', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, xxvii (1966) pp. 195-204, p. 203; F.H. Russell, 'Love and Hate in Medieval Warfare: The Contribution of Saint Augustine' *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, vol.31 (1987) pp. 108-24, p. 111. On 'total war' see above, note 131.

²²⁹ John Gilchrist, 'The Erdmann Thesis and the Canon Law, 1083-1141', *Crusade and Settlement: Papers read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades in the Latin East*, ed. by P.W. Edbury (Cardiff: University College Press, 1985), pp. 37-45.

²³⁰ Carl Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (Stuttgart, 1935), trans. as *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), page references will hereafter follow the English trans.

²³¹ Gilchrist, 'Erdmann Thesis' p. 38.

²³² Gilchrist, 'Erdmann Thesis', p. 43, note 20; R. Somerville, 'the Council of Clermont and the First Crusade', *Studia Gratiana*, xx (1976) pp. 323-37.

²³³ Gilchrist, 'Erdmann Thesis', p. 38; James A. Brundage, 'Holy War and the Medieval Lawyers' in *Holy War*, ed. by Thomas Patrick Murphy (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1976) pp. 99-140, p. 118; idem, 'The Hierarchy of Violence in Twelfth and Thirteenth-Century Canonists', *International History Review*, Vol.17, 4, 1995, pp. 670-92, p. 676, where Brundage notes a process of 'intellectual and institutional bifurcation: a rapidly widening disjunction between the interest of theologians and canon lawyers'.

²³⁴ Augustine of Hippo, *Questiones in Heptateuchum* PL 34, Liber vi, para 10; Gilchrist, 'Erdmann Thesis', p. 45, note 83; Jonathan Riley Smith, Review of *Kirche und Krieg im 12. Jahrhundert. Studien zu kanonischem Recht und politischer Wirklichkeit*, by Ernst-Dieter Hehl', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xxxiii (1982), pp. 290-91. See also the bibliography given in Gilchrist, 'The Papacy and War against the 'Saracens'', at p. 174, note 1 and p. 197, note 181. The point appears to have been overlooked by some modern commentators; cf, James M. Powell, 'Rereading the Crusades: An Introduction', *International History Review*, Vol.17, 4, 1995, pp. 663-69, p. 665 and Stephen Lay, 'Reconquest as Crusade', pp. 123-30.

hostilities begin (a fundamental requirement of the Just War) he imparts some remarkably precise information:

'You are holding our cities and landed possessions unjustly – and for three hundred and fifty-eight years you have so held them – which before that were held by Christians...'²³⁵

This very exact dating takes us back, not to the Battle of Covadonga of c.717 and the legendary hero Pelayo of the old Asturian Chronicles, but to 788-89, the year of the death of Abd ar-Rahman I who, by the end of a rule of some 32 years, had established himself and his successors as rulers of the *de facto* independent Umayyad emirate of al-Andalus, settled his capital at Cordoba and, importantly, brought the unruly provinces, riven by rebellion and factional strife under central control.²³⁶ One of the longest of these rebellions, and most dangerous to his policy of centralisation, had been in *al-Garbe* (the Andalus West) during the 760s and 780s. Initially centred on Beja, where members of the powerful Yahsubi clan raised the black banner of the Abassid Caliphs of Baghdad, soon the uprising had spread to include the Lisbon region, modern Algarve and much of northern Portugal with the result that a substantial swathe of al-Andalus managed for some considerable time to avoid direct control from Cordoba. Although it was essentially an Arab phenomenon, it is likely the Yahsubi's were supported by local Christians who were still in a great majority, conversion of target populations never having been a primary concern in the early Arab imperial expansion.²³⁷ Is the Archbishop's recalling of a memory of autonomy an attempt to trace a specifically Portuguese *Reconquista* back to a proto-Portuguese Christian origin?

Although the parley passage of the *Lyxbonensi* has been contrasted in its content to the abovementioned sermon of Bishop Pedro of Porto and, in spite of clear and obvious differences, not least that one is a dialogue between Iberians and one is a sermon delivered to crusaders, the underlying message of both passages remains remarkably consistent. On the face of it the Bishop's address appears to be a crusade sermon and, indeed, it has much in common with contemporary and earlier crusade writings particularly in the emotive appeal to protect Mother Church: 'To you the Mother Church, as it were with her arms cut off and her face disfigured, appeals for help; she seeks vengeance at your hands for the blood of her

²³⁵ DEL, p. 116-17.

²³⁶ Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain* pp. 30-38.

²³⁷ On conversion and the Arab expansion see Fred M. Donner, *Muhammad and the Believers, At the Origins of Islam* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2010). On the Yahsubi rebellions, see Christophe Picard, *Le Portugal Musulman (VIII-XIIIe siècle), L'Occident d'al-Andalus sous domination islamique* (Paris, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2000) pp. 29-35; also, Santiago Macias, 'O Garbe-al-Andaluz, Resenha dos Factos Politicos' in *História de Portugal*, dir. by José Mattoso (Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 1992), vol.1 pp. 417-37, at p. 420.

sons.²³⁸ It is here that Phillips highlights parallels with First Crusade writers, Guibert of Nogent, Robert of Rheims and Baldric of Bourgeuil.²³⁹ However, as Erdmann noted, ultimately the Bishop's address is not so much a crusade sermon as an appeal to desist from a crusade, since he invites the Northerners to put off their voyage to Jerusalem and lend their aid in a Holy War/Just War of defence and restoration of property in Iberia.²⁴⁰

Further, this emphasis on Holy War/Just War as opposed to 'crusade' in the *Lyxbonensi* is entirely consistent with the expressions of censure for the behaviour of the men of Cologne and the Flemings who, in disregarding the terms of surrender, 'observed not the bond of their oath and plighted faith' and went rampaging through the city, even killing 'the aged bishop of the city, against all right and decency'.²⁴¹ It is tolerably clear that this vivid echo of the massacre in Jerusalem, understood in the context of the *Lyxbonensi* functioning as a species of *exemplum*, is a warning that better control must be exercised in future; something that perhaps Sancho I took note of in 1189 when he and his forces, forewarned by the experience of Lisbon, were able to effect a timely intervention to prevent a similar outbreak of crusader violence at Silves.²⁴²

Although Eugenius III's encyclical, *Divina dispensatione II*,²⁴³ issued on 11th April of 1147 signalled the official extension of the Crusading theatre to Iberia and to the German campaign against the Wends, the *Lyxbonensi* shows that, at the time of its compilation (see below), this broadening of the geographical scope had neither been accepted by the Portuguese nor by the Crusaders. As has been set out herein, the Portuguese had their own reasons for rejecting crusade-type warfare, but the evidence of the *Lyxbonensi* demonstrates a Portuguese awareness that Eugenius' extension had held little attraction for the northern crusaders whose hearts remained set on the Holy Land. The solution suggested in the *exemplum* is that the words of St Jerome can usefully be applied to bring the proposed action on the Portuguese frontier within the Jerusalem pilgrimage element of the crusader's quest. There is evidence not only that this attitude persisted in future generations of crusaders, but also that the Portuguese, of necessity, were prompted to address the problem by augmenting the 'Jerome solution' with a version of the *Iter per Hispaniam* (route [to Jerusalem] through Spain)

²³⁸ DEL, pp. 78-79; P.A. Odber de Baubeta, 'Toward a history of preaching in Medieval Portugal', *Portuguese Studies*, 7 (1991): pp. 1-18 at pp. 5-6.

²³⁹ Phillips, 'Ideas of Crusade' p. 130.

²⁴⁰ Erdmann, 'Idea de Crusada' p. 23.

²⁴¹ DEL, pp. 176-77.

²⁴² DIN, pp. 628-29. It is perhaps of some note that the 'Lisbon Letter' makes no mention of the Lisbon massacre. On failures of leadership and difficulties in controlling crusader violence, see Jonathan Riley Smith, 'Christian Violence and the Crusades' in *Crusaders and Settlers in the Latin East* (London: Variorum, 2008) VII, esp. pp. 12-14.

²⁴³ *Epistolae et privilegia*, PL 180, 1203; see Phillips SCEC, p. 134.

formulation of the crusading ideal in order to encourage crusader aid on their frontier with Islam (see Chapter 3 herein).²⁴⁴

The other sermon in the work is an exhortation to the crusader troops before a decisive final battle made by a certain priest who had accompanied the fleet which some have identified as being 'R' himself.²⁴⁵ Of course the identity of the priest is largely irrelevant to the function of his appearance in the *Lyxbonensi* where he provides a ready-made oration, of obvious usefulness as a resource for those seeking to compose sermons in like situations.

That the *Lyxbonensi* includes two ready-made sermons, intended for delivery at crucial moments of a joint venture operation, the first, designed to bring about the crusaders' acquiescence to entering a combined campaign with Portuguese forces, the second, to inspire them to a final push at the peak of combat, rather like the famous St Crispin's Day Speech from Shakespeare's *Henry V*, is strong evidence for the text being intended to serve as a preaching tool, in addition to its function as an *exemplum*.

Yet still the bounties of the *Lyxbonensi* are not exhausted. It is apparent that there are other speeches contained in it designed to be applied in specific types of tricky situations, especially those that might arise when dealing with foreign crusaders. A very short speech placed in the mouth of King Afonso Henriques is supremely practical.²⁴⁶ It deals with the important and fundamental matter of what remuneration the crusaders can reasonably expect for their services. To that end the King explains 'we do not want you to be ignorant of our resources'²⁴⁷ almost certainly to head-off outbreaks of violence due to disappointment occasioned by false expectations in the event of a sharing of the spoils of war. He points out that, although the Portuguese are not wealthy, the crusaders will be paid in 'whatsoever our land possesses', whilst any shortfall will be met by the crusaders' own piety which alone should invite them 'to the labour and exertion of so great an enterprise more than the promise of our money will incite you to the recompense of booty.'²⁴⁸ Nevertheless, practicality and tangible payment are the keynotes of this oration and it concludes with the eminently sensible instruction to the crusaders that they appoint representatives from among their number 'in order that we may

²⁴⁴ Wilson, 'Tactics of Attraction' esp. pp. 211-13; William Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and in Iberia, c. 1095-c. 1187* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), p. 131 *et seq*; Patrick J O'Banion, 'What has Iberia to do with Jerusalem? Crusade and the Spanish Route to the Holy Land in the Twelfth Century', *Journal of Medieval History*, 34.4 (2008), pp. 383-95.

²⁴⁵ DEL, pp. 147-159; First to identify the cleric as 'R' was Reinhold Pauli in 1885 in MGH, *Scriptores*, XXVII, pp. 5-10 at p. 5 note 3, followed by C.W. David, DEL, p. 41.

²⁴⁶ DEL, pp. 98-101.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 98-99.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid*.

withdraw together and, quietly and in good temper, mutually define the conditions of our promise with respect to the proposals which we have made.'²⁴⁹ When terms are agreed they are to be put before the whole assembly of the crusaders in order that 'with the mutual assent of all, they may finally be ratified by an unequivocal treaty and sure pledges, for the profit of God.'²⁵⁰ Once again the function of the *Lyxbonensi* is obvious in its presentation of a model approach for dealings with crusaders.

Prominent here in the King's address, and also at other points in the text, is the strong concern that unity must be maintained within the Christian forces and that disputes are avoided. It is a key theme which is addressed at the very beginning of the work, where the author/interpolator sets out in quite some detail the agreement struck between the multinational crusader force *inter-se* so that 'among these people of so many different tongues the firmest guarantees of peace and friendship were taken'.²⁵¹ Strict rules of conduct are established among the force, many of which are given in the text. We learn in addition that each ship was to have its own priest and that there were 'constituted for every thousand of the forces two elected members who were to be called judges or *coniurati*, through whom the cases of the constables were to be settled...and by whom the distribution of the moneys was to be carried out.'²⁵² Here, as in the King's oration, there is an emphasis on the maintenance of order and unity through due process and mutually agreed terms.

Sure enough, once the crusaders' representatives have negotiated the contract for their services with the King, there appears in the text of the *Lyxbonensi*, meticulously transcribed, the entire document in all its detail, complete with witnesses. Here, then, is a precedent, or template, to be applied in future joint-ventures.²⁵³

Unity, once again, is the preoccupation with the lengthy speech of Hervy of Glanvill.²⁵⁴ At this point, the problem addressed in the *Lyxbonensi* is how to deal with crusaders who are unwilling to agree to participate in the joint venture and who wish instead to continue their voyage. The dissenters are represented by one 'piratical' (*piratice*)²⁵⁵ William Viel, whose motives are principally mercenary since he and his supporters are portrayed as taking the view 'it would be more profitable if they should sail quickly past the coast of Spain and then extort

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 100-01

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.

²⁵² *Ibid.*

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 110-13.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 104-11.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 102-03.

much easy money from the merchant vessels of Africa and Spain'.²⁵⁶ It is significant that it is not a numerous group, totalling only eight ships of the fleet;²⁵⁷ the intention of the text being to raise the problem sufficiently so a solution can be convincingly presented, but not so much as to engender the perception that objectors ever represented a powerful voice within the maritime force for fear that, in future, prospective dissenters may take encouragement. In the oration, Hervy makes appeal to national pride, honour, Christian charity and warns of the evils of envy (again the theme of *intentio recta*), in winning over William and his supporters.²⁵⁸ Once again, the *Lyxbonensi* supplies a speech that can be used *mutatis mutandis* in analogous situations occurring in future enterprises. Among the malcontents' protestations are those one might expect among crusaders voyaging to the Levant; namely, an unwillingness to bear the expense of a long labour in a siege, and also that the weather conditions at the time of year were propitious for sailing to Jerusalem. The *Lyxbonensi* is careful to cover all eventualities.

Importantly, and more specifically, the speech addresses head-on the thorny issue of a problem which has clearly arisen in at least one previous failed joint-venture when William Viel and his men were present in association with the King of Portugal at an attempt to take Lisbon in 1142, probably the event that appears reported in the *Chronicon Gothorum/Annales Domni Alfonsi*, mentioned earlier.²⁵⁹ They declare that 'they took the king's promise to be nothing but treachery'.²⁶⁰ It is at this point that the *Lyxbonensi* betrays its Portuguese origins in a more obvious way. Immediately the issue is raised, the author/interpolator is at pains to say that these complaints 'were either false or, if in any respect true, to be imputed to [the dissenters'] own foolishness rather than to the king's baseness...'²⁶¹ Hervy takes up the point explicitly, 'As for the king, even if he may have been to blame in his conduct towards you, as you have previously asserted, for God's sake let him be borne with in order that you may accomplish something of greater profit. Nevertheless, as he reports to me, he declares himself to be guiltless of any base action towards you and offers to clear himself by the judgment of your men.'²⁶² This sturdy defence of the Portuguese king is, of course, all the more powerful for having been mounted by a foreigner and one belonging to the very same ethnic group as those who have raised the suspicions. Indeed, if this specific problem refers to an actual event, this may be an important reason for the *Lyxbonensi* having been framed as a letter from an Anglo-

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ Ibid, pp. 104-05.

²⁵⁸ Ibid, pp. 106-107.

²⁵⁹ Ibid, pp. 102-03.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² Ibid, pp. 108-09.

Norman, as opposed to a German or a Fleming. In the end Hervy shames William's party into submission, however, significantly, it is not unconditional compliance that is achieved. It is a complex problem that has arisen, one which strikes at the integrity of the king. It is an issue that practicality (and probably experience) dictates may not be resolved by words alone in some instances; therefore the *Lyxbonensi* supplies a nuanced solution. William and his men agree to remain but only 'so long as sufficient provisions were in store for them' after that they would only stay on if they were taken on as mercenaries ('stipendiaries') by either the king, or by the Anglo-Normans.²⁶³

At the same time, the *Lyxbonensi* demonstrates a clear awareness of the power of Christian sanctity presumably where it could be used to attract to the Andalusí frontier the service of crusaders more spiritually motivated than mercenaries like William Viel. One of the clearest examples of this occurs in the already mentioned parley sequence. Here, with the *Lyxbonensi* performing at least a dual function, that of sermon tool and also that of pure literary propaganda, the compilers of the text are careful to place on the tongue of the Archbishop of Braga a list of the saintly figures martyred in the city under Diocletian; Sts Maxima, Verissimus, and Julia.²⁶⁴ For added veracity, the text goes on to invoke the authority of a certain Church Council of Toledo, where the great Archbishop Saint Isidore of Seville himself was present as a witness, along with the bishop of Lisbon and 'more than two hundred of their fellow bishops from all Spain'.²⁶⁵

It is in this parading of Lisbon's holy credentials that there lies an important clue as to the date of the compilation of the *Lyxbonensi*. There is no reference whatsoever in the text to St Vincent (S. Vicente) whose relics would arrive to Lisbon in 1173 by the surprise action of disgruntled Mozarabs who had, by this, sought to reassert the status of their rite which had been displaced by the Roman liturgy following the restoration of diocese to Latin Christendom in 1147.²⁶⁶ Since the cult of St Vincent almost immediately assumed great importance in the city, with cantor Estevão of Lisbon Cathedral writing the history of the Saint's translation, the so called *Miracula Sancti Vincentii Martiris*²⁶⁷ probably as early as the late 1180s, it is hard to

²⁶³ Ibid. pp. 110-11.

²⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 116-119.

²⁶⁵ Ibid. Mention is also made of St James, his disciples and successors by Bishop Pedro of Porto, DEL, pp. 78-79 and also by Archbishop João Peculiar, DEL, pp. 116-17.

²⁶⁶ Pedro Picoito has made a persuasive case for the retrieval of St Vincent in 1173 being the initiative, not of Afonso Henriques, but of the disgruntled Mozarabs of the city, unhappy about the suppression of their liturgy in favour of the Roman rite promoted by the conquerors; 'A Trasladação de S. Vincent, Consenso e Conflito na Lisboa do Século XII', *Medievalista online*, ano 4, número 4, 2008.

²⁶⁷, *S. Vicente de Lisboa e Seus Milagres Medievais*, ed. and trans. by Aires Augusto Nascimento and Saul António Gomes (Lisbon: Edições Didaskalia, 1988).

imagine that there would not be some mention of him, even though the events recounted in the *Lyxbonensi* all supposedly took place in 1147. On this basis, the text of the *Lyxbonensi* would have been compiled before 1173. Plausibly the text could have been produced in the mid-1160s when, following a lull after the disappointment of the Second Crusade, the Papacy renewed efforts to organise crusading expeditions to the East with appeals in 1165, 1166, 1169 and 1173.²⁶⁸ Indeed, during the 1160s it looked increasingly likely that Henry II of England was about to embark on a crusade which meant the imminent passage of fleets of Anglo-Norman warriors along the Portuguese coasts and, in 1170, Henry gave his solemn vow to the archbishop of Tyre that he would indeed embark on a crusading expedition. In 1172, he repeated his vow at Avranches before the papal legates as part of his penance for the murder of Thomas Becket.²⁶⁹ One can imagine preparations for the reception of Anglo-Norman crusaders in Portugal going into overdrive.

Several further examples can be extracted from the *Lyxbonensi* in which problems are presented and solutions offered. These passages are intertwined with the account of the siege that was contained within 'R''s original letter, thus the work retains the momentum of a lively and dramatic story. Whether all of these situations in fact arose in the conquest of Lisbon in 1147, or whether some were invented, or taken from previous failed attempts to capture the city in order provide a platform for the offering of solutions and the transmission of instructions for a successful joint venture, it is impossible to tell. However, what does emerge very clearly is that the Portuguese, at the time of the compilation of the *Lyxbonensi*, had no interest in bringing unbridled 'crusading', as they understood it, to their shores. Among other things, concern for the preservation of economically valuable populations in target locations, militated powerfully against it.²⁷⁰ The rhetoric of the crusade is used in the *Lyxbonensi*, certainly, but in a very careful and qualified way and only where it is necessary to persuade crusaders to join the Portuguese campaign, and perhaps to exhort the foreigners to a final effort at the climax of battle.

In so far as the *Lyxbonensi* behaved as a chronicle it is largely celebratory of the Anglo Normans and critical of the Germans and the Flemings. This aspect may-well already have been contained within 'R''s original letter. Since the *exemplum* function of the *Lyxbonensi* could hardly operate without there being antagonisms within the crusader force, there had to

²⁶⁸ Phillips, 'Ideas of Crusade' p. 127; R.C. Smail, 'Latin Syria and the West, 1149-1187, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series, vol.19 (1969), pp. 1-20, esp. pp. 5-16.

²⁶⁹ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 40.

²⁷⁰ Cf. Mayer's observations on the capitulation of Sidon in 1110 and the peasants, described by Fulcher of Chartres as *ruricolae* and *agricolae*, who remained in the land with the result that agricultural production was firmly in the hands of the Syro-Christians and the subjected Muslim population; 'Latins, Muslims and Greeks' p. 181.

be, of necessity, somebody cast in the role of the adversary and thus the detail was allowed to remain. It is interesting that in the *Indiculum Foundationis Monasterii Beati Vincentii Ulixbone*, produced in 1188, a text recounting the foundation of the monastery of S Vicente de Fora in Lisbon shortly after the conquest of the city, the balance is redressed somewhat since this text is strongly laudatory of the German contingents in the conquest of Lisbon.²⁷¹

That the Portuguese troops are not praised in the *Lyxbonensi*, indeed they are hardly mentioned at all, is explicable because they are irrelevant in the scheme of the principal purposes of the text. The *Lyxbonensi* is best seen primarily as an *exemplum* containing sermon and oratory tools which are contextualised in a narrative scheme in order to indicate their function in the promotion and direction of a successful Portuguese/maritime-crusader joint enterprise; at the risk of oversimplification, it could almost be described as a kind of twelfth-century 'How to do it' guide. Above all, the focus is on the effective stewardship of potentially troublesome foreign forces acting in support of the Portuguese war on the Andalusí frontier. Simultaneously, the text serves a subsidiary function in so far as it is a chronicle promoting news of a great victory won over the Saracens by the devout Christian king of Portugal. Flanked by his clergy, who are always presented as learned and articulate, Afonso Henriques is portrayed as noble and wise, yet also human, as one prone to bouts of justifiable anger when the dishonourable behaviour of certain groups of crusaders threatens the integrity, and so the success, of the venture. He is the monarch who, as a matter of the highest importance, 'would not put honour second even to the taking of the city...'²⁷² His is always the voice of reason and his is the presence that towers above the narrative so that there is never any doubt that he is the supreme architect of this important Christian triumph.²⁷³

Whilst it is undoubtedly true that the heroic and Christian qualities of the king are highlighted far more in the *Chronica Gothorum/Annales Domni Alfonsi*, redacted between 1185 and 1195,²⁷⁴ it must be remembered that this text was produced following Afonso Henriques' death, not only to promote his image abroad, but also to ensure support at home for his son and successor Sancho I in the face of a terrific and devastating ten-year period of Almohad invasion. The *Lyxbonensi*, on the other hand, had a very different purpose; one that required a far more precise and intricate approach, not only as an *exemplum*/sermon-tool, but also as a chronicle in possible circulation outside the kingdom where a specific audience may have been

²⁷¹ *Indiculum Foundationis Monasterii Beati Vincentii Ulixbone* ed. and trans. by Aires A. Nascimento in *A Conquista de Lisboa*, pp. 178-201.

²⁷² DEL, pp. 172-73.

²⁷³ Cf. Branco, 'A conquista de Lisboa revisitada', p. 229 at note 35.

²⁷⁴ Mattoso, 'As Três Faces de Afonso Henriques', p. 31; David, *Études*, pp.

anticipated among prospective foreign crusader-mariners and in European, sea-going communities.²⁷⁵

'King' Afonso Henriques, *miles Sancti Petri*

Finally, the proposition that the *Lyxbonensi* is largely a Portuguese produced text suggests that we must inevitably consider the possibility that certain events recounted therein are tendentious for reasons other than those outlined above. One such event deserving of our attention is the slaying of the Mozarab Bishop of Lisbon, responsibility for which is, perhaps conveniently, attributed to the brutal Flemings, or the men of Cologne.

Suspensions here are raised by the simple fact that the removal of this individual is likely to have been highly advantageous to Afonso Henriques. In October of 1143, Afonso Henriques had achieved recognition for his kingship from his cousin, king-emperor Alfonso VII, at a meeting in Zamora.²⁷⁶ However, probably because the question of Afonso Henriques' vassalage to Alfonso VII still hung in the air, in December of the same year, Afonso Henriques availed himself of that ruse employed by Sancho Ramirez of Aragon (1068), Bernad II of Besalú (1077) and Berenguer Ramon II (1090), and made himself a nominal vassal of the Holy See.²⁷⁷ By thus becoming a *miles Sancti (Beati) Petri*, and promising, on behalf of himself and his successors, to pay an annual census of four ounces of gold, he achieved papal recognition and protection for the territorial integrity of his polity.²⁷⁸ However, he did not succeed in obtaining papal acceptance of his adoption of the title of king which had also been his hope.²⁷⁹ Rather, Pope Lucius II, in his letter accepting the homage and the promised census, greeted Afonso Henriques only as *Filio A. illustri Portugalensium Duci*.²⁸⁰ This failure is likely to have been a grave disappointment for Afonso, if not a dismal humiliation. However, having achieved the land-mark conquests of Santarém, captured in March 1147, and Lisbon in the following October, only four years after his attempt to secure papal approbation for his kingly title, Afonso Henriques was now presented with a splendid and unparalleled opportunity to renew his petition before the Curia. Now he could portray himself in the role of the loyal vassal of St Peter, a *miles Sancti Petri*, who had heroically restored to Rome the important and ancient

²⁷⁵ It is in the anticipation of a sea-faring audience perhaps that we find so much attention given to the voyage from Dartmouth to Lisbon which contains detailed sailing directions in the manner of a periplus or portolano.

²⁷⁶ Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, p. 152.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 153-54; Lay, *Reconquest Kings*, pp. 88-89.

²⁷⁸ *Monumenta Henricina*, N^o. 1, pp. 1-2; DR vol.1, p. 250; On the concept of *miles Sancti Petri* and Afonso Henriques, see Celina Maria Amado Fernandes and Ana Patrícia Dias, *Em torno da Claves Regni: do texto à simbólica do Miles Sancti Petri* (Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa da História, 2009).

²⁷⁹ Cf, Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, p. 81.

²⁸⁰; For Afonso Henriques' letter of homage, the *Claves regni*, see DR, N^o.202, p. 250. Pope Lucius II's letter of reply and acceptance is to be found in *Epistolae et privilegia*, PL 179, 860-61.

Hispanic see of Lisbon and, importantly, brought the Roman rite to the region, thus curing the indigenous Christians of their 'error', a reference to the old, un-reformed, Visigothic, or Mozarabic, liturgy. Surely, in the light of all of this, the pope could now scarcely refuse him the honour. Moreover, now, as a *miles Sancti Petri*, one who Pope Gregory VII had intended should act as the sword-arm of papal reform, it was more imperative than ever for him to attend to the institution of the Roman rite in his kingdom.²⁸¹

Following notorious problems in establishing the Roman rite in Coimbra,²⁸² it is unlikely that Afonso Henriques relished the prospect of similar occurrences in Lisbon, a city with a famously strong Mozarabic population.²⁸³ Almost undoubtedly, opposition from this quarter would have hindered his smooth appointment of a Roman Catholic bishop, in the event Gilbert the English crusader-cleric, and ruined his chances of presiding over the bringing of the see of Lisbon into the orthodox fold, in a great show of magnanimity and piety. The news would then be trumpeted in Rome personally by Afonso's trusted ally and principal advisor, the ever-artful Archbishop João Peculiar of Braga, who would urge upon the pope the momentous nature of Afonso Henriques' achievements on behalf of the Holy See.²⁸⁴ Indeed the Archbishop went to Rome almost as soon as affairs at Lisbon had been brought to a successful conclusion. Yet, such was papal commitment to the notion of Christian unity in Hispania under the overlordship of the king-emperors of León-Castile,²⁸⁵ even this appeal to the pontiff, impressive though it surely must have been, failed to bring the desired result.

By the time of Afonso Henriques' first attacks on Lisbon in the early 1140s all of the Iberian Northern Christian Kingdoms had achieved sufficient internal stability for a simultaneous, though probably not concerted, southward drive against al-Andalus.²⁸⁶ The time was opportune, since the Almoravids, who had been under increasing pressure in Africa from a new rival sect, the Almohads, were in serious decline.²⁸⁷ After the Almohad conquest of Oran and Marrakesh, in 1145, Almoravid power would disintegrate completely, ushering in a second

²⁸¹ Marcus Bull, 'The Roots of Lay Enthusiasm for the First Crusade', *History*, 78 (1993), pp. 353-73, p. 357; I.S. Robinson, 'Gregory VII and the Soliders of Christ', *History* lviii (1973), pp. 169-92.

²⁸² See, *inter alia*, Serrão and Oliveria Marques, *Portugal em Definição de Fronteiras*, pp. 340-49.

²⁸³ Indeed, there appears to be some evidence of Mozarab dissatisfaction in Lisbon in the years following the conquest; cf, Pedro Picoito, 'A Trasladação de S. Vicente, Consenso e Conflito na Lisboa do Século XII', *Medievalista online*, ano 4, número 4, 2008; and idem, 'O Rei, o Santo e a Cidade; O culto de São Vicente em Lisboa e o Projecto Político de Afonso Henriques', in *São Vicente, diácono e mártir*, dir. by Isabel Alçada Cardoso (Lisbon: Cabido da Sé de Lisboa, 2005), pp. 57-87.

²⁸⁴ Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, pp. 130-35.

²⁸⁵ Cf, Damien J. Smith, 'Pope Alexander III and Spain', pp. 203-42.

²⁸⁶ Bishko, , 'The Spanish and Portuguese Reconquest, 1095-1492' in *Studies in Medieval Spanish Frontier History* (London: Variorum, 1980), III' p. 407; Cf Bernard F. Reilly, *Afonso VII*, p. 80.

²⁸⁷ On the origins of the Almohads, see Kennedy, *Muslim Spain*, pp. 196-216.

period of *taifa* states as, once again, local potentates in al-Andalus seized control in their own regions.²⁸⁸

It is almost beyond doubt that, in Rome, Afonso Henriques' claims to the royal title were firmly rooted in his pious efforts to extend the borders of Christendom against the infidel. Archbishop João Peculiar, invariably followed-up Portuguese military triumphs over al-Andalus with a visit to Rome, often ostensibly to engage in ongoing negotiations over the question of the primacy of the Spains, disputed between Braga, Compostela and Toledo.²⁸⁹ It is difficult to imagine that Archbishop did not take advantage of these occasions to impress upon the Curia the image of Afonso Henriques as a great Christian champion, especially during his visit of 1148.²⁹⁰ Following the conquest of Lisbon, Afonso Henriques, the loyal papal vassal, the *miles Sancti Petri*, could be presented as leading an army comprising large contingents of those *milites Christi* (a contemporary term indicating warriors of the 'crusades')²⁹¹ of the Second Crusade in a glorious and substantial extension of Christendom; the newly acquired lands, of course, being held in fief for Rome.²⁹² And more; Afonso had even made one of those same *milites Christi* bishop of the reconquered and restored diocese.

Nevertheless, there is no evidence that Afonso Henriques embraced crusade ideology beyond the very limited use of it we have seen exhibited in the text of the *Lyxbonensi*. In this respect, Afonso Henriques stands in marked disparity adjacent to Afonso VII who had readily espoused the crusade for his conquest of Almeria in 1147 and possibly for an assault on Jaen in 1148, and also to Ramón Berenguer IV of Barcelona who did likewise for his conquest of Tortosa in 1148.²⁹³ In this respect, significant is the providential tone of the anonymous *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, the panegyric work celebrating the deeds of Alfonso VII from his accession in 1126 to his conquest of Almeria. The *Chronica*, adorned with multiple biblical references, presents Alfonso VII as an instrument of God's will and the leader of a chosen

²⁸⁸ Lomax, *Reconquest*, p. 91-90; Kennedy, *Muslim Spain*, pp. 189-95.

²⁸⁹ On João Peculiar and the disputes over the primacy see generally Carl Erdmann, *Das Papsttum und Portugal im ersten Jahrhundert der portugiesischen Geschichte* (Berlin: Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1928); trans. by J.A. da Providência Costa, as *O Papado e Portugal no Primeiro Século da História Portuguesa* (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1935).

²⁹⁰ Branco, 'A conquista de Lisboa revisitada', p. 219.

²⁹¹ Riley Smith, *First Crusade and Idea*, p. 16; James A. Burndage, 'Crusades, clerics and violence: reflections on a canonical theme', in *The Experience of Crusading*, ed. by Marcus Bull and Norman Housley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) pp. 147-57.

²⁹² *Ibid.*

²⁹³ Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, pp. 172-77; Simon Barton, 'A Forgotten Crusade: Alfonso VII of Leon-Castile and the Campaign for Jaen (1148)', *Historical Research* 73, no. 182: pp. 312-20; Martin Hall and Jonathan Phillips, *Caffaro, Genoa and the Twelfth-Century Crusades* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013) pp. 127-33. It is apparent that Eugenius III was referring to Afonso VII in his letter *Divina dispensatione II* issued in April of 1147 when he wrote, *contra Saracenos de partibus illis poeniter armature, de quibus iam per Dei gratiam saepius triumphavit*, cf, Purkis, *Ibid.*

people, whilst the *Poem of Almeria (Prefatio de Almaria)* which is attached to the prose chronicle and thought to be written by an eyewitness shortly after the conquest of the port, is strongly imbued with the ideology of the crusade.²⁹⁴ The contrasts with the overwhelmingly Holy War/Just War theme of the *Lyxbonensi* are stark.

A Curious Municipal Notice of the *concelho* of Coimbra (1145)

Nevertheless, if official policy did not adopt crusading ideology, there is a possibility that there was some enthusiasm, among those lower in the social order, for taking the cross to go to the East on the Second Crusade. The only evidence we have for this is a curious notice issued by the *concelho* of Coimbra, which forbids citizens from going to fight the Saracens of the East, recommending that those desirous of making war should do so on the Portuguese frontier, especially at Leiria, for which they would be granted an indulgence.²⁹⁵ On what authority the *concelho* could grant an indulgence remains a mystery.²⁹⁶ Whilst this may simply have been a precautionary measure in the wake of news of the fall of Edessa, it may be an indication that the pull of crusading, at least to the Holy Land, was beginning to make its self felt in the area, to the extent that there were concerns that frontier military capacity may be undermined, especially at vulnerable locations like Leiria, a key fortress in the defences on the southern approaches to Coimbra. However, for more solid indications that crusade-type warfare may have been influencing the Portuguese conduct of military operations, we must look to the next phase of the Reconquista, the push southward from the line of the Tagus after 1147.

²⁹⁴ Cf, Barton, 'From Tyrants to Soldiers of Christ', pp. 28-48, at pp. 39-41, and see Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid*, pp. 148-263.

²⁹⁵ PMH, *Leges*. I, p. 743.

²⁹⁶ Cf, Erdmann, *Idea de Cruzada*, p. 20.

PART III

Crusades and the Silves Campaign of 1189

After Lisbon, the next important episode of the involvement of maritime crusaders in the Portuguese Reconquista for which we have detailed contemporary reports, occurred in 1189 with the arrival of two northern fleets on their way to the Third Crusade. Once again, there is no evidence that the Portuguese considered their war on al-Andalus a crusade. Suggestions that Sancho himself was considering going on crusade to the East, based on the wording of his will drafted between late 1188 and July 1189 must be rejected.²⁹⁷ That the king refers in the document to 'the possibility of my dying in an uncertain place or being made captive, being an incidence of along and risk laden journey',²⁹⁸ is evidence that what he was in fact planning was a campaign far beyond his southern frontier, into the deep peninsular south-west, which targeted the important city of Silves, capital of the Almohad province of al-Faghar.

Whilst this campaign cannot be considered a 'Portuguese crusade', the conduct of the operation did represent a dramatic departure from the principles outlined in the *Lyxbonensi* in at least one important respect. Just weeks before the siege of Silves commenced, a combined force of Portuguese galleys and 50-60 ships carrying about 10,000 warriors from Cologne and Liège along with groups of Frisians, Danes and Flemings, fell upon western al-Faghar and, in the process, stormed Alvor, a coastal fortress not far from Silves, massacring some 5,600 people. Suddenly, the Portuguese Reconquista had taken on a practical aspect of crusading.

Unlike the murderous rampaging of the Germans and Flemings at Lisbon, this cannot be passed off as a frolic of northerners acting alone. The *De Itinere Navali*,²⁹⁹ the anonymous German account of the Silves campaign, written shortly after the events it describes, is quite clear that the force that attacked western al-Faghar contained Portuguese warriors and, indeed, their numbers must have been substantial. For one thing, western-al-Faghar was well defended and reasonably populous, representing a considerable military obstacle to be overcome before any notion of besieging Silves could be entertained. This task alone would have required a large number of troops, including, besides foreign auxiliaries, as many indigenous warriors as could be sent by the Portuguese.

Further indication of the size of the Portuguese contingent resides in the fact that, as soon as the troops of the foreign force had completed their mission in western al-Faghar, within days of the Alvor

²⁹⁷ Herculano, *História de Portugal*, vol.II, p. 35, Maria João Branco *D.Sancho I* (Lisbon: Temas e Debates,2010) pp. 160-62.

²⁹⁸ DS, doc 30 (with codicile, doc 31), pp. 47-51.

²⁹⁹ DIN.

massacre, their fleet was escorted by Portuguese galleys through the Strait of Gibraltar as they continued their voyage to Palestine. The Almohad navy was famously powerful at this time prompting the chronicler Ibn Khaldun to write: 'The Almohads organized their fleet in the most perfect manner ever known and on the largest scale ever observed...The Muslim fleet was of a size and quality never, to our knowledge, attained before or since'.³⁰⁰ Even the great Saladin sent one of his relatives to the court of Caliph Yaqub al-Mansur to request the support of ships from the Almohad navy in the blockade of Acre.³⁰¹ In order to be capable of providing adequate protection for such a large crusader fleet from so potent a maritime adversary, we can expect the Portuguese navy to have been substantial and, indeed, this appears to have been the case as reflected both in the accounts of Afonso Henriques' semi-mythical admiral, D. Fuas Roupinho, and in the more cogent and consistent North African accounts of the actions of his Muslim counterpart, the Almohad naval commander Ganim Ibn Mardanish.³⁰²

It is most likely that the northerners were travelling in cogs, slow lumbering vessels chosen by the crusaders for their carrying capacity rather than their manoeuvrability,³⁰³ ships that would have been highly vulnerable to attack by the Almohad squadrons operating out of Seville and Ceuta, especially when they were passing through the Strait of Gibraltar. The Portuguese galleys, swift, agile and deadly, would have provided crucial protection and it can easily be imagined that the provision of such an escort would have formed an important part of the bargain struck between Sancho and the crusaders for the provision of their services. In all, therefore, the combined forces that attacked western al-Faghar would have formed an impressively large task force of which, we can reasonably suppose, the Portuguese would have formed a substantial contingent.

For the assault on Alvor, the very brief mention made in the *De Itinere Navali* is by far the best record that has survived. On his arrival at Lisbon, the author tells us;

'...four or five weeks before us, ships from our empire and of Flandria had preceded us and, in a passage beyond Lisbon, a castle that lies under the dominion of Silves named Alvor they stormed,

³⁰⁰ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, trans. F. Rosenthal, ed N.Dawood (Princeton, 1969) p. 211; Allen Fromherz, 'North Africa and the Twelfth-century Renaissance: Christian Europe and the Almohad Islamic Empire', *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, Vol.20, January 2009, No.1, pp. 43-59.

³⁰¹ The petition was refused, perhaps because al-Mansur was already engaged in his preparations for his campaigns in al-Andalus; cf, Allen Fromherz, *op.cit.* p. 44, and by the same author, *Ibn Khaldun: Life and Times* (Edinburg: Edinburg University Press, 2010) p. 20-22.

³⁰² Tiago João Quemada e Silva, 'Os feitos de D. Fuas Roupinho na Crónica de 1419' *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. XLIII (1012) pp. 79-92; *Chronica de Cinco Reis de Portugal*, pp. 125-129; A. Huici Miranda, *Historia Política Narratio de Itinere Navali Imperio Almohade* (Granada, 2000) pp. 279-281; idem, ed. and trans., *Al-Bayan Al-Mugrib Fi Ijtisar Ajbar Muluk Al-andalus Wa Al-Magrib* (Tetuán: Editora Marroquí, 1953) p. 38 *et seq*; Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal* p. 234.

³⁰³ Gabriele Hoffmann and Uwe Schnall, 'The Bremen Cog, a Portrait of a Ship's Type,' *Maritime Life & Traditions*, Summer, 2005, N°27 pp. 12-25.

neither age nor sex sparing, and just as truthfully we heard, around five thousand and six hundred they killed. Galleys of Lisbon also escorted them as far as the Straits, at length turning back they reported that they were proceeding propitiously and brought some Saracen captives.³⁰⁴

From indications given elsewhere in the text,³⁰⁵ it is clear that the populations of the neighbouring lands and villages had fled to seek refuge from the invading crusader army within the walls of Alvor, where they had been massacred. It appears the event not only impressed the author of the *De Itinere Navali*, but sent ripples into the wider world. An anonymous Almohad author commented,

'The enemy destroyed a castle of the county, named del Puerto [Alvor],³⁰⁶ and dealt death to all that were in it, great and small, men and women. God bless their martyrdom on the day of resurrection³⁰⁷.

The only other contemporary source to refer directly to events at Alvor is the *Chronica Regia Coloniensis* which states as follows:

'During Lent [1189] ships came from different places and joined together spreading their sails to embark on a favourable sea. Within ten days of their voyage, with the help of God, they came to the land of Saint James [Spain/Compostela]. They were in sixty ships containing ten thousand fighting men and more. From [Saint James]...they came to Africa and attacked a populous city of pagans called Albur and captured endless amounts of silver and gold there, the citizens were put to the edge of the sword.³⁰⁸

Again, although other elements seem to be a little confused, the impression made by the massacre is evident in the fact that it is surely reported.

Charles David opines that it is possible that it is this expedition which is mentioned by the monk of Liège, Lambertus Parvus, who describes a force of Frisians, Danes, Flemings and men of Cologne and Liège, who embark in '55 ships' in spring 1189 and fought many battles as they circumnavigated Spain en route to Sicily and then to Acre³⁰⁹. Meanwhile, another nearly contemporary writer, Robert of Auxerre presents a confused narrative, in wording almost identical in parts to Lambertus Parvus'

³⁰⁴ DIN, p. 617.

³⁰⁵ Ibid, pp. 617-18.

³⁰⁶ Alvor, formerly the Carthaginian town of Portus Hannibalis; João Babptista da Silva Lopes, *Corografia ou Memória Económica, Estatística e Topográfica do Reino do Algarve* (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências, 1841-facsimile edition, Silves: Câmara Municipal de Silves, 1999) p. 270.

³⁰⁷ *El Anónimo de Madrid y Copenhague, Texto árabe y traducción*, Ambrosio Huici Miranda, ed. & trans. *Anales del Instituto General y Técnico de València* (1917) 2:1-388., p. 61; DIN, p663.

³⁰⁸ *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, MGH, *Scriptores*, 30, pp. 142-43; DIN, p. 664.

³⁰⁹ Lambertus Parvus, *Annales Sancti Iacobi leodiensis (988-1193)*, MGH *Scriptores*, 16,p. 649; DIN, p. 664.

report, in which it is possible to recognise the Alvor massacre, in spite of the fact that it has mistakenly been transposed to Silves:

'From Frisia and Datia 50 ships set out on pilgrimage together. From Flanders 37 large ships also followed and while passing by Spain they besieged a city of the Saracens named Silves. And after forty days they captured the city and plundered it. No age was spared and both sexes equally were slaughtered. They left the city to the king of Portugal. And some other towns of the Saracens they plundered.'³¹⁰

David notes further that this account is embodied in the chronicles of William of Nangis³¹¹ and in the *Chronicon Turonense*,³¹² and that, according to eighteenth century Portuguese scholar Vicente Salgado, it also appears ascribed to a certain Hugo, 'an author coeval with those days', in a text contained in the library of the bishop of Beja.³¹³ Following the chronology provided in the *De Itinere Navali* which places the conquest of Alvor sometime during the month of June, any siege of that fortress must have been of short duration following which it was presumably stormed. With the exception of Lambertus Parvus' report, the common denominator in all of the other accounts is the mention of the massacre, which would rather suggest that the incident is the principal reason for any mention of Alvor at all.

Meanwhile, only two contemporary Portuguese sources make mention of Sancho's conquest of Silves; the *Chronicon Conimbricense*³¹⁴, an annalistic text chiefly concerned with events in the see of Coimbra, redacted at around the end of the twelfth century,³¹⁵ which contains a short entry merely noting the fact of Sancho's taking of the city along with the date of capitulation,³¹⁶ and a more lengthy account included in the *Crónica de Portugal de 1419*.³¹⁷ With reference to the latter work, as mentioned earlier, although it is believed to have been begun only in 1419, more than 200 years after Sancho conquered Silves, it was almost certainly compiled following the Alfonsine tradition (*tradição alfonisna*) whereby the text was meticulously compiled from earlier sources. Neither text makes any reference to Alvor.

³¹⁰ Robert of Auxerre, *Chronicon*, in MGH *Scriptores*, 26, p. 254; DIN, p. 665.

³¹¹ *Chronicon*, in RHGF, 20, p. 745.

³¹² *Chronicon Tourense* in Martène et Durand, vol.V. cols.1031-1032.

³¹³ Vincent Salgado, *Memorias Ecclesiasticas do Reino do Algarve* (Lisbon, 1786), I, p. 268; DIN, p. 665.

³¹⁴ PMH, *Scriptores*, vol.1, pp. 2-5.

³¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 1.

³¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 3

³¹⁷ *Crónica de Portugal de 1419*, pp. 89-98.

Why the adoption of an element of 'total war' by the Portuguese?

It would appear that, in the Alvor massacre, we are presented with a sudden shift away from the traditional Portuguese practice of warfare which sought, as far as possible, to preserve the indigenous populations of target lands. Clearly, this departure from previous practice requires some explanation and, towards that end, it is to be observed that the episode displays two principal and overlapping aspects, one practical and one ideological. Each will be considered in turn.

Alvor and Military Necessity

On a practical level, Sancho chose to campaign in the far south of the peninsula because he had little choice. Before the Silves campaign, his established southern border-lands extended from Alcácer do Sal, in the west, to Évora, in the east, at which point the frontier turned northward to Estremoz. Following a series of powerful Almohad incursions, beginning in 1179 and culminating in the devastating campaign of 1184, the town of Évora had become an isolated Christian outpost, far from the banks of the Tagus which, for Herculano, were the true permanent borders of Southern Portugal.³¹⁸ In those five years, the Portuguese had lost Beja, Mértola and Serpa. Now the areas to the south, east and north of Évora were either deserted, or under Muslim control. In order to strengthen the position of Évora, Sancho's preferred target in 1189 would likely have been Almohad-held, Juromenha about 50km to the north east, in an effort to push the Portuguese frontier up to the natural barrier of the River Guadiana.³¹⁹ However, if Sancho were to take timely advantage of the military possibilities presented to him by the loss of Jerusalem in 1187, the proclamation of the Third Crusade, and the consequent passage of crusader fleets along his coast, he would have to reconsider his strategy.

Of course the conquest of Lisbon, in 1147, had shown that maritime crusaders could be persuaded to provide their services through an appeal to the waging of Holy War on the Infidel and/or through the prospect of gaining some of the rich plunder still available in relatively unspoiled and flourishing al-Andalus, in contrast to the meagre pickings to be had in war-torn and devastated Palestine. However, as previously observed, despite the strong piratical motives of characters such as William of Viel, the notion of pilgrimage was still paramount for many, and attaining Jerusalem seems to have remained the true prize for a large proportion of crusaders. It was, therefore, most unlikely that they could be persuaded, in sufficient numbers, to undertake a penetration of the Andalusi interior which

³¹⁸ Herculano, *História de Portugal* vol.2, pp. 44-45.

³¹⁹ In a charter dated January 1187, Sancho I gave to the Master of the Order of Évora, Gonçalo Viegas, and his brethren, the castle of Alcanede, the town of Alpendriz and the castle of Juromenha when it could be captured ('if God grants it to me'), DS N°17, p. 29; Herculano, *História de Portugal* vol.2, p. 39.

might easily turn into a lengthy campaign and be of uncertain outcome. Sancho therefore had to change his plans to fit a theatre of war that would better suit his potential allies. He set his sights on the rich and populous Almohad province of al-Faghar and, in particular, its famously opulent capital, Silves, promising plentiful and splendid plunder.

Stretching from Cape St Vincent and the settlement of Qariyat al-Shaqrash (modern Sagres), and extending along the coast of the Gulf of Cadiz as far as the River Guadiana, the principal settlements of al-Faghar included, besides Silves, the towns of Santa Maria de Faro (*Harun*), Tavira (*Tabira*) and Castella on the coast and Loulé (*al-Ulyā*), Paderne (*Batarna*) and Messines (*Marsusa*) on the hinterland. Al-Faghar was protected to the north by the low mountain ranges of the Serra de Monchique and the Serra de Calderão which formed the western half of a latitudinal line which runs from the Atlantic to the Guadiana and more or less delimited the northern border of the province, as today it delimits the northern reaches of modern Algarve. If Sancho could take al-Faghar he could establish a strong frontier along the natural line of the Guadiana and move north to attack Mértola and Beja. But the Muslim strongholds of the eastern-half of al-Faghar (Santa Maria de Faro, Loulé, Tavira and Castella) were formidably fortified and well garrisoned, and their localities were densely populated. Sancho would require a massive land force committed to staying in the field for a lengthy period, as well as a substantial fleet, for the success of such a grand campaign.³²⁰ Nevertheless, compelled as he was to focus his efforts on coastal areas for the sake of his potential crusader allies, if he could capture Silves, it was just possible that he could move north and take Beja, to the north east, in the province of al-Kassr (modern Alentejo) which would establish a frontier line running in a diagonal from Silves, in the southwest, to Évora in the north east, the town of Beja lying between the two. If the plan met with success, Sancho would not only extend his territory, he would also achieve his goal of supporting Évora but, this time, from the south. From there he could move on Juromenha at his leisure.³²¹

As outlined above, Alvor appears to be mentioned in the sources only because the massacre of so many inhabitants imbued its conquest with sufficient interest to make it remarkable. This is significant because western al-Faghar contained more Almohad strongholds besides Alvor. Such bastions included the fortress of Aljezur, not far inland in the north western corner of the region, with the coastal *ribat* of Arrifana a little to the south, and there was also the inland fortress of Estômbar, between Silves and Alvor.³²² All of these would have to be incapacitated, or at least sufficiently

³²⁰ Cf, Luiz Gonzaga de Azevedo, *História de Portugal* vol.5 (Lisbon: Edições Biblion, 1942) p. 7.

³²¹ Cf, Herculano, *Historia de Portugal*, vol.2, pp. 70-71.

³²² Cf, António Castro Henriques, *Conquista do Algarve, 1189-1249* (Lisbon: Tribuna, 2003) p. 43.

subdued, to allow the next phase of Sancho's plan to go into operation³²³. The attack on Silves was to be a combined naval and land forces operation, which relied for its success on Sancho being able to send an army marching southward through the province of *al-Kassr* (Alentejo). Although, between Alcácer do Sal and al-Faghar, the territory was probably almost deserted due to the constant war of raiding carried on by both sides, reference to which is made in the *De Itinere Navali*,³²⁴ the crossing through the mountains on the northern boundary of al-Faghar would have been very dangerous, being perfect ambush-territory, strongly favouring the defenders. Obviously, the area would have to be cleared as much as possible of enemy forces before the Portuguese army could make a safe passage.

In this respect, it is significant that the foreign fleet that was involved in the Alvor episode was far larger than the force that would subsequently attack Silves. According to the *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, the former numbered somewhere between 50 and 60 vessels containing, we are told, about 10,000 men.³²⁵ This is compared with the fleet of 3,500 crusaders travelling in 37 ships specified in the *De Itinere Navali* as comprising the force that besieged Silves.³²⁶ Both fleets were accompanied by the Portuguese fleet which, as previously noted, appears to have been of a substantial size at this time.

To date, the Alvor episode has rarely merited anything more than a cursory mention in the works of modern commentators and it may be that its full significance has been overlooked. Indeed, the bloody circumstances of the capture of Alvor appear to have entirely obscured the important point that the surviving, few, scant reports of the episode are perhaps the only echoes of the passage of a massive seaborne invasion force that swept through western al-Faghar, all the way from Sagres to the outskirts of Silves. It must have incapacitated (if temporarily) several Almohad fortresses including Aljezur, Arrifana, Lagos, and Estombar, and driven those Muslims not killed in the fighting, either to retreat to Silves, or to seek refuge within the walls of Alvor – with all its disastrous consequences. Alvor, rather than being considered a mere lurid footnote in the Silves campaign, is perhaps more likely to have been a terrifying crescendo within an extensive amphibious operation intended to clear the region of resistance sufficiently for Sancho to be able to send his army overland, and through the perilous ambush-zone of the Mountains of Monchique, in order to rendezvous safely

³²³ The strategic importance of the Muslim strongholds of Estombar (*Torre Destobar*) and Alvor (*Aluar*) was evident to D. Paio Perres Correia leading the troops of the Order of Santiago in the mid 13th century. Both fortresses were heavily attacked before Correia could finally effect the definitive Christian conquest of Silves in about 1248 (the exact date remains uncertain); *Cronica de 1419*, pp. 145-161.

³²⁴ 'And know that from Silves to Lisbon was seven days march, within which there was not one secure lodging place either for Christians or for the Saracens, for here both sides roamed', English translation is my own; DIN, p. 635

³²⁵ *Chronica Regia Coloniesnsis*, pp. 142-143.

³²⁶ DIN, p. 664.

with the fleet of the author of the *De Itinere Navali* at the walls of Silves. In view of the famously formidable fortifications of Silves, it can hardly have been anticipated that the siege was going to be over very quickly, and the last thing a besieging army wanted was to be attacked from the rear, as Guy de Lusignan would soon find out at Acre far away in the East.³²⁷ Neither was it something that Richard of England had relished in the late summer of 1191, with Acre finally taken and Saladin prevaricating over the return of prisoners and the True Cross. Anxious to move on to Jerusalem, Richard famously massacred 2,600 Saracen prisoners, the survivors of the garrison of Acre.³²⁸ It was a shocking event, even by the standards of the time, but he had little choice, he could not take them with him and he could not set them free for fear they would re-muster.³²⁹ If the numbers are to be believed, the problem was even more acute at Alvor, where the massacre of inhabitants numbered more than twice those put-to-death at Acre.

By the time the author of the *De Itinere Navali* arrived in Lisbon, at daybreak on July 3rd, preparations for the assault on Silves were already well advanced. He tells us, 'We...were making ready for the conquest of Silves at the request of the King of Portugal who was also making ready with many men and provisions. Now, we were delayed in the port [of Lisbon] for 11 days with 36 large ships and one galley of Tuy...and many ships from Lisbon'. While all this was going on in the port, Sancho's vanguard was already on the march south. The crusader fleet, ready at last, departed the Tagus accompanied by Portuguese vessels on July 14th;

'We sailed continuously but slowly for three days and two nights, on the third day, after noon, we saw Alvor the castle that our men had stormed, ruined, situated above the sea, and some other deserted places whose inhabitants had been slaughtered in Alvor. Not far from there we entered the port of Silves discovering a land excellently cultivated but without inhabitants, for they had all taken flight into [the city of] Silves'³³⁰

Clearly the previous expedition had prepared the ground well, and the author's fleet found the first Portuguese land forces already safely encamped a short distance away from Silves awaiting the arrival of the fleet. Once land and sea forces were joined, the siege began as more Portuguese troops continued to arrive daily from the north. On July 29th, Sancho himself arrived, with yet more reinforcements, supplies and siege machinery.³³¹ The Portuguese were in considerable strength; the

³²⁷ Tyerman, *God's War*, pp. 405-411.

³²⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 455-457.

³²⁹ For a concise account of these events see Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (London: Penguin, 1990) Vol III, pp. 53-54; and see Sean McGlynn, *By Sword and Fire, Cruelty and Atrocity in Medieval Warfare* (London, 2009) pp. 100-112.

³³⁰ *DIN*, 617-18.

³³¹ *Ibid*, p. 623.

author reports that the army of the King was not only 'very numerous in horsemen, foot soldiers and galley crews' but also was swelled by the Templars, Hospitallers and knights of the Order of Calatrava.³³²

The Muslim powerbases of eastern al-Faghar, such as Santa-Maria de Faro, Tavira and Loulé, were clearly not powerful enough to confront the massed armies of Portuguese troops and crusaders outside the walls of Silves. Perhaps it was not only numerical strength that deterred the Muslims, but also a long-standing terror of these blond northerners, notorious for their ferocity and cruelty, recalling the Viking raiders of a previous age. Indeed, the *Navali* informs us that, following Alvor, fear of the presence of the northerners had quickly spread up and down the coast.³³³ Nor was an Almohad army of rescue from the Andalusí heartland likely to appear, since all available Almohad military resources in the area were occupied in repelling the powerful incursion of Alfonso VIII of Castile who, supported by the Almoravid king of Majorca, Abd Allah (1187-1203), was engaged in devastating the areas around Seville and Cordoba.³³⁴

Meanwhile, at Silves, weeks of intense fighting ensued until battering rams, trebuchets and mines eventually brought about the capitulation of the city in early September. With the city taken, Sancho hastily put his business in order, installed a garrison and, as his father Afonso Henriques had done at Lisbon, he appointed one of the crusader clerics, a Fleming named Nicolas, bishop of the newly restored see, probably in an attempt to cement relations with Northern Europe. Taking advantage of the window of opportunity still offered him by the diversionary activities of Alfonso VIII further to the east, Sancho very promptly left with his army to attack and conquer Beja and, in-so-doing, to establish a new Portuguese southeastern frontier extending diagonally from Silves all the way to Évora. For Sancho, this was no time to be involved in a prolonged and precarious campaign in eastern al-Faghar. That task he left to the commander of his garrison at Silves, on the somewhat optimistic assumption that the crusaders could be persuaded to further delay their voyage to Jerusalem and lend a helping hand. However, following serious disagreements between Sancho I and the crusaders over the apportionment of plunder and supplies at Silves, gaining the foreigners acquiesce in further collaborative operations in al-Andalus proved to be a tough task. In the event, the commander of the garrison made attempts to persuade the crusaders to join him in an attack on Faro but, perhaps as Sancho had expected, 'he could not wring forth the common consent.'³³⁵

³³² Ibid, p. 630-31.

³³³ Ibid, pp. 638, 642. Indeed, Frisian warriors may have presented a particularly terrifying sight, sporting their characteristic 'mohawk' hairstyles; Johannes A. Mol, 'Frisian Fighters and the Crusade', *Crusades* 1 (2002) pp. 89-110. The psychological motivation for the Alvor massacre should not be discounted, see McGlynn, *By Sword and Fire*, passim.

³³⁴ Lomax, *Recoquest*, pp. 117-18.

³³⁵ DIN, p. 633.

Apparently the crusaders were anxious to be on their way to the Holy Land, and king Sancho I had, according to the anonymous author of the *Navali*, agreed to compensate the delay in their arrival there, by promising to donate one tenth of the revenues from all lands conquered in the operation to the Holy Sepulchre – a promise which, much to the annoyance of the crusaders of the *Navali*, the king did not fulfil.³³⁶ Thus it was in bad humour that the crusaders departed from the port of Silves on 21st September, continuing their voyage to Palestine.³³⁷

As for Sancho's fortunes at Beja, although there is no detailed report, it appears the city was reduced to Christian control at this time³³⁸ apparently without a lengthy siege, since the documentary record confirms Sancho had already returned to Coimbra by 7th December 1189.³³⁹

Alvor, 'total war' and the Cistercians

Whilst the massacre at Alvor may have been a military necessity, there are also reasons to suppose that the Portuguese found justification for the slaughter at the ideological level. As previously suggested, increasing acceptance of notions of 'crusading' in the Portuguese Reconquista is likely to have been brought about by, among other things, the growing presence and influence of the Military Orders in the kingdom. Present in the Silves campaign were Templars, Hospitallers, knights of the Order of Évora and possibly knights of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre.³⁴⁰ At the same time, the Cistercian Order was also becoming a major force in the kingdom. Strongly supported by Afonso Henriques, the Cistercians continued their ascendancy under Sancho, being in regular attendance at the royal court.³⁴¹ The White Monks were well represented in the Silves Campaign both through the presence of the Templars, famously linked to the Cistercians through Bernard of Clairvaux (d.1153), and also through the presence of the brothers of Évora, whom the author of the *Navali* immediately identifies as 'knights of the Cistercian Order', and who were affiliated to the Castilian Cistercian Order of Calatrava.³⁴²

Founded during the years of the First Crusade, the Cistercian Order had, of course, provided the crusading movement with one of its most renowned exponents in St Bernard. Not only did the Abbot

³³⁶ Ibid, and cf, Erdmann, *Idea de Cruzada*, p. 26.

³³⁷ DIN, p. 633.

³³⁸ Aben Abi Zara, *El Cartás, Noticias de los Reyes del Mogreb e Historia de la Cuidade de Fez*, Spanish trans. by A. Huici Miranda (València: Imprenta Hijos de F. Vives Mora, 1918) pp. 222-224; António Borges Coelho, *Portugal Na Espanha Árabe* (Lisbon, Porto Editora, 2008) p. 371; Cf, Herculano, *Historia de Portugal*, vol.2, p. 71 who prefers the authority of Abdel Halim and Conde as being positive the city was taken at this time.

³³⁹ DS, N°40, pp. 63; N°41, pp. 64-65; N°42, pp. 66-67.

³⁴⁰ DIN, p. 630 at note 306, David expresses some doubt as to the accuracy of the author's identification of this Order.

³⁴¹ See Chapter 2 herein; also Lay, *Reconquest Kings*, pp. 178-79.

³⁴² DIN, pp. 630-631; For an outline of the activities of the Order of Calatrava and its relations with the Cistercians, see Joseph O'Callaghan, 'The Affiliation of the Order of Calatrava with the order of Cîteaux' *Analecta Sacri ordinis Cisterciensis* XV [1959] Fasc. 3-4, pp. 161-193, XVI [1960] Fasc. 1-2, pp. 3-59, Fasc. 3-4, pp. 255-92.

of Clairvaux bring the tradition of crusade preaching begun by Urban II at Claremont to a crescendo in the promotion of the Second Crusade, but his style, ideas and formulations continued to influence the principal preachers of the crusades until the end of the century.³⁴³ Whilst there are no reports of crusade preaching to the Portuguese during the twelfth century, it is reasonable to suppose that ideas promulgated, especially by Bernard, would have reached the kingdom through the circulation of letters, sermons and treatises distributed within the strong and rigorously maintained Cistercian international framework. Unsurprisingly for a Cistercian house of the period, especially one founded by the abbot of Clairvaux himself, the great monastery of Santa Maria de Alcobaca, established in 1151-3 in Portuguese Extremadura, kept copies of Bernard's writings among the volumes in its well-stocked *armarium*.³⁴⁴ A further distribution of the abbot's works is likely to have been diffused over the rest of the Cistercian houses in the kingdom.³⁴⁵ Among Cistercian literary produce, Bernard's writings in particular were quick to gain a wide circulation, with his sermons on the *Song of Songs* being copied and distributed even as he was writing them.³⁴⁶ These, along with the *Vita Prima* and other key Cistercian texts, would have been read in Cistercian houses, whilst Bernard's letters would have been disseminated even more widely through being read in public. Circulation of his works increased, even more, following his canonisation in 1174.³⁴⁷

The Cistercian Slide to Arms

As the Cistercians were increasingly drawn from the contemplative life of their cloisters and into the affairs of the world, with successive popes seeking their services for the promotion of Orthodoxy and Church Reform, it is possible to trace a growing militancy both in their rhetoric and in their activities. This development, which was not free from controversy within the Order, appears to have been conditioned by two simultaneous ecclesiastical preoccupations, the prosecution of the Crusades in the East, progressively extended to Iberia and the Baltic, and the fight against Heresy. Bernard's chain of forays into the active life, however reluctantly undertaken,³⁴⁸ including his pivotal role on behalf of Innocent II in the resolution of Anacletus' schism, his promotion of the Templars, his tour of the Midi to combat heresy and his preaching of the Second Crusade, drew other White Monks into the

³⁴³ Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1217* (Cambridge, MA., Medieval Academy of America, 1991) p. 78.

³⁴⁴ Aires A. Nascimento, «Concentração, dispersão e dependências na circulação de manuscritos em Portugal, nos séculos XII e XIII» in *Coloquio sobre circulation de codices y escritos entre Europa y la Peninsula en los siglos V III-XIII*. Actas. 16-19 septiembre 1982 (Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 1988) p. 61-85.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁶ Everwin of Steinfeld knew Bernard's work in progress, *Sermons on the Song of Songs*, well enough to make a specific request to the abbot of Clairvaux that he address Song of Songs 2.15; PL 182, pp. 676-80; Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade*, pp. 82-84.

³⁴⁷ Nascimento, «Concentração...», p. 81.

³⁴⁸ The tension Bernard felt between his contemplative vocation and his increasing participation in the affairs of the world is made clear when he describes himself as 'the chimaera of my age, neither cleric nor layman' (*Ego enim quedam Chimaera mei saeculi, nec clericum gero nec laicum*); SBO VIII p. 147; *Letters of St Bernard*, p. 402.

vanguard of the defence of the Church and began a pattern that would continue well into the thirteenth century so that, as Brenda Bolton put it, they became 'the frontier guards of faith in all parts of Christendom and even beyond'.³⁴⁹

The new wave of increasing Cistercian militarism was not welcomed by all in the Order. In particular the Spanish Cistercian Order of Calatrava, to which the Portuguese Order of Évora was affiliated, appears to have come in for particular criticism. This is contained in a work produced by Bernard's contemporary, the Cistercian philosopher Isaac, abbot of l'Étoile (Stella) near Poitiers, who produced a sermon in which he expressed his concern over a military order he declines to name but which has been identified by Daniel Deme, among others,³⁵⁰ as that of Calatrava, founded by Raymond, abbot of the Cistercian house of Santa Maria de Fitero in Navarre, in 1158, and which received official approval from the Cistercian Chapter General in 1164.³⁵¹ Using terminology reminiscent of Bernard's *De Laude*, Isaac wrote of this *nova militia* as '...a new and monstrous breed...' a *monstrum novum*, perhaps lamenting the abandonment of the ideals of the primitive Cistercians through a play on *novum monasterium* the name by which Cîteaux was first known.³⁵² Further he describes their rule as deriving from a 'fifth gospel', i.e., not from within the Christian canon of four gospels. Although Isaac does not elaborate, the reader is left with the distinct impression that this metaphorical extra gospel is one founded upon a doctrine of violence rather than the Christian doctrine of 'love your enemies'.³⁵³ Isaac continues his criticism by lamenting that this order,

'...would force, with spears and clubs, unbelievers to embrace the Faith, while considering it right to despoil and devoutly kill those who do not have the name of Christian. And those of their order who are killed while at such pillaging they regard as martyrs for Christ. Surely it is obvious that these people give every excuse for antichristian cruelty to the champion of wickedness. How could they put before such a one the gentleness and patience of Christ and the pattern of his preaching. Why

³⁴⁹ Kienzle, *ibid*, p. 7 quoting Brenda Bolton, *Innocent III: Studies on Papal Authority and Pastoral Care* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1995) Chapter VI, p. 183.

³⁵⁰ *The Selected Works of Isaac of Stella: A Cistercian Voice from the Twelfth Century* ed. by Daniel Deme (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 168; see also Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, pp. 104-107; Gaetano Raciti, 'Isaac de L'Etoile et son siècle', *Cîteaux, Commentarii Cisterciensis*, 12 (1961), pp. 281-306, at p. 290; Giles Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008) p. 167; cf., Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) pp. 345-46, note 50.

³⁵¹ O'Callaghan, 'Affiliation of the Order of Calatrava...' pp. 180-84.

³⁵² *Exordium Parvum and Exordium Cistercii*, NLT, pp. 177-91, 232-59, and pp. 399-413, 417-40.

³⁵³ Matthew, 5.44: 'But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you.'; Cf, Riley-Smith, 'Crusading as an Act of Love', pp. 189-90.

should the adversary not gladly do what he finds is done with good conscience. Why should he not say, "Do to the church as the church has done."³⁵⁴

One objection to the hypothesis that Isaac had in mind the brothers of Calatrava is that the Order did not employ methods of forced conversion.³⁵⁵ At the same time, it must be observed that neither did the Templars upon which they were modelled nor, indeed, any other contemporary military order who confronted a Muslim enemy. Since Isaac was writing at a location far from the Andalusí frontier, it would be folly to assume he had a perfect knowledge of its conditions and practices, and it may be that he was responding to inaccurate information. On the other hand, Isaac was a thoughtful, detailed and prolific writer and it is unlikely his criticisms were completely without foundation.³⁵⁶ In this respect, it is significant that the *Chronica de Calatrava*,³⁵⁷ a work of the sixteenth century making extensive use of twelfth-century documents now lost,³⁵⁸ reports that in 1170, only a year after Isaac's death, the Master of the Order, Martín Pérez de Siones, led his brethren in a great slaughter of Saracens in the vicinity of Almodovar del Campo which included the massacre, at the Master's direct instruction, of more than 200 Muslim prisoners.³⁵⁹ The event caused some dispute within the Order, not from any humanitarian concern but because some of the brethren were of the opinion that the captives should have been sold in order to recoup the expenses of their campaign, or that they should have been used to ransom Christian captives held by the Saracens. The same brethren were also disgruntled over the distribution of spoils, which may have been the more pressing reason for the dispute. In any event, the rift was quickly resolved and harmony was soon restored in the Order. Characteristically, the Chronicle reports the event without any trace of compassion for the slaughtered Muslims. Indeed, it would appear that the massacre is reported only incidentally because it happened to be one of the causes of the internecine dispute, which is the principal focus of the passage; this leaves open the possibility that the slaughter was the result of a routine tactical decision taken in circumstances where military conditions in far-flung frontier zones did not permit the luxury of taking captives, as was likely the case at Alvor.

³⁵⁴ Isaac of Stella, *Sermon Forty-Eight, Third Sermon for the Birthday of John the Baptist* in *Selected Works* ed. by Deme, p. 131 *et seq.*

³⁵⁵ Alan Forey, 'The military orders and the conversion of Muslims in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries' *Journal of Medieval History*, 28:1 (2002) pp. 1-22, at pp. 4-5, forced conversions became a feature of the Baltic Crusades in the thirteenth century.

³⁵⁶ Cf. Tim Rayborn, *The Violent Pilgrimage: Christians, Muslims and Holy Conflicts* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2013) pp. 81-84. Gaetano Raciti, is convinced it is the Order of Calatrava that is being referred to, 'Isaac de L'Étoile et son siècle', *Citeaux* 13 (1962) pp. 18-34, at pp. 20-21; Benjamin Kedar disagrees, *Crusade and Mission*, p. 105.

³⁵⁷ F. de Rades y Andrada, *Chronica de Calatrava* in idem, *Cronica de las Tres Ordenes de Santiago, Calatrava y Alcantara* (Barcelona: Ediciones El Albir S.A., 1980) fols. 17v.-18r.

³⁵⁸ Derek W. Lomax, 'La Obra Historica de Rades Y Andrada' in Rades y Andrada, in *Cronica de las Tres Ordenes*, p.vii.

³⁵⁹ Rades y Andrada, *Chronica de Calatrava* fols. 17v.-18r.

Walter Map (c.1140-1209) the cleric and courtier of Henry II, a well-known adversary of the Cistercians, shared Isaac's disapproval for the growing tendency towards religious violence, in particular where the Templars were concerned. Map, in his *De Nugis Curialium*, although he praises the early Templars under their first Master 'Paganus' for defending the Christians of the Holy Land against the ravages of the Saracens, berates them for having later accumulated great wealth which brought them greed, covetous pride and a ready willingness to use the sword which had, according to Map, contrarily resulted in the diminishing of the land of the Christians in the East. He scolds, 'It was by the word of the Lord and not the edge of the sword that the Apostles conquered Damascus, Alexandria, and a great part of the world, which the sword has lost.'³⁶⁰

Nevertheless, the texts of these dissenting writers appear to have enjoyed only minimal circulation with Isaac's sermon and Map's *De Nugis* both surviving in unique manuscripts. Against this circumstance must be set the astonishingly wide circulation of the *Historia Turpini* (or *Pseudo-Turpin*)³⁶¹ which survives in over 170 Latin manuscripts and was translated into vernaculars including Old French, Provençal, Galician, Anglo-Norman, Middle High German, Welsh and Old Norse.³⁶² This text, supposedly written by Archbishop Turpin of Rheims, is included as the fourth book of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* and recounts, in a populist, bawdy and rough-and-tumble way, Charlemagne's conquests of Muslim Spain; both the attribution of authorship and the events recounted are undoubtedly spurious. Produced in order to create a model for crusading in Iberia, it is significant here that the *Turpini* relates that Charlemagne, on conquering Pamplona spared those Saracens willing to accept the Christian faith, but massacred those who refused. Although incorporated into the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, the *Turpini* enjoyed a flourishing independent existence with a wide circulation in northern Europe, even reaching Iceland.³⁶³ Further, it is of no small interest that one of the earliest surviving copies, produced in about 1175, of the *Liber* was to be found in the *fundo* of Portugal's leading Cistercian house of the period, Alcobaça.³⁶⁴

Heresy in the Midi

Of course, simultaneously with crusading operations in the East and wars on the Iberian Saracens, the twelfth-century saw the growth of popular heresy. The Cistercians were swiftly placed in the

³⁶⁰ Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium, Courtiers' Trifles*, ed. and trans. by M.R. James (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983) pp 54-63. Walter was, like Isaac of L'Étoile and their contemporary Ralph Niger, opposed to forced conversion to Christianity; Cf, Kadar, *Crusade and Mission*, pp. 104-11; also Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading 1095-1274* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985) p. 19.

³⁶¹ *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin*, ed and trans. by Kevin R. Poole (New York: Italica press, 2014).

³⁶² See Purkis' useful treatment of the *Historia Turpini* and its reception, *Crusading Spirituality*, pp. 150-63.

³⁶³ Peter G. Foote, *The Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle in Iceland* (London: London Medieval Studies, 1959).

³⁶⁴ Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, ALC.334; On this manuscript see Pierre David, 'Le manuscrit de Compostelle et le manuscrit de Alcobaça' in *Études sur le Liber de Saint-Jaques attribué au Pape Calixte II, V. I.* (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1946).

forefront of the Church's response, their highly organised internal structure, well-educated personnel, renowned austerity and dedication to the spirit of the Gregorian reform recommending them as the perfect papal proxies. The first to be drawn out of the cloister was Bernard himself who embarked on a preaching tour of the Midi in 1145 to counter the operations of Henry of Lausanne.³⁶⁵ Bernard's justification for violence was essentially that, where the unity of the church or the protection of the faithful was at issue, recourse to the sword was always preferable if there was no alternative. However, although his writings are subtle or equivocal enough for some modern scholars to exonerate the abbot from an enthusiastic espousal of violence, they contained sufficient vitriol for his Cistercian successors, faced with increasingly thriving heresies, not only to promote the use of force, but even to lead armies dedicated to their suppression.³⁶⁶

Bernard had considered it unacceptable for the pope, or any other churchman, to command armies or declare war and had forbidden Cistercian monks or lay brothers from going on the Second Crusade under penalty of excommunication.³⁶⁷ Whilst it was the moral duty of the pope, and possibly bishops, to summon princes to use coercion on the enemies of the Church, it was repugnant in the extreme for clerics, the pope included, to actively engage in the making or declaring of war.³⁶⁸ Those that came after Bernard, however, had no such reservations. The bellicose activities of another eminent Cistercian, Henri de Marcy, did much to encourage a Cistercian inclination towards bloodshed. Abbot of Clairvaux from 1176 until 1179, Henri was created bishop of Albano at the Third Lateran Council and went to the Midi as papal legate in 1181. Determined to suppress heresy by force, he became the first legate to assemble an army and command an expedition into a Christian land, in what Yuri Stoyanov described as a 'mini crusade'.³⁶⁹ By the time of the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187, the White Monks were well versed in the language and practice of the slaughter of the Other, with their involvement in the crusades and in the fight against heresy, nurturing an evolving Cistercian doctrine of violence. Following the publication of the crusading bull, *Audita tremendi* (29th October, 1187)³⁷⁰ Pope Gregory VIII lost no time in appointing Henri his legate, entrusting to him the preaching of the new crusade in Germany and France³⁷¹

³⁶⁵ On Henry's activities see R.I. Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), pp. 81-114.

³⁶⁶ Cf. Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade*, pp. 103-108.

³⁶⁷ Bernard, *Letters*, Letter 396, p. 468.

³⁶⁸ James A Brundage, 'St Bernard and the Jurists', *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, pp. 25-33, at p. 28.

³⁶⁹ Yuri Stoyanov, *The Other God: Dualist Religions from Antiquity to the Cathar Heresy* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2000) p. 194; Cole, *Preaching*, p. 65-66; Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade* p. 5.

³⁷⁰ *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*, ed. by A. Chroust, MGH, *Scriptores*, nova series (Berlin, 1928) v, pp. 6-10.

³⁷¹ Cole, *Preaching*, pp. 65-66.

The Miners of Goslar

Having wandered somewhat away from the events in al-Faghar in 1189, in order to highlight a growing trend in Cistercian thought towards the acceptance of notions of 'total war', identifiable by the time of Sancho I's Silves campaign, we now return to the Portuguese frontier in order to examine the remainder of the evidence for Cistercian involvement in the operation.

There can be no doubt that the reduction of the mighty fortress Silves, deep in the enemy Andalus south, was an undertaking that must have at first appeared unreservedly insane. If it were to have any chance of success, it required enormous logistical planning. In Portugal, this would have involved the assembly of troops, the preparation of materials for the construction of siege engines, wagons for the support and supply of the army marching over land, and the equipping of the Portuguese navy. At the European level, the operation involved the organisation and, importantly, the timing, of at least two substantial fleets comprising contingents from several different polities. It will be argued in the next chapter that Bernard of Clairvaux was probably involved in the conquest of Lisbon in 1147. Likewise, although no direct evidence has yet come to light, there are indications that the Cistercian Order, through its renowned international network, may have been involved in the orchestration of the 1189 campaign to al-Faghar. Afonso Henriques, Sancho's father, never appears to have acted in impulse. Rather his actions are consistent with a series of carefully devised stratagems such that his career is synonymous and, indeed, synchronous with the rise of the autonomous kingdom of Portugal.³⁷² Certainly it can be imagined that his successor Sancho and his advisors would not have failed to have taken advantage of all channels open to them, especially those as trans-national and influential as offered by the White Monks who, by 1189, were well established in Portugal.

Whilst the author of the *Navali* does not show himself to be especially Cistercian, his literacy suggests he would be a cleric, perhaps a ship's pastor. Significantly, he displays a keen knowledge of the workings of mines such that, at the very least, we must pose the question: was the author also a miner or closely connected with miners? Did he perhaps travel in a fleet of sappers, or specialist engineers and craftsmen acting in support of a main body of fighting troops who had travelled separately in a much larger fleet, perhaps the fleet that attacked Alvor? A close reading of the text suggests that the author already knew of the fleet that had gone ahead of his own. Arriving at Lisbon he says '...four or five weeks before us, ships from our empire and of Flandria had preceded us' - this is not news to the author, he already knows this, it is not in itself remarkable, however he must inform the reader, because it lays the ground for the truly remarkable news that is to follow in the second half of the sentence; the

³⁷² Branco, 'A conquista de Lisboa revisitada', p. 219.

shocking massacre at Alvor – this he clearly had not expected. If the author knew of a much larger fleet comprising ships from his 'own' Empire, might he and his comrades not have been officially connected with it?

Vegetius considered an army would comprise contingents of especially skilled persons, not only military engineers, but also 'carpenters, masons, wagon-makers, blacksmiths, painters and other artificers...'³⁷³ Ramon Llull, in his 1305 *Liber de fine* advocating crusading in Spain, wrote that his ideal crusader army would contain sappers and engineers as well as non-combatants such as scribes and a treasurer to ensure the troops received their pay.³⁷⁴ Significantly, Helen Nicholson has drawn attention to the writings of Christine de Pisan who, in her *Livre des faits des armes*,³⁷⁵ expounds her vision for an army besieging a fortress which would ideally include masons to make the stone shot for the catapults, 600 carpenters and their assistants to construct trebuchets, mantles and siege towers; 2,000 labourers for the making of earthworks; one hundred knights and squires to supervise the construction of the defensive apparatus defending the besiegers camp and to organise the workers into gangs, in addition to other sundry personnel.³⁷⁶ Already we are beginning to reach the number of 3,500 which the author of the *Navali* gives for the total personnel of his fleet.³⁷⁷ Such specialists are scarcely referred to in twelfth-century sources, in spite of the necessity of their presence in armies of the period. Nevertheless, and intriguingly in the light of the almost 'trade-union-like' organisation of the author's fleet which was organised under an agreement of its individual members *inter-se* similar to that in operation among the crusaders at Lisbon in 1147,³⁷⁸ Helen Nicholson has noted that there is occasional evidence that miners and engineers had their own policies which, at times, may have clashed with the agenda of military chiefs. She gives the example of French sappers at the siege of Acre in 1191, the likely destination of the *Navali* fleet,³⁷⁹ who, meeting Saracen miners underground beneath the walls of Acre, come to their

³⁷³ Vegetius, *Epitome of Military Science*, trans. by N.P. Milner (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1993) p. 43.

³⁷⁴ *Documents on the Later Crusades, 1274-1580*, ed. and trans. by Norman Housley (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996) pp. 39-40. On Llull, see J.N. Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull and Lullism in Fourteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971).

³⁷⁵ Christine de Pizan, *The Book of Deeds of Arms and of Chivalry*, trans. by Sumner Willard, ed. by Charity Cannon Willard (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999).

³⁷⁶ *Book of Deeds of Arms*, p. 124; Helen Nicholson, *Medieval Warfare, Theory and Practice of War in Europe 300-1500* (Basingstoke, 2004) p. 58-59, and see also John France, *Western Warfare in the Age of the Crusades 1000-1300* (London: UCL Press, 1999) p. 125.

³⁷⁷ DIN, p. 630.

³⁷⁸ Much like the crusader fleet that participated in the 1147 conquest of Lisbon, there appears to be no overall leadership and no, or vanishingly scarce, involvement of the nobility. The crusaders appear to be principally from the merchant or lower classes operating as a *contubernium* (DIN, p. 617) which may be translated as 'band' or 'brotherhood', or even 'association'. Meanwhile decisions appear to be taken collectively through the deliberations of a *concilium* or 'council' (e.g., DIN, p. 621).

³⁷⁹ On the arrival of the fleets to Acre, see Tyerman, *God's War*, pp. 411-12.

own arrangement over the exchange of prisoners, were upon both teams of sappers withdraw, presumably to the chagrin of the military command on both sides.³⁸⁰

For an important clue to the specific nature of the foreign fleet that participated in the siege of Silves, we must turn to the previously mentioned *Crónica de Portugal de 1419*, containing an independent Portuguese contemporary eye-witness source that describes several notable happenings during the operation, which are also described in the *Navali*. One such event is an act of bravado performed by one of the men of the crusader fleet as he makes an outrageous dash alone up to the foot of one of the towers of the fortress. Even though he is overhung by the defenders in the tower who are raining projectiles down upon him, he manages, single-handedly, to dig-out an important corner stone from the structure. In the *Navali*, he is identified as a Galician pilot picked up during the voyage to Portugal.³⁸¹ The *Crónica*, on the other hand, describes the man simply as a miner; 'one of those who tunnelled under the ground'.³⁸² The less precise knowledge of the Portuguese author has perhaps caused him to lump the man in with the rest of the personnel of the foreign fleet implying it was predominantly made up of miners.

If the author's fleet did indeed contain the specialist support troops for the much larger fleet that had gone on ahead, these would be the very specialists that Sancho would need for his conquest of Silves. For the attack on western al-Faghar, he had needed a large landing force who would sweep through the hinterland subduing and eradicating opposition, clearing the way and making it safe for him to send his own troops marching down from the north, and, importantly, securing their crossing through the ambush danger-zone of the mountains of northern al-Faghar. For the next part of his plan, the conquest of fortress Silves, famed for its impregnability,³⁸³ he only needed the services of a small contingent of specialists. Now that the passage over land for his troops had been secured, the bulk of the army could be provided by his own men, who were under no obligation to hurry off to Palestine. In addition, because the riches of the famously opulent city of Silves would be shared among the relatively small force of besieging crusaders, in contrast to the much larger northern force that had preceded them, and with the Portuguese warriors having been specifically excluded from any share in the spoils by the crusaders' prior agreement with Sancho,³⁸⁴ the crusaders could more easily

³⁸⁰ Nicholson, *Medieval Warfare*, p. 59; *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade, the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, trans. by Helen J Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997) p. 213.

³⁸¹ DIN, p. 624.

³⁸² *...hum daquelles que cavavam por sob terra...*, *Crónica de Portugal de 1419*, p. 94.

³⁸³ 'The Portuguese even claimed that in Spain there might not be a city more fortified nor more dangerous to the Christians', David, *Narratio de Itinere Navali*, p. 629.

³⁸⁴ DIN, pp. 631-32.

be persuaded to delay their journey to the Holy Land and commit to a lengthy siege operation, since the expected high rewards for each man made it well worthwhile.³⁸⁵

We know nothing about the crusader author of the *Navali* except what we can glean from his text. He must remain without a name, since he gives us no indication in this respect; however, it is clear he was a German and, importantly, is likely to have had links to the town of Goslar, since he knew the town well-enough to compare it in size to that of Silves.³⁸⁶ If, as it appears, the author was linked to the mining operations at Silves, this reference to Goslar is most interesting. At this time, the great prosperity of Goslar was famously owed entirely to mining due to the adjacent silver, copper and lead mines at Rammelsberg in the Harz Mountains. Wealth from silver mining and minting silver coins brought Goslar the status of an Imperial City; Henry II had built an imperial palace there which hosted the Imperial Assembly from 1009-1219 and the town's heavy production of silver and copper coins was frequently humorously depicted in contemporary culture by the image of a townsman with coins pouring out of his anus.³⁸⁷ Although, by 1189, the silver deposits were becoming depleted, the mines continued to yield vast quantities of lead and copper. Importantly, it is of note here that the mines were managed and operated by Cistercian monks from the nearby Abbey of Walkenried. Founded in 1127 by a party of monks from Altenkamp near Cologne, the White Monks of Walkenried, which was only about 35 km south of Goslar, worked and exploited the mines of Rammelsberg and others in the region, produced innovative mechanical solutions to the problems of underground flooding and operated several smelting works.³⁸⁸

Was the author of the *Navali* a Cistercian monk linked to the mining operations around Goslar? The prospect becomes even more enticing when we note that Walkenried was, through its immediate founding house of Altenkamp, affiliated to the great Cistercian matriarchal house of Morimond, founded almost simultaneously with Clairvaux in 1115 and so ranking as fifth of the five *Ecclesiae Maiores* of the *Charta Charitatis*.³⁸⁹ Of course, the Cistercian knights of Évora present on the Silves Campaign were also affiliated to Morimond through their mother house of Calatrava. It is perhaps tempting to speculate that Morimond may have been somehow involved in the international planning of Sancho's Silves campaign.

³⁸⁵ The author's comment that the Portuguese 'did not labour in the siege but merely mocked [the crusaders] by saying that [they] were working in vain because the town was invincible', which at first seems somewhat puzzling, may indicate that the Portuguese left the foreign specialists to get on with the job they had been specifically employed to do, i.e., to literally engineer the conquest of Silves by breaching the walls; DIN, pp. 629-30

³⁸⁶ DIN, p. 619.

³⁸⁷ On the importance of mining and minting in Goslar see Chapter 4 'Saxon Silver and the Expansion of Minting' of Peter Spufford's *Money and Its use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987) pp. 74-105.

³⁸⁸ On Walkenried see, *Walkenried Abbey* ed. by Jesse Russell and, Ronald Cohn (Book on Demand, 2012).

³⁸⁹ Watkin Williams, 'Arnold of Morimond,' *The Journal of Theological Studies* (1939) os-XL (4): 370-375.

Alvor Justified

At Alvor the Christian forces were faced with an obvious strategic problem. If we are to believe the Saracen inhabitants numbered some 5,600, it would have been a practical impossibility to take them prisoner. Such a number could neither be fed, nor adequately guarded. Food supplies would already have been stretched in the feeding of the Christian army especially when the defenders, anticipating a siege, would have done all they could to denude the outlying lands of all available food stuffs, usually including the poisoning of wells. Indeed, there are references to shortages of supplies both in the *Navali* and in the *Crónica de Portugal de 1419*.³⁹⁰ Furthermore, the guarding of this multitude of prisoners would have placed a great strain on the force besieging Silves, which it was important to maintain at maximum strength in order to deter any attempts to rescue the beleaguered city that might be launched from the powerful towns of eastern al-Faghar. On top of this, there was the ever present danger that large numbers of prisoners would rush and overpower their guards, as was a frequent occurrence.³⁹¹ Military necessity demanded a drastic solution; the rhetoric of the crusade provided a ready justification. Doubtless, weighing in favour of the slaughter was the knowledge that the news of it would spread terror throughout the Saracen communities of the region, as indeed the text of the *Navali* goes on to confirm.³⁹²

Part 4

Alarcos

If crusade-type warfare was finally beginning to make an appearance in the Portuguese conduct of their *Reconquista*, its development is likely to have been accelerated by the devastating Almohad response to Sancho's conquest of Silves. Caliph Yaquub ('al-Mansur') personally leading the combined armies of North Africa and al-Andalus, in a series of terrific campaigns, drove the Portuguese back to the northern bank of the Tagus, reconquering Silves, Alcácer do Sal, Palmela, Almada and, once again, almost taking Santarém. This phase of Almohad aggression culminated in 1195 in the annihilation of combined Portuguese and Castilian forces under Alfonso VIII at the battle of Alarcos in the Campo de Calatrava from which Alfonso had only the very narrowest of escapes.

³⁹⁰ DIN, p. 632; *Crónica de Portugal*, p. 97.

³⁹¹ McGlynn, pp. 95-100; and see Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expugnatio Hibernica (The Conquest of Ireland)* ed. and trans. by A.B. Scott and F.X. Martin (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1978) pp. 59-65, for the debate between Raymond le Gros and Hervey of Montmorency over the fate of prisoners at Waterford in 1170.

³⁹² DIN, p. 642.

Alarcos and the Cistercians

It was not until 1190 that Yaqub was ready to respond to events in al- Andalus. Since his accession to the Caliphal throne shortly after the fatal wounding of his father at the walls of Santarém in 1184, Yaqub had been embroiled in the affairs of North Africa.³⁹³ During the first six years of his reign, he had fought to quell a serious rebellion in Tunisia and confronted an insurrection within his own family entailing his ordering the execution of some of his relatives. Once affairs in the Maghreb were sufficiently settled, Yaqub set about assembling a characteristically huge expeditionary army and, in April of 1190, he crossed the Strait of Gibraltar and landed at Tarifa.³⁹⁴

Making directly for Seville, he there received the loyal salutations of his Andalusí vassals, as their troops joined themselves to his army. Yaqub's cousin, Abu Hafis, who was governor of Seville, was now dispatched with a task force supported by a naval squadron carrying siege machinery to recover the city of Silves. Meanwhile, the Caliph passed on to attend to business in Cordoba where Alfonso VIII of Castile, who had only recently been engaged in raids in the northern approaches to the city, as well as in the vicinity of Seville, cowed by the size of the Almohad force, sent an embassy to Yaqub requesting a truce.³⁹⁵ Yaqub magnanimously granted it and, since he already had a truce with Alfonso IX of León, the Caliph was now able to give his undivided attention to making an example of Sancho I and the kingdom of Portugal.³⁹⁶

Having sent another cousin, the governor of Cordoba, Abu Zakaryia, with a division of the army into the Alentejo, Yaqub, personally leading his force out from Cordoba, marched north-west over the Sierra Morena, passing north of Badajoz, to begin devastating vast areas of Portugal north of the Tagus. At Torres Novas, the terrified citizens negotiated the evacuation of the town and were allowed to flee whilst the Muslims tore down the walls. Santarém only survived to the Christians because the Almohads, bearing down from the north, were held up by the dogged resistance of the Templars, entrenched in their impregnable headquarters at

³⁹³ On the death of Caliph Yusuf (1163-1184) and the caliphate of Abu Yusuf Yaqub al-Mansur (1184-1199), see Kennedy, *Muslim Spain*, pp. 236-49.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 240-42. According to Huici Miranda, the Castilian king had gone further and offered himself to the Caliph as a vassal ready to join with the Almohads against the other Christian Iberian kingdoms; Ambrosio Huici Miranda, 'Los Almohades en Portugal', *Annals da Academia Portuguesa da História*, 2a Série, 5 (1954), pp. 55-77, at p. 64; Branco, *Sancho I*, p. 183.

³⁹⁶ Alfonso IX already had a pact of mutual aid with the Almohads which had been negotiated in 1188 in the wake of renewed Castilian and Portuguese raiding on the Andalusí frontier and against the background of the agreement of Carrion in which Alfonso IX had been forced to swear fidelity to Alfonso VIII, to make various concessions to Castile and to agree to marry one of the daughters of Alfonso VIII, the details to be decided at a point in the future. Alfonso IX's 1188 agreement with the Almohads was part of a Leonese anti-Castilian policy; cf. Branco, *Sancho I*, pp. 157-58.

Tomar, in a crucial moment when both summer fevers and a shortage of supplies were beginning to dog the Almohad army, forcing it to fall-back on Seville to spend the winter.³⁹⁷

Renewing the campaign in the next spring, Yaqub headed for the peninsula of Setúbal where Sancho had given over all of the Christian strongholds to be defended by the Order of Santiago.³⁹⁸ Yaqub first conquered the strategically important port of Alcácer do Sal, took the Christian inhabitants into slavery and then moved on to tear down the castles of Almada, Palmela and Coina, which had been abandoned by their garrisons ahead of the Almohads' arrival. Shortly thereafter, in mid-July of 1191, the Christian garrison at Silves surrendered in exchange for their lives.³⁹⁹ By October, when the Caliph re-crossed the Strait on his return to Morocco, he was in possession of all of the provinces of al-Faghar and al-Kassr. Only Évora had survived in Christian hands; now even more of a Christian outpost than ever.

In spite of improved relations between León and Portugal following the marriage of Sancho's daughter Teresa to Alfonso IX in February 1191, there is no evidence the king of León considered going to the aid of his new father-in-law. Instead, following the conclusion of Yaqub's campaign, Alfonso IX sent envoys to Marrakech to negotiate another five-year treaty with the Caliph.⁴⁰⁰ Alfonso VIII, likewise, came to an agreement for an armistice with the Almohads. Sancho, who must have felt that his young kingdom was about to be extinguished, now had to look to consolidating the territory remaining to him and to making sure he did not lose any more. He wisely negotiated a five year peace treaty with Yaqub, which freed him to concentrate on preventing attacks from his ever-predatory, Christian neighbours.⁴⁰¹

With Yaqub away in North Africa, where he would spend the next four years struggling with illness, more plots within his family and a new round of troubles in Tunisia, the Iberian Christian kingdoms resumed their usual in-fighting, almost from the instant of his departure. However, change was already in the air since, just a few months earlier in March of 1191, a renowned expert in Hispanic affairs had assumed the spiritual leadership of the Christian West. Twice papal legate to Hispania, Cardinal Hyacinth (Jacinto) of Bobone, rose to the throne of St

³⁹⁷ Huici Miranda, *História Política*, pp. 345-52; Kennedy, *Muslim Spain*, p. 242; Lomax, *Reconquest*, p. 118.

³⁹⁸ Sancho had been suspicious of the Order of Santiago since they had sided with the Leonese in the war of 1179, however it appears shortage of personnel meant that he had no choice; Branco, *Sancho I*, p. 146; Lay, *Reconquest Kings*, p. 183.

³⁹⁹ Huici Miranda, *História Política*, pp. 345-52.

⁴⁰⁰ The Huesca agreement according to which the kings of Aragon, León and Portugal would aid each other in war and in peace against the king of Castile only obliged Alfonso IX to support Portugal against Castile; Branco, *Sancho I* pp. 194-95.

⁴⁰¹ Branco, *Sancho I*, pp. 190-91.

Peter taking the name of Celestine III.⁴⁰² One of his first acts as pontiff was to send his nephew Gregory, cardinal-deacon of Santo Angelo, to Iberia to broker peace among the divided Christian rulers. It was a matter of paramount urgency that a solid Christian coalition be achieved in the face of the Saracen threat to the Christian West. Yet, in spite of the emergency, regional Christian ambitions were strong and it would require some two years and the Cardinal's very best efforts before something resembling a compromise could be achieved.⁴⁰³

Through measures, including the dissolution of the consanguineous marriage between Alfonso IX and *Infanta* Teresa of Portugal and the conclusion of truces between Castile and Aragon, and Castile and León, all of which more or less disadvantaged Sancho I, by 1194 Cardinal Gregory had succeeded in establishing a precarious consensus.⁴⁰⁴ At the Cardinal's urging, Alfonso VIII renewed military operations against al-Andalus, raiding along the approaches to Seville and supervising the construction of a new advance base, the small fortress of Alarcos in the southernmost reaches of the wild and desolate Campo de Calatrava. Meanwhile, the newly elected archbishop of Toledo, Martín Lopez, on Alfonso's orders, led raids in the Cordoba region and along the valley of the Guadalquivir, plundering, stealing herds and ravaging the land.⁴⁰⁵

Reports of escalating Christian attacks on al-Andalus prompted Yaquub to cancel a planned expedition to Tunisia and devote his energies to the re-assertion of Almohad prestige and dominance on the peninsula. At the head of an army 'numerous as the sands of the sea' he once again crossed the Strait of Gibraltar in early June 1195.⁴⁰⁶ At the end of the month, the Almohads marched out from Seville onto the plain of Salvatierra where they announced their presence by massacring a scouting detachment of the Order of Calatrava. Alfonso VIII sent requests for help to the other Christian states; the kings of León and Navarre responded with promises to send forces. With contingents of Portuguese having rallied to his banner, Alfonso VIII, apparently impatient, marched south from Toledo to meet the Almohads and drew his forces up to the fortress of Alarcos which was still under construction. On the 16th July, the Almohad army came into view on the plain where, following a two-day standoff, battle was joined on the 18th, Alfonso VIII having decided he could wait no longer for the promised reinforcements from León and Navarre. The combat opened when the king of Castile sent his

⁴⁰² Damien J. Smith, 'The Iberian Legation of Cardinal Hyacinth Bobone', in *Pope Celestine III (1191-1198)*, ed. by John Doran and Damien J. Smith (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008) pp. 81-111.

⁴⁰³ Branco, *Sancho I*, pp. 196-97.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁵ *Cronica Latina de Los Reyes de Castilla*, p. 12; *Historia de Rebus Hispanie*, p. 251.

⁴⁰⁶ *de Rebus Hispanie* p. 251 lines 8-9; Ambrosio Huici Miranda, *Las Grandes Batallas de La Reconquista Durante Las Invasiones Africanas* (Tetuan: Cremades, 1956) pp. 138-39.

cavalry to attack the Almohad vanguard. The heavily armoured Christian horsemen crashed through Yaqub's advance troops, but were then engulfed, surrounded and annihilated in a lethal torrent of arrows. Outwitted and outnumbered, the Christians were utterly defeated.⁴⁰⁷ Alfonso himself managed a narrow escape to Toledo with a few of his knights, leaving most of his troops dead on the field.⁴⁰⁸ The Muslim victors tossed their bodies, along with the horses and camels killed in the fray, into the newly dug defensive ditches at the foot of the walls of Alarcos where their bones continue to be unearthed by archaeologists in the twenty first century.

It was the most spectacular Muslim victory in Iberia since Zalaca (Sagrajas) in 1086 and gave rise to a vast plethora of legends and rumours, testament to the staggering impact of the event both on Christians and Muslims.⁴⁰⁹ According to Ibn Idari, 'Allah granted us victory and the defeated Christians turned their backs and abandoned their swords. The tyrant's camp was sacked and swept as in a harvest with the Christian's deaths – said to be around 30,000'.⁴¹⁰ Although the figures given in the Arab chronicles are undoubtedly exaggerated, the Christian losses were severe, with most of the Portuguese division among the dead, including Rodrigo Sanches, who had commanded the defence of Silves in 1190 and 1191, and Gonçalo Viegas, the master of the Cistercian knights of Évora. Indeed, the Cistercians lost heavily at Alarcos; aside from those knights of their affiliate Orders of Calatrava and Évora killed in the battle, the chain of fortresses whereby the Calatravans had defended the principal passage from al-Andalus to Toledo, within a few days of the defeat, fell to the Muslims, including Malagón, Benavente, Caracuel and the very seat from which the Order derived its name, Calatrava La Vieja. Although a certain bravura prevailed among the remaining knights such that they would establish a new seat in the astonishingly dangerous position of the old Roman fortress at Salvatierra, deep in Muslim territory, it would be a full seventeen years before they would regain their old headquarters and, until then, they came to be known as the Order of Salvatierra.⁴¹¹

Other Cistercian losses appear to have been incurred at this time at Alcobaça in Portugal, although here the waters are considerably more murky. According to Roger of Hoveden, the

⁴⁰⁷ Huici Miranda, *História Política*, pp. 364-71.

⁴⁰⁸ *Cronica Latina* pp. 13-14.

⁴⁰⁹ Lomax; *Reconquest*, p. 120.

⁴¹⁰ Ibn Idhari al-Marrakushi, *Al-Bayan al-Mughrib*, in Huici Miranda, *Historia Política*, p. 368.

⁴¹¹ Joseph F. O'Callaghan, 'The Order of Calatrava, 1158-1212' in *The Meeting of Two Worlds, Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades*, ed. by Vladimir P. Goss (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986) pp. 419-430 at p. 422 and also, idem, 'Martin Perez de Siones Mestre de Salvatierra' in *The Spanish Military Order of Calatrava and its Affiliates* (London: Variorum, 1975) II at p. 4.

Almohads once again entered Portuguese territory to lay waste to the lands of Sancho I and 'came to the abbey of Alcobaça, and slew the monks of the Cistercian order, who were there serving God, and those who offered resistance to them.'⁴¹² He also reports that another nearby Cistercian house was attacked, possibly Tamarães founded in 1171 from Alcobaça, but this time the Almohads granted the monks their lives on account of their pious way of life.⁴¹³ Since there is no other mention of these attacks in either the Muslim or Christian accounts of Yaqub's expedition, Herculano suggested that Roger of Hoveden, in spite of being the most accurate of the foreign contemporary chroniclers on Portuguese affairs, had accidentally transposed an event from the Almohad campaign of 1190.⁴¹⁴

Reactions in the Latin West to Alarcos

News of the disaster of Alarcos was greeted in the Latin West with shock and fear. In his *Chronicon Anglicanum*, written between about 1200 and the 1220s,⁴¹⁵ the Cistercian abbot, Ralph of the abbey of Coggeshall in Essex sated:

'The King of Morocco springing from Africa with thirty chieftains and with an innumerable army of Saracens landed in Spain and, laying waste to the lands of the King of Spain and many provinces by burning and ravaging, he spared neither age nor class, except those who submitted to Islam (*vesaniae*) of their own free will.'⁴¹⁶

This was known to Ralph because, he explains, certain leaders of that land (*principes terrae illius*) which Lomax identifies as Spanish Cistercians,⁴¹⁷ perhaps members of the Order of Calatrava, had arrived to the Cistercian Chapter General, presumably in September of 1195, only a few weeks after the event, reporting 'tearfully' of the presence of six hundred thousand Saracens, 'whose unexpected arrival profoundly worried all of Christendom.'⁴¹⁸

Roger of Hoveden similarly transmits a sense of the panic engendered in the wider Christian world by the perceived Muslim threat. The reports that the news of the defeat of the king of Castile by a huge army led by the 'emperor of Africa', which was ravaging the peninsula,

⁴¹² Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. W Stubbs, 4 vols. (London: Rolls Ser., 1868-71) p. 303

⁴¹³ Ibid; and see following note.

⁴¹⁴ Herculano, *História de Portugal*, vol.2, p. 95, and see Mattoso's comments at [39] p. 180.

⁴¹⁵ Elizabeth Freeman, 'Wonders, prodigies and marvels: unusual bodies and the fear of heresy in Ralph of Coggeshall's *Chronicon Anglicanum*' *Journal of Medieval History*, 26:2, 127-143, at p. 128.

⁴¹⁶ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Stevenson (London: Longman, 1875) p. 67. (*vesaniae* = literally 'madness' but here refers to the religion of the King of Morocco).

⁴¹⁷ Lomax, *Reconquest*, p. 120.

⁴¹⁸ *Chronicon Anglicanum*, Ibid.

destroying and plundering Christian cities, was so disturbing that it even prompted Philip Augustus of France and Richard of England, the two monarchs who would be first to suffer if the Muslims crossed the Pyrenees, to make renewed attempts to settle the disputes between them in order they could lead a joint expedition to drive back the Muslims, but no such agreement could be reached.⁴¹⁹ This unwillingness of Christian rulers, on both sides of the Pyrenees, to put aside their mutual wrangling in the face of such great danger was lamented by William of Newburgh who commented that 'the Christian kings of nearly all Europe were in a state of dissension with one another' such that scarcely any one of them could be expected to undertake the defence of Christendom in Spain. Having drawn parallels between the Almohad Caliph ('a certain false philosopher of [Saracen] superstition who promised great things') and Saladin who had invaded the kingdom of Jerusalem, William continued:

'The rumour of this hostile irruption spreading far and wide, in a short time pervaded the whole of Europe, and announced things still more atrocious, while the Christian population groaned deeply, and with just complaint accused their princes, who, uninflamed with Divine zeal, did not oppose themselves to the false faith which was gaining ground; but, according to the words of the apostle, they were consumed one of another, biting and eating each other up.'⁴²⁰

Alarcos and the Troubadours

Similar sentiments are to be found among the Occitanian troubadours. At the Court of Toulouse, Gavaudan, writing immediately after Alarcos, like William of Newburgh, made the connection between the Muslim West and the Muslim East suggesting that Saladin's capture of Jerusalem had emboldened the Saracens in the west such that now the 'king of Morocco' having summoned all his lieutenants was devastating Spain and now threatened Gavaudan's own land of Occitania.⁴²¹ Indeed, in his song *Senhors, per los nostres peccatz*, Gavaudan goes to the very heart of Christian anxiety, explicitly reporting the widespread fear that Spain, traditionally the buffer which protected the Christian West from the Infidel hoards, was about to crumble and expose the heartlands of Latin orthodoxy to Muslim conquest. He declares that, because Jerusalem is still not reconquered, 'the king of Morocco makes known that he will fight all the kings of Christendom, with his perfidious Andalusians and Arabs armed against the faith of Christ'. Gavaudan places the following words in the mouths of the Muslims;

⁴¹⁹ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, p. 302.

⁴²⁰ William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum anglicarum*, ed. R. Howlett, *Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, vol. I (London: Rolls Ser., 1884) pp. 445-47.

⁴²¹ Gavaudan, *Senhors, per los nostres peccatz* in Saverio Guida, *Il Trovatore Gavaudan* (Modena: S.T.E.M.-Mucchi, 1979) pp. 236-85. On the dating of the song, see *ibid*, p. 45 *et seq.*

'Franks make way for us! Provence and the Toulousain are ours, and all the land to Le Puy!' Warning the reader that 'You never heard a more terrifying threat than that of these false cursed pagan dogs' the troubadour implores Emperor Henry VI, Philip Augustus of France, count Raymond VI of Toulouse and Richard I of England to go to the aid of the 'King of Spain' and for the peoples of the Latin West to take the cross and unite with the Spaniards to vanquish the Moors.⁴²²

The disaster of Alarcos prompted another troubadour, Fulk of Marseilles, Cistercian monk, future abbot of Thoronet and afterwards bishop of Toulouse, to write at least two crusade songs. In *Chantars mi tonr'ad anfan*, Fulk, perceiving a threat to all of Christendom exhorts the kings of England, France and the Emperor to fight the Turks, presumably in the Levant, lest they 'conquer us!' (*mas pero la desonor pouse dir, si'l Turc...son vencut venson nos!*).⁴²³ Whilst in *Hueimais no'y conosco razo*, drawing a parallel with the loss of the Holy Sepulchre, Fulk addresses specifically the dangerous situation of Spain which stands in imminent danger of falling to the Saracens and refers to the Kings of Aragon and the recently defeated King of Castile.⁴²⁴ The *razo* of the Song, the only *razo* for Fulk's works to be of a historical nature, is detailed in its explanation that the work was composed on the occasion of the Christian defeat of the king of Castile by *Miramamolin* (Caliph Yaqub) and even lists three castles of the Order of Calatrava that fell to the Muslims as a consequence of Alarcos.⁴²⁵ Significantly, both works in their closing lines address one *Azimans*, a pseudonym (*senhal*) for another troubadour who had probably joined the Cistercian order by this time, Bertran de Born.⁴²⁶ Bertran, himself author of three crusade songs, frequently barraged Christian kings reluctant to rouse themselves in the defence of Christendom. It is likely that *Miez sirventes vueilh far dels reis amdos*,⁴²⁷ his half-*sirventes* about 'two kings', Richard I of England and Alfonso VIII of Castile

⁴²² Guida, *Il Trovatore*, pp. 236-85; For English translations see, *Rialto, Repertorio informatizzato dell'antica letteratura trobadorica e occitana* <http://www.rialto.unina.it/> (consulted 16/05/14); see also Michael Routledge, 'Songs' in *Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. by Jonathan Riley Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995) pp. 91-111 at p. 107.

⁴²³ Stanislaw Stronski (ed.) *Le Troubadour Folquet de Marseille, Edition Critique* (Crakow: Édition du Fonds Oslawski Librarie, 1910) pp. 78-83. For the dating of the work see Nicole Morgan Schulman, *From Lover to Villain, From sinner to Saint: the varied career of Folco, Troubadour, Monk and Bishop of Toulouse (c.1150-1231)* Ottawa : National Library of Canada = Bibliothèque nationale du Canada, [1999] Thesis (Ph. D.)--University of Toronto, 1998 p. 234.

⁴²⁴ Stronski, pp. 83-86.

⁴²⁵ *...e li ac touta Calatrava e Salvaterra e Castel de Dompnas*, Ibid., 'Vida et Razos' pp. 7-8 and pp. 148-152.

⁴²⁶ Schulman, pp. 62-64; Stronski pp. 39-41; see also *The Poems of The Troubadour Bertran de Born*, ed. by William D. Paden, Jr et al, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1986) pp. 444-451.

⁴²⁷ Ibid., pp. 396-400.

advocating a crusade in Spain was written in response to news of the Christian disaster of Alarcos.⁴²⁸

The marked predominance of Cistercian voices among the reactions to the disaster at Alarcos reflects the deep impression made on the White Monks by the event. Anxiety over the possible ramifications of the defeat for the safety of western Christendom would reverberate profoundly among them during the coming years intensifying, especially from the beginning of 1198, to the rhythm of the vastly increased role the Church was demanding of them outside their cloisters, especially against the heretics of the Midi.

Meanwhile, on the peninsula, Yaqub continued his punishment of the Christian kingdoms for a further two years. In 1196 he allied with Sancho VII of Navarre, who had designs on Castilian strongholds, and supplied a division of his troops to Alfonso IX for a joint attack on Castile. In this year the Almohads took Montáchez, Trujillo, Caravaca de la Cruz and Plasencia, where the inhabitants were transported to North Africa to join a good many captives from Alarcos put to the slave labour of building the mosque at Salé. Before returning to Seville for the winter, Yaqub seized yet another castle from the Order of Calatrava, Piedrabuena, which now received an Almohad garrison. The next year, Yaqub raided the regions of Talavera and Maqueda and laid siege to Madrid, whilst an Almohad division stormed Talamanca, slaughtering the defenders, enslaving the women and reducing the walls to rubble. Having abandoned the siege of Madrid which was being strongly defended, Yaqub raided the lands of Guadalajara, Alcalá, Oreja, Huete, Uclés, Cuenca and Alarcón, before retiring to Cordoba in mid-August where he received news that there were again problems in Tunisia where an Almoravid force from Majorca was on the rampage. Realising his sojourn on the peninsula had to be curtailed, Yaqub settled a five year truce with Alfonso VIII (subsequently renewed at three year intervals by Yaqub's son and successor, al-Nasir) and, in April of 1198, returned to the Maghreb. He died the next year.⁴²⁹

Alarcos, Sancho I and Alfonso IX; Portent of a Portuguese Crusade

Simultaneously with these events, the Christian kings warred amongst themselves. In 1196 serious hostilities broke out between the kings of León and Castile with both invading each other's lands, the former with the aid of Almohad troops. Alfonso VIII meanwhile, fighting on three fronts, against Leon, Navarre and the Almohads of al Andalus, allied with Pedro II of

⁴²⁸ Cf., J.E. Ruiz Doménech, 'El Sonido de la Batalla en Bertran de Born', *Medievalia*, Núm. 2 (1981), p. 77-109.

⁴²⁹ For Caliph Yaqub's campaigns of 1196-97 see Huici Miranda, *Las Grandes Batallas*, pp. 170-181; also, idem, *História Política*, pp. 371-90; also Lomax, *Reconquest*, for a short but useful summary, pp. 120-121.

Aragon. Sancho of Portugal now took the opportunity of taking his revenge on the Leonese for a series of insults, set-backs and humiliations over a prolonged period, including:- the 1169 Badajoz debacle which saw his father, Afonso Henriques, imprisoned by Fernando II who had demanded an exorbitant ransom both in money and territory; the repudiation by Fernando of Sancho's sister Urraca; the repudiation by Alfonso IX of his daughter Teresa; Sancho's abandonment by Alfonso IX in the face of the Almohad onslaughts that had nearly extinguished his kingdom, especially during that of 1191 when Alfonso IX had been his son-in-law; and the loss of important Portuguese warriors at Alarcos due, at least in part, to the failure of the Leonese to appear on the battlefield.⁴³⁰

In 1197, Sancho invaded Galicia taking Tuy, Sampaio, Lobios and Pontevedra.⁴³¹ Importantly for the charting of the development of crusading in the Portuguese sphere, it was for this punitive campaign against Alfonso IX that the Portuguese king petitioned Pope Celestine III for crusade indulgences.⁴³² This is the very first indication of the idea of the crusade being adopted by the Portuguese 'internally'; that is to say, in an essentially domestic Iberian situation. In contrast to the circumstances of the 1147 conquest of Lisbon, where crusading rhetoric appears to have been used by Portuguese clerics 'externally' in order to persuade passing foreign maritime crusaders to take part in an Iberian venture, in this action against León, as far as we know, foreign crusaders were not involved. Here, therefore, we may reasonably suppose that the appeal to crusade was expected to have a galvanising effect on, among others, the inhabitants of the Portuguese kingdom, thereby rallying the maximum number of warriors to the banner of Sancho. Certainly, Sancho felt he could represent Alfonso IX as an infidel and, thus, a fair target for crusading. His request to Celestine was made unequivocally on the grounds that Alfonso IX had demonstrated his relinquishment of Christianity in a number of respects, including not aiding Alfonso VIII at Alarcos, his maintenance of an alliance with the Almohads, and his attacks on the other Christian monarchs of the Peninsula which were carried out with the aid of Almohad troops. Celestine responded favourably to Sancho's petition on 10th April 1197 by granting the bull *Cum auctores*, expressing the indulgence in the following terms:

'To [King Sancho] and to all those who will fight mightily against the said [Alfonso IX], so long as he persists in his obstinacy, we concede by our present authority the same forgiveness of

⁴³⁰ Cf, Branco, *Sancho I*, p. 199.

⁴³¹ Herculano, *História de Portugal*, vol.2, p. 101.

⁴³² PUP, N°154 pp. 376-77; Peter W. Edbury, 'Celestine III, the Crusade and the Latin East', in *Pope Celestine III* ed. by Doran and Smith, pp. 129-143, at p. 135.

sins as we and we recall our predecessors to have granted to those who undertook the obligation of the journey to Jerusalem.’⁴³³

The equation of the Portuguese war on Alfonso IX with the wars in Palestine is explicit, and Sancho’s petitioning of the bull is strong evidence that the Portuguese had finally begun to apply crusading ideology within their own lands among their own people.

Ultimately, however, this postulated Portuguese crusade was to remain nothing more than a portent of things to come. Having granted Sancho’s request, Celestine, keen to put an end to Alfonso’s deviance, by the same bull, freed the vassals of the Leonese king from their oaths of loyalty and exposed his kingdom to the territorial ambitions of his peers who were to be allowed to keep, in perpetuity, all lands conquered from him. As we shall see later in this study, in the Hispania of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, monarchs only appear to have paid prompt attention to pontifical threats when the territorial integrity of their kingdoms was threatened. Alfonso IX was no exception.⁴³⁴ In a spectacular climb-down, the king of León hastened to conclude a peace with Alfonso VIII, which essentially involved a return to an arrangement agreed at Carrión in 1188 between the two monarchs but never fully implemented, whereby the king of León undertook to marry a Castilian princess. Thus, in October 1197, peace was compacted at Valladolid in a treaty which included the terms of the marriage contract between Alfonso IX and Berengária daughter of Alfonso VIII. Once more it was a consanguineous marriage, but it appears Celestine III was prepared to overlook this detail in the interests of peace in Christian Iberia.⁴³⁵ This speedy cessation of hostilities meant that a genuine Portuguese crusading enterprise had not had time to gather momentum and, although the interests of Sancho I were undoubtedly prejudiced by the treaty of Valladolid, by the time it was sealed, the king of Portugal was facing serious problems at home, with domestic unrest compounded by outbreaks of plague and famine which would endure throughout the remainder of his reign.

Nor were matters to be truly resolved between León and Castile. Aware that the marriage of Alfonso IX and the *Infanta* Berengária was consanguineous and anxious to avoid further opportunities for division occasioned by papal interference in the matrimonial affairs of their monarchs, Spanish clergymen hurried off to Rome in order to obtain the necessary dispensations.⁴³⁶ Yet, with the eve of the new century came the dawn of a new age. The

⁴³³PUP, N°154, p. 376.

⁴³⁴ Cf, Branco, *Sancho I*, p. 200.

⁴³⁵ Ibid.

⁴³⁶ Cf, Ibid, pp. 200-01.

couple had been married for only a few months when on 8th January 1198 Celestine III died. On that same day began the reign of Innocent III.

Innocent III

At thirty seven years of age Lothario of Segni, who took the name Innocent III, was a mere pup compared with his nonagenarian predecessor. This vigorous new pontiff was determined to be the fearless champion he believed the Church so badly needed to defend it from the multiple dangers it now faced. He had little doubt of the divine mission entrusted to him. Popes were hailed at their coronation, 'Father of princes and kings, ruler of the world, vicar on earth of our Saviour,' but, up to the time of his enthronement, the correlation between the rhetoric and the reality apparently had been something of a disappointment for Innocent III. As the new incumbent, he was adamant he would transform the pontifical office into that of the authentic sovereign of all Christendom, so that the pope was no longer primarily a clergyman but simultaneously the supreme secular lord whereby the essence of his power was the very fusion of the ecclesiastical and imperial dignity.⁴³⁷ At Innocent's episcopal consecration, which he had poignantly delayed until the Feast of the Chair of St Peter on 22nd February, the incoming pope expounded his interpretation of the charge by quoting the Prophet Jeremiah, 'See, I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant.'⁴³⁸

Small wonder *Sancta Mater Ecclesia* cried out for succour, for by the final years of the twelfth century she faced a constellation of troubles, all of which placed her authority in grim peril. Whilst flagrant defiance had become the norm among monarchs in England, France, Spain and Germany, growing worldliness pervaded the masses who inhabited an ever more urbanised society woefully guided by an avaricious clergy, popularly criticised for the dereliction of its spiritual mission. Away from the world, in the cloisters, the reform movement was running out of steam amid a general backsliding among the monastic orders with even the Cistercians being censured for their great accumulated wealth.⁴³⁹ All of this fomented the fecund loam from which had sprung a multiplicity of alternative visions of spiritual worthiness such that

⁴³⁷ Albert Hauck, 'Innocent III Desired to Rule the World' in *Innocent III Vicar of Christ or Lord of the World?* ed. by James M. Powell (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1994) pp. 15-18.

⁴³⁸ Innocent III, Sermon 4:2, PL 217: 653-660; Cf, Johannes Haller, 'Lord of the World' in *Innocent III Vicar of Christ...* pp. 79-94, esp. p. 79; and John C Moore, *Pope Innocent III (1160/61-1216): To Root up and to Plant* (Boston: Brill, 2003) p. 28.

⁴³⁹ Among the Cistercians' critics were Pope Alexander III, Stephen of Tournai, Peter the Chanter, Joachim of Fiore and especially Walter Map; Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) pp. 32-34; see also Margaret Sinex, 'Echoic Irony in Walter Map's Satire against the Cistercians', *Comparative Literature*, Vol. 54, No.4 (Autumn, 2002), pp. 275-90; and Walter Map, *De Nugis Cirialium*, pp. 103-13.

heresies proliferated, flourishing especially around the Mediterranean coasts, some achieving alarming levels of prestige and influence, with Catharism in the Midi having attained an established church served by bishops.⁴⁴⁰ On top of these problems, recent events in Iberia had raised the spectre of the imminent overrunning of Christendom by Saracens from the west who brimmed at the rickety gates of Christian Spain, ready to flood out of Africa and over the Pyrenees. Even as the words of Innocent's consecration address rose on the perfumed air in the old basilica of St Peter, Christian slaves toiled on the new mosque at Salé and Yaqub was still at large in Hispania.

Aware he had a good deal of work ahead of him, from the outset, Innocent looked to the monastic orders for aid in putting his reforming vision into practice. The Cistercians were particularly attractive to him, with their proven suitability as preachers and highly developed organisational and mutual-supervision mechanisms, which enabled their effective operational continuity at the transnational level.⁴⁴¹ Innocent's admiration for the Order had manifested as soon as he took office when, on his enthronement, he adopted the rotary device and motto of the Cistercian pope Eugenius III, *fac mecum signum in bonum*.⁴⁴²

The prosecution of the Crusade in the East was an early priority for Innocent. The Third Crusade had failed to return Jerusalem to the Christians and the crusade launched by Henry VI in 1196, although it had retrieved Sidon and Beirut in October 1197, came to an end later that year when news arrived to the German army in the East that Henry had died of fever at Messina. By summer of 1198, most of the crusaders were on their way home.⁴⁴³ Anxiously aware that urgent progress was needed in the war on Islam, only days after his consecration at the end of February 1198, Innocent wrote to the German barons including Henry duke of Brabant communicating his distress at news of Germans quitting the East. At the same time he wrote to Haymar (Aymeric), patriarch of Jerusalem (1194-1202) assuring him of his determination to rescue the Holy City.⁴⁴⁴

However, since Innocent took the view that victory in the Holy Land depended not only on military might but also upon the spiritual purity of the Christians, rather than calling for an

⁴⁴⁰ On the Cathar 'counter church' see Malcolm Barber, *The Cathars, Dualist Heretics I the Languedoc in the High Middle Ages* (Harlow: Longman, 2000) pp. 71-106; also Christine Thouzellier, *Catharism et Valdésisme en Languedoc* (Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1969) pp. 11-48.

⁴⁴¹ Cf. Brenda Bolton, 'For the See of Simon Peter: The Cistercians at Innocent III's Nearest Frontier' in *Monastic Studies I*, ed. by J. Loads (Bangor: Headstart History, 1990) pp. 146-57, at p. 146-47; reprinted in, idem, *Innocent III: Studies on Papal Authority and Pastoral Care* (Aldershot, Variorum, 1995).

⁴⁴² Elaine Amanda Graham-Leigh, *The Southern French Nobility and the Albigensian Crusade* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005) p. 75.

⁴⁴³ Kenneth M. Setton, ed. *A History of the Crusades*, Vol II, pp. 116-22.

⁴⁴⁴ Register 11, N°11, p. 20.

immediate crusade, he first addressed himself to the cure of the souls of his wayward flock.⁴⁴⁵ To this end, the Christian monarchs were to cease their fighting with each other and to remedy their illicit marital relations which were, in the pope's view, an affront to God and one of the causes of his heaping recent misfortunes upon his people. In April, Innocent dispatched his close confidant, the Cistercian monk Rainerius of Casamari (later to join the Cistercian house of Fossanova) to Spain as his legate, entrusted with the herculean task of not only imposing peace among the Iberian Christian kings, but also of bringing about the dissolution of the consanguineous marriage between Alfonso IX and Berengária of Castile.⁴⁴⁶ The next month, Innocent wrote to Philip Augustus admonishing the King of France to desist from his adulterous behaviour with Agnés of Merania and to retake his spurned wife Isambour of Denmark.⁴⁴⁷

With these preliminary measures underway, in the middle of August Innocent, still only in the eighth month of his pontificate, published detailed plans for a new crusade in the encyclical *Post miserabile*.⁴⁴⁸ Sent out, not to the kings, but to the ecclesiastical provinces and nobles of Europe with the exception of the Iberian Peninsula, the letter called for a general mobilization of armed forces for a minimum period of two years, specifically for the rescue of the Holy Land with a departure date set, over-optimistically as it would turn out, for March 1199 – the Crusade in fact would not get under way until 1202.

Alarcos and Innocent III

Clearly the result of extensive consultation and planning, the *Post miserabile* has attracted the attention of a number of commentators for a variety of reasons, including:- the remarkable condescension to administrative detail; its effect in shifting the emphasis of crusade preaching from an almost exclusive focus on the saving of souls to a preoccupation with raising money; and because, unlike *Quantum predecessores* and *Audita tremendi*, it has been considered not to be a reaction to a specific dramatic event such as the fall of Edessa or the loss of Jerusalem.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁵ Although Innocent's conviction of the interconnectedness of moral reform and crusade is powerfully present in the 1198 encyclical *Post miserabile*, his position on the subject is perhaps to be found most clearly stated in the sermon he delivered at the opening of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215; *Sermo in concilio generali lateranensi habitus*, PL 217, 673; *Pope Innocent III, Between God and Man: Six Sermons on the Priestly Office*, trans. by Corinne J. Vause and Frank C. Gardiner. (Washington, D.C: Catholic University of America Press, 2004) pp. 55-63; and see Andrew W. Jones, 'Fulk of Neuilly, Innocent III, and the Preaching of the Fourth Crusade' *Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval & Renaissance Studies*. 2010, Vol. 41, pp. 119-48 at pp. 132-134.

⁴⁴⁶ Bulário, N° 1, p. 1; On the monk Rainerius see Frances Andrews, *The Early Humiliati* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) pp. 95-96.

⁴⁴⁷ Register 11, N°199, p. 20.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid, N°336, pp. 499-505.

⁴⁴⁹ Cole, *Preaching*, p. 81.

It is in this latter respect some correction is required or, at least, a little qualification, since Iberian affairs seem to have been largely overlooked.

As previously outlined, recent events on the peninsula had caused widespread concern in the Christian West. Having followed up his triumph at Alarcos with devastating campaigns in 1196-97 during which he had almost completely dispossessed the Order of Calatrava and captured a good many more Christian towns and strongholds to boot, Yaqub remained on the Peninsula for a full three months following the accession of Innocent III, only crossing the Strait of Gibraltar to return to Morocco on 10th April. When, less than a week later (16th April), Innocent wrote to Rainerius sending him as his legate on a mission to Spain, there can be little doubt the pope had the defeat of the Christian army at Alarcos fixed clearly in his mind.⁴⁵⁰ Further, it is scarcely deniable that it is Alarcos that is intended when, in *Post miserabile*, Innocent places the following taunting phrases into the mouths of jubilant and gloating Saracens,

'Where is your God, who can neither deliver himself nor you from our hands? Behold! Now we have profaned your sanctuaries...already we have weakened and broken asunder the lances of the Gauls...and now for a *second time* subdued the haughty Spaniards.'⁴⁵¹

As commented earlier, Alarcos was compared by contemporaries with the great defeat in 1086 of Alfonso VI of León-Castile at Zalaca when the Almoravids delivered their mighty riposte to the Christian conquest of Toledo. According to this view, Alarcos was the 'second time' the Christians had been decisively bested.

Nevertheless, in *Post miserabile*, it is the Holy Land that is the unequivocal destination of the crusade indicating that, like the troubadour Gavaudan, Innocent espoused the view that the loss of Jerusalem had emboldened Saracens everywhere, particularly in Spain, and that in concentrating efforts on the recovery of the Holy Land, a successful outcome would be the most powerful assertion of Latin Christian superiority and would have an overawing impact on the enemies of the church everywhere.⁴⁵²

⁴⁵⁰ *Bulário*, N^o.1, p. 1.

⁴⁵¹ Register 11, N^o.336, pp. 499-505; English translation is from *Crusade and Christendom, Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291*, ed. by Jessalynn Bird et al. (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2013, pp. 31-37, at p. 32; the emphasis is mine.

⁴⁵² Indeed, it would have been a mammoth, if not impossible task to muster sufficient forces for simultaneous campaigns against the Muslims in Hispania and in the East. It was better, therefore, to concentrate all available forces on the 'flag-ship' target of Holy City of Jerusalem. For now, the Almohads were occupied with their problems in North Africa, Yaqub had died in 1199 and had been succeeded by his young son al-Nasir precipitating a further round of royal familial disputes, and thus there was time to rally and unite the Iberian Christian kingdoms before

Cistercians and the Fourth Crusade

In the event, the involvement of the Cistercian Order in what later came to be known as the Fourth Crusade was even more substantial than it had been in the Third Crusade, with many Cistercians accompanying the armies and several of their number playing significant roles in the expedition. For example, Abbot Martin of Pairis, having failed to persuade papal legate, Peter Capuano to release him from his crusade vow following his misgivings over the diversion of the Crusade to Zara, was given charge of the entire contingent of crusaders from Germany. Additionally, the legate ordered Abbot Martin along with three other religious, probably the abbots of Vaux-de-Cernay, Loos and Locedio, to remain with the Crusaders 'through every peril and to restrain them, insofar as it was possible from shedding Christian blood.'⁴⁵³ Abbot Peter of Locedio conveyed to the army Innocent's letter forbidding attacks on Christian lands, as its leaders contemplated attacking Zara. It was abbot Guy of Vaux-de-Cernay who read the letter aloud to the assembled Christian troops on the eve of their assault on the Croatian port. Abbot Martin of Pairis was among the delegation of three sent by the crusaders to Rome to beg absolution from Innocent III who had excommunicated them following their conquest of the Christian town.⁴⁵⁴ Martin of Pairis, along with several other abbots continued in the company of the army after Zara and were present at Constantinople. Following the first capture of the great Byzantine capital in 1203, Alexius IV wrote to Innocent III acknowledging the supremacy of the See of St Peter and stating that Abbot Peter of Locedio had encouraged him in this decision. Following the second capture of the city in 1204, Abbot Martin, although he forewent the general sack, helped himself to a generous haul of holy relics from the Church of the Pantocrator, which he brought back to his own abbey of Pairis in June 1205. Thereafter, Cistercian involvement in the Latin Empire of Constantinople continued. Abbot Peter of Locedio, having participated in the election of Baldwin of Flanders as the first Latin Emperor, remained in the conquered city for several years, actively involved in the pacification and consolidation of Greece and, between 1204 and 1276, some twelve Cistercian houses were

another major Almohad campaign was likely. As for the Occitanian heretics, they were to be countered by a vigorous program of preaching and public theological debate; violence in the Midi was not yet on the agenda. Innocent III, in the first years of his papacy, appears to have been striving to balance available resources against areas which, in his view, necessitated papal intervention; cf, Kienzle, *Cistercians Heresy and Crusade*, p. 139 who opines that the letters of Innocent III from the early 1200s show the pope hard at work 'juggling priorities'.

⁴⁵³ Gunther of Pairis, *Historia Captae a Latinis Constantinopoleos* in PL 212, 226-56 at 232B; ed. and trans. by Alfred J. Andrea, *The Capture of Constantinople: The Hystoria Constantinopolitana of Gunther of Pairis* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997) pp. 78-79; in his *De Peregrinatione in Greciam et Adventu Reliquarum de Grecia libellous*, in Paul Riant, *Exuviae Sacrae Constantinopolitanae* (Geneva: Societé de l'Orient Latin, 1877) at 1, p. 12, the Anonymous of Halberstadt, reports, *Ipse igitur, sicut etiam quatuor abates Cisetrciensis ordinis, quos papa specialiter destinavit, up ipsi crucesignatis verbo et exempt present exercitui se adiunxit*, from which Elizabeth Brown deduces the identities of the three abbots accompanying Martin of Pairis; Elizabeth Brown, 'The Cistercians In The Latin Empire Of Constantinople And Greece', 1204-1276, *Traditio* Vol. 14 (1958), pp. 63-120, p. 73 at note 44.

⁴⁵⁴ *Historia Captae a Latinis*, PL 212, 232D.

established spreading over an area from Chalcedon to Modon, including two convents for nuns and the foundation of communities on the islands of Euboea and Crete.⁴⁵⁵

Innocent III, Arnaud Amoury and the Continuation of the Cistercian Slide to Arms

Cistercian involvement in the crusades and crusading warfare was further to intensify and expand thanks to Innocent's heavy reliance upon the Order in the continuing campaign against heresy in Southern France. In this enterprise, the White Monks were to be led by a Narbonne and Catalan-Provencal, Cistercian cabal which was essentially hostile to the house of Toulouse. The principal actors were Pierre de Castelnau, Raol (Ralph) de Fontfroide, Fulk (Foulque) of Marseilles (the former troubadour) and, the President General of the Cistercian Order himself, Abbot of Cîteaux, Arnaud-Amaury, appointed legate in late spring 1204 and destined to become a legendary *bête noire* of the Occitanian campaigns.⁴⁵⁶ Meanwhile, Innocent maintained pressure on the Order to supply him with qualified monks to preach in the region and also to engage heretics in public, theological debates. This the pope did through a series of letters, repeatedly urging upon the Cistercians the usefulness of the active life and of the necessity, at times, of quitting the contemplative life of Mary in order to take on the chores of Martha.⁴⁵⁷

Innocent initiated his project in the first months of his papacy by sending the respected and influential Cistercian monk Rainier, 'the Andrew to Innocent's Peter',⁴⁵⁸ who had begun his vocation at Casamari, and a fellow Cistercian monk, Guido (Guy), to the Languedoc in 1198. The pope's letter addressed to the religious and secular lords of the Midi introducing the two monk-legates is dated 21st April, less than a week after the pope had instructed Rainier on his mission to Spain.⁴⁵⁹ Apparently Rainier was expected to tackle Rome's concerns in Spain and in Occitania simultaneously; Guido on the other hand was only briefed to act in France.⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁵⁵ For useful summaries of Cistercian involvement in the Fourth Crusade see Louis J. Lekai, *The Cistercians, Ideals and Reality* (Ohio: Kent. State University Press. 1977) p. 53-54, and especially Brown, 'Cistercians in the Latin Empire', pp. 73-78.

⁴⁵⁶ Jean-Louis Biget 'L'art Cistercien dans le Midi Toulousain,' *Les Cisterciens de Languedoc* (XIIIe-XIVe s.) (Fanjeaux: Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 1986, pp. 368-369 note, 103; Martín Alvira Cabrer, 'Le "Vénérable" Arnaud Amaury: Image et Réalité d'un Cistercien entre Deux Croisades', *Hérésis*, N°32, pp. 3-35, at p. 5.

⁴⁵⁷ Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade*, pp. 135-36.

⁴⁵⁸ Bolton, 'For the See of Simon Peter', p. 147.

⁴⁵⁹ Register. 1, N°94; Frances Andrews, *The Early Humiliati* (Port Chester: Cambridge University Press, 2000) pp. 92-97.

⁴⁶⁰ See C.M. Dutton, *Aspects of the Institutional History of the Albigensian Crusade, 1198-1229* PhD (London, 1993), p. 71; Guido was only mentioned in papal letters referring to the Languedoc, the letters concerning Iberia being addressed to Rainier alone. Dutton suggests that Guido may have been a subordinate who was to act in the Midi according to Rainier's instructions whilst the latter was occupied in Spain and Portugal.

Under instructions to proceed to Spain to broker a Christian peace and dissolve the uncanonical marriage of Alfonso IX and Princess Berengária of Castile, Rainier can hardly have spent much time in Southern France as he passed through heading for the Pyrenees.⁴⁶¹ Nevertheless, his Occitanian schedule was a busy one since he was required to preach, correct clerics and monks, judge and absolve violators of clerical immunity and confound and bring-back heretics to unity with the Church.⁴⁶² Rainier appears to have been in Spain during the second half of 1198, and then to have returned to Occitania in 1199 where, suffering from ill-health, he was aided for a limited period by Peter de Castelnau, then archdeacon of Maguelonne. He appears to have ended his activities in the region in July 1199, at about the time he became the Pope's confessor. Although Rainier subsequently joined Fossanova he remained within the Pope's close circle and, in 1201, was one of the three commissioners entrusted with the investigation of the First and Second Orders of the Humiliati and, in November and December of that same year, he was with Innocent III at Agnati where he interpreted the Pope's dream on the canonisation of Gilbert of Sepringham.⁴⁶³ In addition to his frequently advising Innocent with regard to the Cistercians, evidence of Rainier's prodigious influence within his own Order lies in his writing a letter, in 1203, to Arnaud Amaury shortly after the latter's election to the abbacy of Citeaux, advising him on how to deal with the divisions that had arisen between Citeaux and her four daughter houses over matters of primacy.⁴⁶⁴ Further indications of Rainier's great reputation within the Order emerge from Cardinal Bishop Hugolino's lengthy, almost hagiographical, elegy to him, written shortly after his death in 1207, contained in a letter addressed to the abbots and brothers of Fossanova, Casamari and Salem (near Konstanz in southern Germany where Hugolino happened to be at the time he was writing).⁴⁶⁵

Following the end of Rainier's legation in mid 1199 and the fleeting legation of Cardinal John of St Paul in 1200, Innocent did not appoint further legates to Occitania until 1203 when Peter of Castelnau and Raol of Fontfroide were commissioned and sent to the region on an open-ended, long-term basis. Unlike, the short-lived legations of 1198-1200; these commissions

⁴⁶¹ Cf, *Ibid.* Indeed, Dutton expresses puzzlement as to what extent the early legates were expected to be able to achieve when they appear to have spent so little time in the Midi; *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁴⁶² Marie-Humbert Vicaire, 'Les Clercs de la Croisade' in *Paix de Dieu et Guerre Sainte en Languedoc au XIIIe siècle, Cahiers de Fanjeaux, Cahier 4.* (Toulouse, Privat, 1969), pp. 260-80 at p. 261.

⁴⁶³ Bolton, 'For the See of Simon Peter', p. 150.

⁴⁶⁴ B. Griesser, 'Rainer von Fossanova und seiner Brief an Abt Arnald von Citeaux (1203)', *Cistercienser Cronik* 60 (1953), pp. 152-67 at pp. 163-66. In the letter Rainier opines that much of the trouble originates in the wrong sorts of people entering the Order; Bolton, 'For the See of Simon Peter...etc.', p. 150.

⁴⁶⁵ Bolton, 'For the See of Simon Peter', p. 150.

were to endure for several years and, in fact, both Peter and Raol would die during the course of their offices.⁴⁶⁶

Nevertheless, by early 1204 it was clear that their mission was not making sufficient progress and, on the last day of May 1204, Innocent commissioned Abbot Arnaud Amaury. Although various sources indicate Amaury's Catalan origin, including the *Latin Chronicle of the Kings of Castile*, nothing is known of his life before he begins to appear in the historical record in 1196 when he was elected abbot of the well-known Cistercian house of Poblet in Aragon.⁴⁶⁷ Thereafter, his meteoric rise saw him promoted in 1198 to the abbacy of the important southern French Cistercian abbey of Grandselve, the mother house of all the Occitanian Cistercian communities, and from there, in November 1200, to appointment as the seventeenth Abbot of Cîteaux, the Abbot General of the entire Cistercian Order. Now in the first years of the thirteenth century, faced with the inefficiency of the Occitanian clergy and the growing successes of the *parfaits*, Rome demanded, as Alvira Cabra observed, 'a species of militant orthodoxy' which would comprise 'a rigorous theologian' (Raol) 'an unyielding jurist' (Peter) and 'a general impatient for battle' (Amaury).⁴⁶⁸ It was in the spirit of this final category that Amaury was charged with extirpating heresy in the provinces of Aix, Arles, Narbonne and neighbouring dioceses.⁴⁶⁹

At first, however, pacific means of preaching and persuasion were to be employed. To boost the effort, following his attendance at the Chapter General in 1206, Amaury returned from Cîteaux in March of 1207 having recruited to the Occitanian cause a full twelve Cistercian abbots, including abbot Guy of les Vaux de Cernay, uncle of chronicler Peter and veteran of the Fourth Crusade, who would take charge of the preaching operation from 1208. The abbots were accompanied by numerous monks.⁴⁷⁰ Nevertheless, in spite of the laudations heaped upon the abbot-preachers in Peter de Vaux de Cernay's *Historia Albigensis*,⁴⁷¹ and of their having been joined by the Castilian Bishop Diego of Osma and his sub-prior Dominic Guzman who encouraged preaching in poverty on terms equal to those of their Cathar adversaries, their efforts were ultimately unsuccessful. Some of the Cistercians brought by Arnaud

⁴⁶⁶ Dutton, *Aspects*, pp. 72-74; Graham-Leigh, *The Southern French Nobility*, p. 76.

⁴⁶⁷ ...*et cum archiepiscopo Narbonensi, qui orinudus fuerat de Catalonia.*; *Crónica Latina* ed. and trans. by Brea. p. 29; Alvira-Cabrer, 'Le "Venerable" Arnaud Amaury' p. 6.

⁴⁶⁸ Alvira-Cabrer, 'Le "Venerable" Arnaud Amaury', p. 6 who quotes M. Roquebert, *L'Épopée cathare*, 5 vols. (Toulouse: Privat and Paris: Perrin, 1970-1998) vol.1 p. 178.

⁴⁶⁹ Raymonde Foreville, 'Arnaud Amalric, archevêque de Narbonne (1196-1225)' in *Gouvernement et vie de l'église au Moyen Âge* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1979) p. 137.

⁴⁷⁰ Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, *Histoire Albigoise*, trans. by Pascal Guébin and Henri Maisonneuve (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1951) p. 20, §47; Petrus Vallis Cernaii, *Historia Albigensis*, PL 213, 554B.

⁴⁷¹ ...*totius viri religionis, viri perfectae et sanctae scientiae, viri incomparabilis sanctitatis...*, *Ibid.*

departed within just a few weeks and all of them had returned to their houses of origin within the year.⁴⁷² Raol of Fontfroide also withdrew to the abbey of Franquevaux where he died in July 1207. When in January 1208 Peter Castelnau was murdered, supposedly by a henchman of Raymond VI of Toulouse, Innocent III, affronted and infuriated, called for a crusade, thereby beginning what Jonathan Sumption famously described as 'one of the most savage of all medieval wars'.⁴⁷³

Why Cistercians for Occitania?

Clearly Innocent had decided early in his papacy that he would make the fight on heresy in Southern France the preserve of the Cistercians. The appointment of Arnaud Amaury not only empowered the Cistercian effort through his position as Father Abbot of the entire Order, but his prior experience as Abbot of Granselve, one of the most powerful houses in southern France and, indeed, motherhouse of Peter of Castelnau's and Raol's house of Fontfroide which was a major institution in its own right, meant that he was extraordinarily well-connected in the region and in a prime position to guide the Cistercians of southern France. It is thanks to his influence that, even after 1208 when legates were appointed from outside the Order (Milo, a papal notary, in 1209 and Thedisius, a Genoan canon, in 1210), the legations retained a marked Cistercian character.⁴⁷⁴

That, until 1208 in Occitania, all of the papal legates, Rainier, Peter, Raol and Arnaud Amaury were Cistercians and that, in 1205, once again it would be a Cistercian, Fulk of Marseilles installed as Bishop of the crucial see of Toulouse, gives us obvious pause to consider why Innocent III turned so vigorously to the White Monks for the fulfilment of his programme.

One likely motivation was that, through the anti-heretical missions of St Bernard in the Toulousian Midi in the 1140s and Henri de Marci a generation later, the Cistercians had gained considerable adroitness in dealing with Occitanian dissent. It was an involvement of which, according to Vincaire, 'Cîteaux retained the records in its archives and the tactical and strategic experience in the know-how of its leaders'.⁴⁷⁵ At the same time, in addition to their proven usefulness in the fight against heresy, Rome had greatly appreciated the Cistercians for their

⁴⁷² Jonathan Sumption, *The Albigensian Crusade* (London: Faber and Faber, 1978) p. 90; William of Tudela, gives an indication of the difficulties those and later missionaries faced in the Languedoc, 'Not one word of their exhortations did those people listen to, but said scornfully, 'There's that bee buzzing round again!'; *The Song of the Cathar Wars*, trans. by Jamet Shirley (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996) *laisse* 46, p. 32.

⁴⁷³ Sumption, *The Albigensian Crusade* p. 16.

⁴⁷⁴ Graham-Leigh, *Southern French Nobility...* pp. 75-77.

⁴⁷⁵ *De toutes ces activités, Cîteaux a conservé le dossier dans ses Archives et l'expérience tactique et stratégique dans le savoir-faire de ses chefs*; Vicaire, 'Les Clercs de la Croisade', p. 262.

interventions in the service of the Catholic Church, not least in the person of Bernard of Clairvaux for his support of Innocent II in the Anacletian schism and also through the actions of the Order in support of Alexander III during the prolonged schism caused by Octavian (Antipope, Victor IV) and his successors. Given Rome's predilection for the Cistercians, it is hardly surprising that Innocent followed the lead of his predecessors and looked upon the Order as a vast reservoir of highly educated and devoted personnel who could be employed in a variety of important capacities including as leaders of evangelical and reforming programmes, as diplomatic envoys, investigators and apostolical judges. Examples proliferate, especially in Iberia. Meanwhile, the Italian houses of Fossanova and Casamari played a crucial role in papal efforts to bring about peace between John Lackland of England and Philip Augustus of France. Indeed, Abbot Gerald of Casamari is described in the *Gesta Innocentii III* as running from France to England and from England to France for the entire year 1203-4.⁴⁷⁶ Innocent turned to the same Italian houses again for the resolution of his problems in the south of the *Patrimonium beati Petri*. It was Brother Rainier, described by Brenda Bolton as 'probably the most significant Cistercian since St Bernard', who was the tie between these two houses and the person of Innocent III.⁴⁷⁷ Indeed, the White Monks found themselves fulfilling the requirements of a rapidly developing papacy which, still in the first half of the twelfth century, was without an adequate professional administrative staff to serve its needs, in spite of the expansion of its operations over and above that of supreme spiritual authority to include supreme legal authority and its ever more brazen aspirations to supreme temporal authority.⁴⁷⁸

However, it was not only the manifold skills, steadfast adhesion to Catholic orthodoxy, erudition and dedication that recommended the Cistercians to Innocent III. The preservation of the doctrinal integrity of the Church demanded a strong spiritual unity among the principal actors promoting its ideals. Of this conception, the famously rigorous and efficient enforcement of common observance throughout the Cistercian Order was the unparalleled paradigm. It is notable that when Pierre de Castelnau was first sent to aid the overworked and ailing legate Rainier, he occupied the position of archdeacon of Maguelonne, a prestigious office which he clearly valued since he spent three years in Rome defending a legal challenge to the validity of his appointment to the post.⁴⁷⁹ However when, in 1203, he returned to the Midi as a legate, he did so as a White Monk, having recently entered the Cistercian house of

⁴⁷⁶ *Gesta Innocentii III*, PL XXIII, xlv; Bolton, 'For the See of Simon Peter...etc', p. 150.

⁴⁷⁷ Bolton, 'For the See of Simon Peter,' p. 150.

⁴⁷⁸ For a résumé of the tensions caused by persistent calls on the services of the White Monks by the papacy, see Lekai, pp. 62-63.

⁴⁷⁹ Register, 1: N^os 267 and 538; Dutton, *Aspects*, p. 74.

Fontfroide, the same abbey as his co-legate, Master Raoul, who appears to have been sent along with Peter, at least in part, to aid him as a newly joined member of the Order, in the correct observance of the Cistercian application of the Benedictine Rule.

A further instance of the adoption of the Cistercian habit by a cleric outside the Order on his becoming active against heresy in the Midi, is the case of Diego, Bishop of the Castilian see of Osma. Bishop Diego, returning from a visit to the Pope in Rome in 1206, stopped at a Cistercian house, assumed the habit of the Order and took into his entourage a party of monks from that community who were to instruct him in their observance, before arriving to a council in Montpellier where the twelve Cistercian abbots recruited by Amaury were holding discussions on tactics. Having arrived to the council, Diego proffered his advice and joined the abbots in their preaching mission. This information, recounted by Jordan of Saxony in his *Libellus de principis ordinis Praedicatorum*, has caused mystification among historians,⁴⁸⁰ however, as Vincaire suggests, Diego's adoption of the Cistercian uniform can be explained comfortably in the light of Innocent's orders, issued shortly after his accession to the papacy, with reference to the evangelisation of Livonia, when he decreed that missionary groups should present a uniform image and that, in order to do so, they should assume a single observance, regardless of the original observance of individual members. Thus a group comprising a mix of canons regular and Cistercians would all adopt a single rule, be it that of the Cistercians or of the canons regular and, accordingly, adopt the appropriate single habit as an outward sign of their unity. In this way, missionaries would avoid confusing their converts through a patchwork of observances and dissimilarity of dress.⁴⁸¹

The authority of Amaury as leader of Catholic Orthodoxy in Occitania, if it had ever been in doubt, became indisputable following the death of Raoul in July 1207 and especially following the murder of Peter Castelnau in the following year. In a bull of 28th March 1208, the pope called the chivalry of France to a Crusade against the heretics of the Midi and the Count of Toulouse. Innocent appointed Amaury legate, along with the bishops Navarre of Courserans and Hugh of Riez and he invested them with powers equal to those he had devolved to their predecessor legates.⁴⁸² Innocent also instructed the legates to engage more preachers which were to be under the direction of the Cistercian abbot, Guy of les Vaux de Cernay, who was appointed master (*magister*) of the preachers. The crusade of words, begun in 1203-4, was

⁴⁸⁰ Iordano de Saxonia, *Libellus de principis ordinis Praedicatorum*, ed. by H. C. Scheeben in *Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica*, XVI (Rome: Institutum Historicum FF. Praedicatorum, 1935) pp. 25-88 at p. 35, §18.

⁴⁸¹ Vicaire, 'Les Clercs de la Croisade', p. 264; Iben Fønnesberg-Schmidt, *Popes and the Baltic Crusades, 1147-1254* (Boston: Brill, 2007) p. 114-115.

⁴⁸² Potthast, 3348; For the text of the bull see A. Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, Vol.1 (Paris: Henri Plon, 1863) pp. 317-19.

now to be conducted simultaneously with that of arms.⁴⁸³ The Cistercians were thus, once again, placed at the head of the mission in the Languedoc.⁴⁸⁴ Certainly William of Tudela, author of the first part of *La Chanson de La Croisade Contre Les Albigeois*, was in no doubt as to the crucial role played by the head of the Cistercian Order. In his account of Innocent's decision to call the crusade, which William claims was told to him by an eye witness, Amaury is present in Rome when Innocent receives news of Peter Castelnau's assassination. The abbot urges the pope, in strong terms, to proclaim the indulgence and exhort the faithful to arms, whereupon the pope instructs Amaury 'Go to Carcassonne, brother, and to great Toulouse on the Garonne and lead the armies against the ungodly.'⁴⁸⁵ Indeed, during the spring months of 1209, large numbers of crusaders from Ille-de-France, Normandy, Brittany, Germany and Northern Italy, in answer to Innocent's call, gathered at Lyon. On 24th June, Amaury assumed supreme command of the expedition.⁴⁸⁶

Kill all of them

The savage nature of the campaign is frequently represented as epitomised in the legendary episode involving Amaury at the culmination of the siege of Béziers, one of the first actions of the so-called Albigensian crusade. In the famous story recounted in the *Dialogus Miraculorum* by the Cistercian monk Caesarius of the North-Rhenish monastery of Heisterbach, Amaury is asked by his troops how they should differentiate between those citizens of the town who were heretics and those who were good Catholics. Amaury responded, 'Kill [all of] them. The Lord knows which are His among them' and so 'countless numbers were killed in that town.'⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸³ Innocent had, after all, proclaimed an indulgence equal to that granted to those who went to the Holy Land for all who laboured against heretics, in the bull *Etsi nostra navicula* of 31st May 1204; PL 215, 360C.

⁴⁸⁴ On the reaction of Innocent to the murder of Peter Castelnau and the bull of 28 March 1208, see Thouzellier, *Catharisme et Valdésisme* pp. 206-208.

⁴⁸⁵ *La Chanson de La Croisade Contre Les Albigeois*, *laisses* V-VIII, and see Kienzle, *Cistercians Heresy and Crusade*, p. 152, note 74, for the plausibility of Amaury's presence and influence in Rome. Since the presumed author of the assassination of Peter of Castelnau, Raymond VI of Toulouse, had so little to gain from the act, Roquebert has suggested that the hand of Amaury was behind the murder, painting the affair in the light of a 'false flag' episode, providing the pretext for Catholic sponsored military intervention in Occitania. He also suggests that Amaury played a decisive role in the hardening of the papal policy. In order 'to widen between him (Raymond VI) and the Church an irremediable gap enabling the military conquest of the County of Toulouse and dispossession of the Count, the Abbot of Cîteaux endeavored alternately, sometimes not to apply the papal directives which paved the way for a reconciliation, sometimes maneuvering Innocent III himself to harden his position, not hesitating, on occasion, to deceive.'; *L'Épopée cathare*. vol. 1, pp. 216-17; see also Alvira Cabrer, 'Le "Vénérable" Arnaud...' p. 7-8.

⁴⁸⁶ Alvira-Cabrer, 'Le "Vénérable" Arnaud Amaury', p. 68; Guillaume De Puylaurens, *Chronica Magistri Guillelmi de Podio Laurentii*, ed. and trans. by Jean Duvernoy (Toulouse: Le Péréginateur, 1996) p. 61. It appears Amaury was the military chieftain of the Crusade until the appointment of Simon de Monfort as leader of the enterprise in autumn of 1209 and the abbot of Cîteaux features prominently in the sources as a war leader during the several phases of the Crusade; C.f., Setton, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol II, pp. 289-90.

⁴⁸⁷ *Cognoscentes ex confessionibus illorum catholicos cum haereticis esse permixtos, dixerunt Abbati: Quid faciemus, domine? Non possumus discernere inter bonos et malos. Timens tam Abbas quam reliqui, ne tantum timore mortis se catholicos simularent, et post ipsorum abscessum iterum ad perfidiam redirent, fertur disse: Caedite eos. Novit enim Dominus que sunt eius. Sicque innumerabiles occisi sunt in civitate illa.* Caesarii Heisterbacensis Monachi,

Whether Amaury actually said these words or not, the crusader army led by the legate did perform a great massacre of the inhabitants of Béziers when the town was taken on 22 July 1209 and there is no record that the Abbot made any attempt to stop it.⁴⁸⁸ He even appears to have ignored appeals to sanctuary since a large number of townspeople had fled into the church of Sainte Mari-Magdeleine, which the crusaders promptly burned to the ground. Indeed, writing to the pope reporting the event in miraculous terms (*ut quasi miraculose*), Amaury proudly states that 'our men slew with the edge of the sword almost twenty thousand people sparing neither rank, sex nor age'.⁴⁸⁹ He even appears to have exaggerated the numbers slain in his enthusiasm, since informed estimates suggest early thirteenth-century Béziers would have possessed a population of only eight or nine thousand at most.⁴⁹⁰ Further, Amaury continues his report adding, in strongly providential tones, that following the slaughter, 'the whole town was plundered and set ablaze, divine punishment raging down upon it in a wonderful manner'.⁴⁹¹ Thus, whilst it may be uncertain he uttered the words placed in his mouth by Caesarius of Heisterbach, as Guébin and Maisonneuve observed, *il eût été fort capable de la dire*.⁴⁹² Indeed, the massacre at Béziers had a profound psychological effect, striking terror throughout the region, as it was no doubt intended to do. As at Jerusalem in 1099, Alvor in 1189 and Acre in 1191 among many other examples of atrocity, whilst there may or may not have been military necessities for these actions, in the background there always lurked a positive tactical decision based upon the principles of psychological warfare. In the case of Béziers, William of Tudela is explicit that such a tactic was employed:

'The lords from France and Paris, laymen and clergy, princes and marquises, all agreed that at every castle the army approached, a garrison that refused to surrender should be slaughtered wholesale, once the castle had been taken by storm. They would then meet with no resistance anywhere, as men would be so terrified at what had already happened. That is how they took

Dilogus Miraculorum, 2 Vols, ed. by Joseph Strange (Cologne: Gregg Press Incorporated (1851) reprint, 1966), Vol.1 p. 302.

⁴⁸⁸ *Chronicle of William of Puylaurens*, p. 33; Peter of Les Vaux de Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade* ed. and trans. by W.A. Sibley and M.D. Sibley (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1998) pp. 50-51; William of Tudela, *The song of the Cathar Wars*, trans. by Janet Shirley (Aldershot, Ashgate, 1996) *laisse* 21, p. 21. For an analysis of the event which attributes a primary role to the camp followers of the besieging army, see Laurence W. Marvin, *The Occitan War, A Military and Political History of the Albigensian Crusade, 1209-1218* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

⁴⁸⁹ PL 216, 137-41.

⁴⁹⁰ Setton, *A History of the Crusades*, p. 289 at note 14.

⁴⁹¹ PL 216, 139C *et seq.*

⁴⁹² 'he would have been quite capable of saying it'; 'Introduction' in *Histoire Albigeoise*, trans by Pascal Guébin and Henri Maisonneuve (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1951) p.xvi.

Montréal and Fanjeaux and all that country – otherwise, I promise you, they could never have stormed them. That is why they massacred them at Béziers, killing them all.⁴⁹³

Another event revealing of Amaury's views on the use of violence occurred at the capitulation of the Cathar town of Minerve in 1210, where, according to Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, the abbot of Cîteaux on being asked, as commander of the expedition, by the Crusader barons to settle the terms of surrender, became extremely upset because, 'he was eager for the death the enemies of Christ, but because he was a monk and priest he did not dare to kill them.' He resolved to allow the heretics to live, if they abjured of their heresy and accepted conversion to Catholicism. When one of the Crusader commanders (Robert Mauvoisin) expressed his concern that a good number of the enemy appeared to be about to receive their freedom, Amaury reassured him with the words, 'Don't worry, I believe that very few will convert'. The result was that 140 *Parfaits* were burned at the stake.⁴⁹⁴ A similar episode, probably involving the Abbot of Cîteaux, occurred during the following summer at Cassès, where dozens of heretics, perhaps as many as 100, were burned.⁴⁹⁵

General Cistercian Support for Amaury and the Cistercian Slide to Arms

Kienzle has attempted to represent Amaury as an exception among his peers since for her, 'it is difficult to see Amaury as a true monk... and that he demonstrated the worst of Cîteaux, an appalling contradiction of monastic spirituality and its ideals of humility, prayer and contemplation. His conduct should not be judged as representative of the Order.'⁴⁹⁶ The evidence for this position, however, is demonstrably weak. Jacques Berlioz, in his study devoted to the Albigensian Crusade as seen through the works of Caesarius of Heisterbach draws attention to the story of the *revenant* contained in the *Otia Imperialia* of Gervaise of Tilbury.⁴⁹⁷ Gervaise, who compiled the work between 1211 and 1215, although not himself a Cistercian, was connected to the Cistercian abbot Ralph of Coggeshall,⁴⁹⁸ and, whilst the story reveals there was some discomfort in the Order of Cîteaux concerning events at Béziers, it resolves powerfully in favour of the massacre.

⁴⁹³ *The Song of the Cathar Wars*, *laisse* 21, p. 21; and see McGlynn, *By Sword and Fire*, pp. 170-79, esp. p. 177.

⁴⁹⁴ *Hystoria Albignéis*, vol.1, P. 232; *Histoire Albigeoise*, pp. 64-66; According to Berlioz, Amaury preferred to let Simon de Montfort take responsibility for the massacre, Jacques Berlioz, '*Tuez-Les Tous, Dieu Reconnaîtra Les Siens, La Croisade Contre Les Albigeois Vue Par Césaire de Heisterbach* (Toulouse: Loubatières, 1994) p. 75.

⁴⁹⁵ William of Tudela, *Canso*, *laisse* 84-85; Alvira Cabrer, 'Le "Venerable" Arnaud...' p. 12.

⁴⁹⁶ Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade*, p. 161.

⁴⁹⁷ Jacques Berlioz, '*Tuez-Les Tous, Dieu Reconnaîtra Les Siens, La Croisade Contre Les Albigeois Vue Par Césaire de Heisterbach* (Toulouse: Loubatières, 1994).

⁴⁹⁸ S.E. Banks and J. W. Binns 'Introduction' in Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, ed. and trans. by S.E. Banks and J. W. Binns (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), pp. xxxvi-xxxviii.

In the story, the ghost of a young man of Beaucarie, the *revenant*, on miraculously returning from the world beyond, answers a series of questions on the afterlife put to him by various clerical authorities of the town. Guillaume Hélie, the Cistercian Bishop of Orange asks the *revenant*, 'if the death and extermination of the Albigensians was pleasing to God.' The question, as Berlioz demonstrates, is almost certainly premised on events at Béziers.⁴⁹⁹ The *revenant* answers very strongly in the positive that 'nothing that had ever been done in that region had pleased God so much.' He adds, 'God wants the good to be separated from the bad on his Day of Judgment. Indeed even the good who have not stained their faith with heresy have sinned if they have tolerated it...'⁵⁰⁰ In this way the massacre of the heretics is justified and those 'good' Catholics (*bonos*) burned along with them had sinned through their tolerant attitudes and so deserved their end.⁵⁰¹

In favour of the proposition that Amaury did indeed give the notorious order at Béziers, Berlioz has shown convincingly that Gervais' story, written only two years after the massacre, contains a remarkably strong co-incidence with Amaury's speech, the earliest surviving report of which is that contained in Caesarius' *Dialogus* produced more than a decade after the event, probably at the beginning of the 1220s. Berlioz observes that, since Caesarius has Amaury say in effect that 'the lord would separate the good from the bad', it is clear that Gervais' *revenant* brings the news from the afterlife confirming that the judgment has in fact occurred (or at least is in hand). Thus, 'It is tempting to identify a close if not direct link between the two speeches.' Whilst there is no indication whatsoever that Caesarius knew of the work of Gervais nor, indeed, of the story of the *revenant*, Berlioz is persuaded that the Cistercian Guillaume Hélie, informed perhaps at the Chapter General of the words of his brother-monk, had been troubled and sought to have a clear conscience. Nevertheless, it is notable that the response of the *revenant* does not seem to shock the priest-interrogator, who, in the story, puts the questions to the *revenant* on behalf of Guillaume, the latter having had to absent himself to attend the Cistercian Chapter General. Furthermore, there is no indication whatsoever that the response troubles in the least the author, Gervase of Tilbury.⁵⁰²

⁴⁹⁹For Berlioz, 'Everything happens as if the massacre at Béziers was inscribed in filigree in the answer of the *revenant* without, even two years later, it being possible to admit it, including in the World Beyond.' *Tuez-Les Tous*, p. 97.

⁵⁰⁰ *Otia Imperialia*, pp. 758-789; the Cistercian monk William Hélie had been appointed Bishop of Orange c.1205 (d.1221);

⁵⁰¹ Berlioz, *Tuez-Les Tous*, pp. 96-97.

⁵⁰² *Ibid*, pp. 97-98. Berlioz further identifies a quotation in Amaury's words as reported by Caesarius from Paul's Second Letter to Timothy (2.19): *Sed firumum fundamentum Dei stat hebens signaculum hoc: cognovits Dominus qu sunt eius, et discedat ab iniquitate omnis qui nominat nomen Domini*; Vulgate. The letter is concerned with preaching against false doctrines. Berlioz also notes that St Paul himself is quoting from the Old Testament book of Numbers (16,5), a passage. According to the *Glossa Ordinaria* of Peter Lombard which was probably at the peak of

As for Caesarius himself, he clearly considered the Abbot of Cîteaux's words at Béziers entirely appropriate and, rather than dwelling on them, shows himself far more preoccupied with expounding the threat to the Church presented by the Albigensian heresy, to which the Béziers massacre for him was merely incidental. Having reasoned sternly that the heresy 'grew so very strong that within a short space of time it corrupted up to a thousand towns, and if it had not be cut down by the swords of the faithful, I think that it would have infected all of Europe,' Caesarius seasons his narrative by recounting a number of piquant tales of heretical blasphemy. Intriguingly, one of these lurid episodes, concerning a heretic who defecates next to a church altar and wipes his posterior with the altar cloth, appears to have originated with Amaury himself, who complained of the alleged act to Raymond VI, when he was abbot of Granselve between 1198 and 1200.⁵⁰³

Nor can Amaury's Cistercian brethren, Fulk of Marseilles and Guy of Vaux de Cernay, be absolved of active participation in the prosecution of the military effort.⁵⁰⁴

Fulk, was appointed Bishop of Toulouse in 1205, part of a general drive against prelates in the Midi considered to be reluctant or unable to take effective action against heresy in their dioceses. Guy of Vaux de Cernay would be appointed to the bishopric of Carcassonne in 1212, the same year Amaury was appointed archbishop of Narbonne. From the moment of his appointment, Fulk appears to have exasperated tensions in Toulouse by establishing a cadre of orthodox preachers from which would eventually spring the Dominican Order.⁵⁰⁵ He is credited with founding the White Confraternity, with the help of Amaury, to fight usury and heresy, a move which provoked civil war through precipitating the organisation of an opposing Black Confraternity. In addition, Fulk assumed, with Amaury, full military command of a fortress formerly belonging to the counts of Toulouse on the road to Narbonne and led a contingent of 5,000 troops belonging to his White Brotherhood in an action supporting Simon de Montfort at the siege of Lavaur in 1211.

At Lavaur, 400 people were burned at the stake, the knights of the defending garrison were hanged along with their leader Aimery of Montréal, whilst his sister, the widow Geralda of Lavaur, was cast into a well and stones were dropped upon her. Indeed, according to William

its circulation at the time Caesarius was writing, the passage was in direct relation to the Last Judgment; See Berlioz, *Ibid*, pp. 76-83.

⁵⁰³ DM, vol.1 pp. 300-01; trans. by Bird et al, *Crusade and Christendom*, pp. 77-82, and see p. 81, note 45, for Amaury's complaint to Raymond VI.

⁵⁰⁴ although Amaury of all the legates and other clerics of the ecclesiastical directorate of the Albigensian crusade, was the one who was most concerned with military campaigns.

⁵⁰⁵ Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade*, p. 165.

of Tudela, 'there was so great a killing that I believe it will be talked of till the end of the world', whilst Peter de Vaux de Cernay, on a more up-beat note, ends his report of the events with the flourish, 'Our pilgrims also burned innumerable heretics with great rejoicing.'⁵⁰⁶ In contrast to these grisly episodes, an account of Fulk's conduct at the siege of Labécède, in 1227, portrays the bishop attempting to save women and children when the army of the French king is intent on performing a general massacre.⁵⁰⁷ However, as Kienzle observes, this latter account was penned by Fulk's own chronicler, William of Puylaurens.⁵⁰⁸ Certainly, the anonymous author of the second part of the *Canso of the Albigensian Crusade* is, at best, ambivalent in his portrayal of Fulk, frequently depicting the Cistercian cleric in military scenarios, although there is more than a hint of disapproval, perhaps, in his placing a speech in the mouth of the Count of Foix which is very much in the nature of an indictment. It begins, 'And I tell you that the bishop, who is so violent that in all he does he is a traitor to God and to ourselves....' and ends 'In his deeds and words and his whole conduct, I promise you he is more like Antichrist than a messenger from Rome.'⁵⁰⁹

In addition, the author of the *Canso* has Fulk present in the entourage of Cardinal legate Bertrand of Sts John and Paul when the latter exhorts the crusaders to massacre the population of Toulouse:

'My lords, the spiritual king tells each one of you that the fires of hell are in this town! It is brimming with guilt and sin, for there inside it is Raymond, their overlord. Whoever attacks this place will be saved before God. Recapture the town, seize every house! Let neither man nor woman escape alive, no church, no relics or hospice protect them, for in holy Rome sentence has been given: the sharp sword of death shall touch them. As I am a good and holy man, worthy and loyal, as they are guilty, wicked and forsworn, let sharp steel strike down each one of them!'⁵¹⁰

The essential point here is that there is no indication the speech is at odds with the views of Fulk who, apparently, looks on in silent approbation.

⁵⁰⁶ The siege and conquest of Lavaur is recounted by William of Tudela in *The Song of the Cathar Wars* at *laissez* 67-72, pp. 41-43; and by Peter of Vaux de Cernay, *Historia Albigensis*, §§215-27, p. 89 *et seq.*, translated in Walter L. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France, 1100-1250* (London, Allen and Unwin, 1974) pp. 200-04.

⁵⁰⁷ *Le pieux évêque s'efforçait de faire échapper les femmes et les petits enfants à leur sort.* Guillaume de Puylaurens, *Chronique 1203-1275*, ed. and trans. by Jean Duvernoy (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1976) pp. 126-27.

⁵⁰⁸ Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade*, p. 168.

⁵⁰⁹ *Song of the Cathar Wars*, *laisse* 145, p. 75; and C.f. Keinzle, *Ibid.*, p. 169.

⁵¹⁰ *Song of the Cathar Wars*, *laisse* 186, p. 131. Note here the denial of the principle of sanctuary, in which we may see a resonance of Béziers.

Guy de Vaux de Cernay was undoubtedly one of the *triumvirate* of 'great Cistercian leaders of the Albigensian crusade', alongside his brethren Fulk and Amaury.⁵¹¹ Unsurprisingly, he is a leading protagonist in his nephew Peter's *Historia Albigensis*. Whilst he is portrayed as being principally involved in the anti-heretical preaching effort, like Fulk, he also undertook recruiting tours to preach the crusade in the North between the years 1210 and 1215 and can hardly be described as a pacifist. He appears to have seen his fair share of military action and is present on occasions exhorting Crusaders who are on the point of making an assault.⁵¹² He also appears to have been involved in the campaigns as a military engineer and we find him making preparations for sieges, such as at Casseneuil in 1214, where he was involved in preparations for an assault on the town and supervised the building of a bridge and, at Montfort, where he oversaw the demolishing of the fortification following its abandonment. That he is not implicated in more bloodthirsty actions of the Albigensian saga may be to do with the fact that he had a personal biographer to smooth over more controversial activities.⁵¹³

In addition to the foregoing, it is obvious that these three prominent Cistercians did not act without the aid of support personnel, which were most likely supplied by members of their own Order. We have some indication that this was the case from what can be gleaned concerning the personal staff of Amaury who was, apparently, surrounded by Cistercians when he was on campaigns with the army, as indicated by monks from Cîteaux and Grandselve appearing as witnesses to various charters of both Amaury and Simon de Montfort.⁵¹⁴

Further evidence of the strong Cistercian presence and influence in the Albigensian Crusade lies in the murder, of the Cistercian abbot from Eaunes by Guillaume de Roquefort. According to Peter de Vaux de Cernay, the abbot, travelling with a small entourage comprising a lay brother and two monks, was returning from negotiating on behalf of Raymond Roger with the papal legates at Sainte-Gilles when 'for the sole reason that they were Cistercian monks' they were attacked, the abbot and the lay brother being killed, one monk being left for dead and the other managing to escape.⁵¹⁵ For Graham-Leigh, the incident is indicative of hatred of Cistercians specifically, as opposed to Cistercians as proxies of the Catholic Church, and demonstrates conflict between the Cistercian legates and the local bishops which she argues was the meaningful division in Languedoc society during the crusade, not so much between

⁵¹¹ Cf, Alvira Cabrer, 'Le "Venerable" ...' p. 11.

⁵¹² Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade*, p. 163.

⁵¹³ Cf, *Ibid.* p. 165.

⁵¹⁴ Dutton, *Aspects*, p. 95.

⁵¹⁵ *Histoire Albigeoise*, §130, p. 57.

heretics and orthodox.⁵¹⁶ Since noble opponents of the crusade identified with the secular church in Occitania, the concomitant position was that support for the Order of Cîteaux became the principal test of orthodoxy for the nobility in the region. Among the various examples she gives is that of Raymond Roger of Foix, who according to the anonymous author of the *Canso*, had only to cite one proof of his orthodoxy which was obviously regarded as sufficient: ‘...I have never befriended heretics...On the contrary, I offered, gave and made legal donation of myself to [the Cistercian abbey of] Boulbonne, where I was warmly welcomed and where all my ancestors offered themselves and are buried.’⁵¹⁷ In the given context, as Graham-Leigh persuasively advances, the passage demonstrates that, for the author of this part of the *Canso*, the Cistercians had achieved a privileged status among the legates and clerics concerned with the direction of the Crusade, and that demonstrable support for the Cistercian Order was the surest way for a member of the Occitanian nobility to prove his orthodoxy.⁵¹⁸

As for the notorious words of Legate Amaury at Béziers, likely though it may be that he did indeed give the order, Berlioz concludes his study on the subject by quoting Pierre Belperron to the effect that, even if Amaury had not so spoken, and even if the massacre was carried out not by Amaury’s crusaders but, as William of Tudela would have us believe, by a numerous rabble of camp followers that had become associated with the Crusader army, Amaury remains culpable for not having intervened to stop the slaughter.⁵¹⁹ On the other hand Alvira Cabrer, whilst acknowledging Kienzle’s view that Amaury cannot be taken as representative of all Cistercians, makes the important observation that Amaury does nevertheless represent a specific manifestation of the Cistercian spirit, ‘extreme, yes, but no less accepted, no less legitimate, no less holy’.⁵²⁰

Even as the Cistercian slide to arms was powerfully accelerated and intensified by the Order’s involvement in Occitania, there was yet more impetus from Spain. The war in the Midi had still some three decades to run when the White Monks were blessed with a great sign of Divine approval for their bellicosity when, in 1212, their own erstwhile Father-abbot, Arnaud Amaury, now archbishop of Narbonne, played a crucial role in the momentous Christian Victory of Las Navas de Tolosa which for the Cistercians carried important extra significance since, here at

⁵¹⁶ Graham-Leigh, *The Southern French Nobility*, p. 86.

⁵¹⁷ *Song of the Cathar Wars*, *laisse* 145, p. 74.

⁵¹⁸ Graham-Leigh, *ibid.*

⁵¹⁹ Berlioz, *Tuez-Les Tous*, p. 100; Pierre Belperron, *La Croisade Contre les Albigeois et l’union du Languedoc à la France (1209-1249)* (Paris: Plon, 1942) p. 167.

⁵²⁰ Alvira Cabrer, ‘Le “Venerable”...’ p. 35.

last, was God's vengeance for Alarcos and the Almohad campaigns up to 1197 that had cost the Cistercian Order of Calatrava so dearly.

Part 5

Las Navas de Tolosa

Arnau Amaury, *homme d'action*

Fr. Marie-Humbert Vicaire, in his short portrait of Arnaud Amaury, described him as an *homme d'action* and felt it necessary to cite only one example in order to justify the sobriquet; Amaury's quitting of the Languedoc in the middle of the Albigensian crisis (*en pleine crise de la croisade d'Albigeois*) in order to lead an army, said to be of 40,000 men, hundreds of kilometres into the centre of Spain to aid Alfonso VIII of Castile against Almohad Caliph al-Nassir and yet another immense North African-Andalusi army.⁵²¹ Yet Amaury's apparent temperamental predisposition to action is an unsatisfying explanation for his presence on this remarkable expedition and still less, his leadership of it. Other explanations such as that offered by Alvira Cabrer that the Almohad conquest of Salvatierra, the immediate cause of the Christian campaign of 1212, had roused Amaury's Cistercian blood, or Foureville's suggestion that he was motivated by his great zeal as a crusader coupled with his awareness of the traditional affinity of Narbonne for Spain and a personal calling to perform 'great things' now that he had been appointed Archbishop, or Kienzle's somewhat lukewarm offering that Amaury's participation in the Crusade of 1212 was the 'logical and not surprising product of personal ambition and the crusade mentality' – all fail to convince.⁵²² Whilst these factors were no doubt considerations for the Archbishop of Narbonne, there is perhaps a more persuasive explanation for his presence on the Spanish Crusade, as will be suggested below.

The devastating defeat of the Christian army at Alarcos in 1195 and the following two years of conquest and ravaging in Christian Iberia by Caliph Yaqub, brought the Muslim wars in Spain to the forefront of popular consciousness in Europe. News spread outward from Citeaux as the reports brought to the Chapter General of September 1195 were diffused by monks and

⁵²¹ Vicaire, 'Les Clercs de la Croisade', p. 264.

⁵²² Alvira Cabrer, 'Le "Venerable"', p. 18; Foreville, 'Arnaud Almaric', p. 131; Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade*, p. 160.

abbots returning to their monasteries in every corner of the Latin West. News was further spread, as we have seen, through the works of the troubadours.

By 1210, the various truces established between the Christian Iberian kingdoms and the Almohads had expired and no attempts were made to renew them. Peter II of Aragon, keen to undertake a major offensive against the Almohads, sent envoys to Rome to persuade the Pope to urge Alfonso VIII join with the Aragonese in a concerted campaign.⁵²³ In response, Innocent III wrote to Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo and his suffragans admonishing that the disasters that had led to the loss of Jerusalem must not be repeated in Spain. He urged the archbishop to prevail upon his sovereign to renew the good fight on the Peninsula and declared a remission of sins for those joining the enterprise.⁵²⁴ The result was that, whilst Peter II, supported by the Templars, made important headway against the Muslims of València, Alfonso VIII began campaigning in the region around Baeza and across the Guadalquivir towards Jaén. At the same time, the brothers of Calatrava, who had been at something of a loose-end during the years of truces with the Almohads, now began to strike back at their old enemies from their headquarters at Salvatierra in the southern reaches of La Mancha, raiding deep into al-Andalus to within a day's ride of Cordoba.⁵²⁵

Andalusi envoys soon arrived in Marrakech bringing complaints of Christian aggression to Almohad Caliph al-Nasir. Frequently referred to as *Miramomalinus*, or *Miramamolín*, in the Christian chronicles,⁵²⁶ al-Nasir had managed to bring a relative peace to North Africa following his quelling of several provincial rebellions including the conquest of Majorca from a rival rebel dynasty in 1203, and the pacification of Tunisia during 1205-07.⁵²⁷ He could now devote all of his attention to the troublesome Iberian Christian kingdoms and look forward to reaping triumphs similar to those of his father, Yaqub al-Mansur. Gathering his troops at Rabat in the Almohad tradition, al Nasir crossed the Strait with the army during the first two weeks of May 1211. Having established a camp in the outskirts of Seville on 1st June, where the North Africans were joined by numerous Andalusi divisions, al Nasir marched his columns over the Sierra Morrena, having decided to attack the lands of his strongest Christian enemy first, Alfonso VIII and, in particular, the Cistercian Order of Calatrava in their headquarters at the

⁵²³ O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, pp. 64-65.

⁵²⁴ Register, 14, N°154; PL, 216: 513-14.

⁵²⁵ See generally, *inter alia*, Lomax, *Reconquest*, pp 122-23; Huici Miranda, *Las Grandes Battallas de la Reconquista*.etc. p219-30; O'Callaghan opines that a suggestion that the brothers of Calatrava serve in the Holy Land during the periods of truce originated with Innocent III and that the Calatravans probably never seriously entertained the idea; O'Callaghan, 'The Order of Calatrava: Years of Crisis and Survival, 1158-1212' p. 427.

⁵²⁶ The name *Miramamolín* and its several variations is a Latinisation of the title 'Amir al-Muminim', literally 'Prince of the Believers' adopted by the Almohad caliphs.

⁵²⁷ Kennedy, *Muslim Spain* pp. 250-52.

fortress of Salvatierra. This fortress, audaciously garrisoned in Muslim controlled territory by the warrior-monks, was a powerful symbol of defiance and of Castilian determination to be revenged for Alarcos. Such a challenge was not lost on the Almohads for whom, according to the *Rawsd al-Mitar*, it was 'a black spot that loomed over the plains of Islam and a high observatory against which the Muslims could do nothing.' Indeed, the Almohads considered it to be 'the right hand of the Lord of Castile' which, if severed, 'would cause him great shame.'⁵²⁸ Accordingly Salvateirra was besieged and, following 51 days of dogged defending, on 13th August the four hundred-or-so brothers of Calatrava surrendered the fortress and withdrew northward carrying the news of the disaster with them in time to catch the Cistercian Chapter General a few weeks later in September. The news was accordingly broadcast across the Cistercian world.

Whilst al-Nasir withdrew to Seville to spend the winter, Alfonso VIII, in anticipation of a renewed Almohad campaign in the next year, promulgated an edict in Castile for the mobilization of the population in preparation for a major operation scheduled for the late spring to counter the Saracen threat. The Christian army was to assemble at Toledo on the Octave of Pentecost (20th May). The death in Madrid from disease of Alfonso VIII's son, Fernando, who had already communicated to Innocent III that he wished 'to dedicate the first fruits of his army to Almighty God to drive the enemies of the Christian name from the land of his inheritance', did not hinder the enterprise despite a general atmosphere of mourning, which appears, if anything, to have heightened the sense of emergency and imminent catastrophe.⁵²⁹ Rather than mope, Alfonso VIII embarked on a pre-winter campaign along the Júcar valley, capturing Jorquera in order to boost the morale of his subjects,⁵³⁰ and redoubled his efforts, along with Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo, to engage as much support as possible, from where ever it was available for the Spanish cause. All of the Hispanic kings were invited to participate. Meanwhile, Rodrigo of Toledo went to France to petition the support of Philip Augustus, preaching along the way in the Rhone Valley, the Rhineland and Provence. The Gascon, Master Arnaud, 'a diligent man' and the Castilian king's personal physician, recruited in Gascony and Poitou.⁵³¹ Importantly the bishop-elect, of Segovia was sent as ambassador to Rome to personally petition the support of Innocent III for what Alfonso VIII was determined

⁵²⁸ *Rawd al-Mitar fi ackhbar al-aqtar*, ed. and partial French trans. by E. Lévi-Provençal (Paris, 1947); Spanish trans. by Huici Miranda, *Las Grandes Battallas*, pp. 313-315.

⁵²⁹ PL 215, 353.

⁵³⁰ *De Rebus Hispaniae*, VII,xxxvi, p. 258; Lomax, *Reconquest*, p. 124.

⁵³¹ *Latin Chronicle of the Kings of Castile*, p. 43; Lucy K Pick, *Conflict and Coexistence, Archbishop Rodrigo and the Muslims and Jews of Medieval Spain* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2004) p. 41-42; Peter Linehan, *Spain, 1157-1300, A Partible Inheritance* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008) p. 54.

would be a full-blown Spanish crusade.⁵³² In response, Innocent called upon the prelates of France and Provence, describing the loss of the 'the castle called Salvatierra of the Cistercian Order of brothers' and ordering them to pronounce the indulgence of absolution from sins for all who participated in the crusade or supported it financially.⁵³³

An un-official legate?

Alfonso VIII had requested that the pope appoint a legate for the coming campaign. This, Innocent refused to do saying, rather vaguely, that the turbulence of the epoch prevented it and that, instead he had written to the prelates of Toledo, Zamora, Tarragona and Coimbra instructing them to apply ecclesiastical sanctions to any who attacked the king of Castile whilst he was engaged in fighting the Muslims. The pope said he would send a legate at a more opportune time.⁵³⁴ Innocent had previously refused to send a legate to Spain when, in 1204, Peter II had requested that Innocent III send one to organise a united Spanish Christian campaign against the Andalusi Muslims, on the grounds that the divisions between the Hispanic Christian princes' disputes were too serious and the Almohads too powerful, the latter having just conquered Majorca.⁵³⁵ Nevertheless, Damien Smith's suggestion that perhaps Innocent did not feel he had anybody readily available at that time (1211) who was likely to be able adequately to perform the task of brokering peace among the northern Iberian Christians, is not entirely satisfying.⁵³⁶

Certainly, Innocent III had ample reason to doubt the cohesive ability of the notoriously fractious Iberian Christian kings. Alfonso IX of León, with his propensity for siding with the Almohads, had refused to join Alfonso VIII's campaign without the concession by the latter of several disputed castles in the Leónese-Castilian peripheries. Meanwhile, Alfonso IX was engaged in a war with Afonso II of Portugal, having sided with Afonso II's sisters, one of whom was his former wife, in a dispute over testamentary dispositions made by Portuguese King Sancho I (d.1211). As for Sancho VII of Navarre, he was most reluctant to join an enterprise with his enemy Alfonso VIII against his allies the Almohads. Furthermore, treaties agreed between Sancho VII and Alfonso VIII in 1207, were about to expire and Sancho VII looked forward to reclaiming territories conceded to Castile by an agreement in 1200. However, the

⁵³² Lomax, *Reconquest*, p. 124.

⁵³³ ...*quoddam castrum Cisterciensis ordinis fratrum, quod Salvaterra vocatur...*; *Recepimus litteras dolore*, PL 216, 514A-D.

⁵³⁴ Innocent's Letter to Alfonso VIII of 22nd February, 1211; PL 216, 380B; Mansilla, N°446, pp. 474-05., Damien J Smith, 'The Papacy, the Spanish Kingdoms and Las Navas de Tolosa', *Anuario de Historia de La Iglesia*, vol.20, 2011, pp. 157-178, at p. 172.

⁵³⁵ Lomax, *Reconquest*, p. 122.

⁵³⁶ Smith, 'The Papacy, the Spanish Kingdoms and Las Navas de Tolosa', p. 173.

seriousness of these problems rather suggests that a foreign legate would be more able to appear impartial and have a better chance of brokering acceptable, if temporary, peace deals than an Iberian prelate necessarily associated with, and therefore likely to be biased in favour of, one Hispanic Christian kingdom or another. It is hard to believe that Innocent could not find a suitable candidate, certainly among the many talented Cistercians, with whom he had surrounded himself and of whom he was so fond.

One possible reason for Innocent's refusal to appoint a legate is that it tied him unequivocally to the fate of the proposed Spanish campaign. The legate, *legatus a latere*, was the papal *simulacrum*, akin to the office of viceroy of later centuries. As papal plenipotentiary, the presence of the legate on the campaign signified the virtual attendance of the pope himself.⁵³⁷ It is perhaps possible that Innocent III, who had never experienced a major Christian victory, was somewhat fearful. Triumph in the proposed campaign was very far from certain in the face of the formidable might of the Almohad army. Extra risks were posed not only through likely Christian disunity in Iberia, but also at the theological level, through the general poor moral condition of Christendom, rife with division and heresy and hardly in the best condition to attract divine favour. At bottom, Innocent III may have felt that he could not afford to own another resounding defeat such as Hattin or Alarcos. Such would be a catastrophic blow not only to his own prestige, but to the Catholic Church itself.⁵³⁸ Thus, in the context of these concerns, we note Innocent's warning to Alfonso VIII contained in his letter of condolency, of 4th February 1212, for the death of *Infante* Fernando. The pope admonishes that the king that, at this time when all the world is in turmoil, he must place his hope in God and humble himself before him, for it was only to the humble that God grants his grace and, indeed, that the king should agree a truce with the Almohads if he deemed it possible to do so.⁵³⁹ With no official legate appointed on the Campaign, Innocent was in a strong position to distance himself from the affair if it ended badly; at the very least, defeat could be blamed on the sinfulness of the haughty, discordant and incestuous Spaniards.

It is against this background that the presence of Arnaud Amaury in the Spanish crusade becomes more readily explainable as fulfilling the role of Innocent's covert personal representative; an unofficial legate.⁵⁴⁰ Amaury's great prestige as former Abbot of Cîteaux, as

⁵³⁷ The relevant papal official in this case was the *legatus a latere*, a legate sent out from Rome on a important and specific mission, as opposed to a *legatus natus*, appointed to a defined region for general purposes; Dutton, *Aspects*, p. 69; see also Jane Sayers, *Innocent III, Leader of Europe 1198-1216* (Harlow: Longman, 1994) pp. 164-65.

⁵³⁸ Smith, 'The Papacy, the Spanish Kingdoms and Las Navas', p. 175.

⁵³⁹ Mansilla, N° 468, pp. 500-501; and see Smith's comments, *ibid*.

⁵⁴⁰ Cf. the activities of Nicholas Breakspear, Abbot of St Ruf in Avignon in the Catalan Reconquista during 1148-1149; Nikolas Jaspert, 'Capta est Dertosa, clavis Christianorum: Tortosa and the Crusades', *SCSC*, pp. 90-110, p. 92;

Archbishop of Narbonne, as a principal defender of Catholic orthodoxy, as a battle-hardened commander of troops, as a Spaniard and native of Catalonia, as former abbot of the important Cistercian house of Poblet, as an authority on Spanish affairs, as an unwavering devotee to the Catholic cause to the point of fanaticism; it is hard to imagine a more superbly qualified candidate for the role. In addition, there is evidence indicating that the relationship between Innocent and Amaury was a close one, although we cannot be certain whether it was indeed Arnaud Amaury, the Abbot of Cîteaux to whom Innocent paid tribute by sending a collection of his sermons prefaced by an undated letter on the subject of preaching practice, or his successor abbot also named Arnaud (II) who governed the great Cistercian mother house from 1212-1217.⁵⁴¹

Whilst Innocent may have been reluctant to endorse the Spanish crusade quite as fervently as he had the Fourth Crusade and the crusade in Occitania, he nevertheless took the Almohad threat seriously enough to go to the length of ordering Amaury to agree a truce in Provence so that men and supplies earmarked for the Albigensian wars could be freed to go to Iberia.⁵⁴² Indeed, following all of this preparation, which diverted scarce manpower and resources away from other crusading theatres, most obviously the Languedoc and the Holy Land, but also importantly not forgetting the newly constituted and vulnerable Latin Empire of Constantinople, it is somewhat surprising that Innocent would not have appointed his own trusted representative to accompany the expedition to ensure that the crusade in Spain stayed on course. In the event, it was very well he did so, since not only did Amaury, whose legation in the Languedoc had been extended to Pamplona in 1210, make a detour in Spring 1212 to persuade Sancho VII of Navarre to participate in the crusade, rather than ally once again with the Almohads but, according to a letter of Blanche of Castile, her father Alfonso VIII had, at a certain point, considered diverting the crusade against his old enemy Alfonso IX of León, but that Amaury had supported Peter II of Aragon and Sancho VII in their opposition to the enterprise, so that arms would only be born against Saracens and not fellow Christians.⁵⁴³

Innocent III's final efforts, prior to the gathering of troops at Toledo during the octave of Pentecost (13-20 May), included writing to Archbishop Rodrigo and also to the Archbishop of

Constable, 'The Second Crusade' p. 262; on the activities of Nicholas Breakspear generally see Damien J. Smith, 'The Abbot-Crusader: Nicholas Breakspear in Catalonia' in *Adrian IV, The English Pope (1154-59): Studies and Texts*, ed. by Brenda Bolton and Anne J. Duggan (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 29-40.

⁵⁴¹ Innocent III, *Between God and Man: Six Sermons on the Priestly Office*, trans. by C. J. Vause and F. C. Gardiner with foreword by James M. Powell (Chicago, Catholic University of America Press, 2012) p. 3.

⁵⁴² PL 216, 744-45; Cf, Cole, p. 103.

⁵⁴³ Arnaud Amaury, letter to the Cistercian Chapter General (11 August 1212) in *Galia Christiana*, N^oIX, col.53-54; RHGF, vol.19, pp. 250-55; the letter of Blanche of Castile can also be found in RHGF, vol.19. at pp. 255-56.

Compostela on 5th April, exhorting them to procure a treaty between the kings of Castile and León. The pope reminded them of the sentence of excommunication that would be pronounced on any Christian aiding the Muslims and expressly voiced his concerns over Alfonso IX. Further, they were to inform the kings that their disputes should be set aside temporarily to be duly arbitrated upon by the pope himself, once the Almohad danger had passed.⁵⁴⁴ Further, in an action described by Smith as 'momentously significant', Innocent initiated a general intercessory procession in Rome of the clergy and people of the city on 16th May, the Wednesday after Pentecost, the day in the liturgical calendar set aside for penitential ceremony and the very time the pope believed the campaign would begin.⁵⁴⁵ Innocent specified that the procession be held, 'on behalf of the peace of the universal church and the Christian people, and particularly so that the Lord might be favourable toward those fighting in the war which is rumoured to be presently waged between them and the Saracens in Spain, lest God abandon his inheritance to disgrace [Ps. 93:14], and the nations have dominion over them [Dt. 15:6].' The pope gave elaborate instructions as to how the procession was to proceed, prescribing it be divided into three groups, women, clergy and laymen, the women 'without gold and gems and silk garments, praying with devotion and humility, with weeping and wailing...all who are able to ought to walk in bare feet,' all meeting together in the presence of the relic of the True Cross before the palace of the cardinal bishop of Albano where Innocent would preach a sermon to the assembled crowd.⁵⁴⁶ The procession, of such emotive power that it may have given origin to that remarkable phenomenon known as the Children's Crusade, was an inspired confluence of lay piety, crusade ideology and Innocent's personal formula for Christian success which depended not only on military strength, but on the humility, penitence and spiritual purity of the Christian people.⁵⁴⁷ It appears that, in spite of his letter to Alfonso VIII in February, Innocent III had realised, shortly thereafter, that the campaign was indeed going to go ahead and, thereafter, resolved to contribute as much as possible to its success.⁵⁴⁸

Amaury arrived in Toledo on 5th June with a large troop from southern France (*citerioris Galliae*). An indication of the high esteem he enjoyed in Spain, he was officially welcomed by

⁵⁴⁴ Mansilla, N^o.471.

⁵⁴⁵ Smith, 'The Papacy, the Spanish Kingdoms and Las Navas', p. 176.

⁵⁴⁶ The call for the procession and instructions are contained in the *Supplicatio generalis*; PL 216, 698-99. English trans. in Bird et al, *Crusade and Christendom*, pp. 83-85; Christoph T. Maier, 'Mass, the Eucharist and the Cross: Innocent III and the Relocation of the Crusade', in *Pope Innocent III and his World*, ed. by John C. Moore (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 351-60.

⁵⁴⁷ Gary Dickson, *The Children's Crusade, Medieval History, Modern Mythistory* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2008) esp. pp. 51-52; Smith, 'The Papacy, the Spanish Kingdoms and Las Navas', 176-78.

⁵⁴⁸ Smith, *ibid*, pp. 175-76.

Alfonso VIII.⁵⁴⁹ By the time the Christian army was ready to march out from Toledo on 20th of the month, it comprised many tens of thousands. The Castilian force comprised prominent nobles such as Diego López de Haro and Álvaro Núñez de Lara, the urban militias, eight Spanish prelates and the military orders of the Spanish Templars, Hospitallers, Santiago and Calatrava. These were joined by troops from León and Portugal, who attended in spite of the absence of their kings. Added to the Iberian contingents were those of the *ultramontanos*, recruited from Poitou, Gascony and Provence, and other more northerly regions. On the eighth day of Pentecost (13th May), Peter II arrived in Toledo, penniless and reliant on Alfonso VIII to finance his contribution, and was followed a short while later by 'many of his good vassals, expert in military affairs'.⁵⁵⁰ Sancho VII of Navarre joined the expedition somewhat later, near Alarcos, in early July. The numbers given in the various sources are no doubt exaggerated, but Alfonso VIII estimated, in a letter to the pope after the event, that the French contingent comprised 2,000 knights, 10,000 other cavalry and 50,000 infantry.⁵⁵¹ Presumably the Iberian Christians were even more numerous.⁵⁵² Bishko, wisely declining to speculate over precise numbers, described the Christian army more straightforwardly as 'the greatest the reconquest had ever seen'.⁵⁵³

Massacre at Malagón

In the initial stages of the operation, the *ultramontanos* demonstrated their characteristic xenophobia, especially where non-Christians were concerned, when a French contingent, arriving early to Toledo in February, had massacred a number of Jews in the city and had to be restrained by the Toledan militia. Such brutality would again be in evidence just four days out of Toledo when, on 24th June, an advance party of French crusaders, apparently under the command of Archbishop Amaury, arrived to the town of Malagón and 'in a moment, as if in the wink of an eye, they ripped it from the hands of the Moors and cut to pieces as many people as they found there'.⁵⁵⁴ In his letter of 11th August, addressed to the Cistercian Chapter General reporting the events and the great success of the Spanish crusade, Amaury recounted the incident with characteristic coolness, much as he had done in relation to Béziers. In his version of events, the garrison had offered to surrender agreeing to be enslaved, but such was

⁵⁴⁹ Foreville, 'Arnaud Almeric' p. 131; *De Rebus Hispaniae*, p. 260; Amaury's letter gives the date as the ides of July, which is clearly wrong; Graham Loud, *Contemporary Texts describing the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (16th July 1212)*, p. 3, note 7 (Loud: published online, 2010); Alvira Cabrer gives 3rd June, 'Le "venerable"...p. 19.

⁵⁵⁰ *Latin Chronicle of the Kings of Castile*, p. 43.

⁵⁵¹ Mansilla, N^o483, p. 510.

⁵⁵² Lomax, *Reconquest*, p. 125.

⁵⁵³ Bishko, *Spanish and Portuguese Reconquest*, p. 423.

⁵⁵⁴ *Latin Chronicle of the Kings of Castile*, p. 45.

not pleasing to the crusaders, the castle being subsequently surrendered by the castellan in return for the lives of himself and his two sons – ‘the remainder of the garrison being left to the mercy of the pilgrims. Therefore all but a very few of those who were found there were slain.’⁵⁵⁵ It appears possible, even likely, that some of those crusaders involved in the Malagón slaughter were the very same who had perpetrated similar acts in the Languedoc. More details are not known and it may be surmised that the slaughter was partially mitigated by military exigency. However, when the army arrived to Calatrava la Vieja, the former headquarters of the Order of Calatrava, Amaury is careful to explain that it had been pleasing to the Christian kings, ‘in order to avoid Christian casualties’ to allow the Muslims to depart with their lives. One is left with the suspicion Amaury himself would have preferred a more permanent solution. Nevertheless, it is of note that, according to Alfonso VIII’s version of the event contained in his letter to Innocent III, terms were agreed at the urging of the brothers of Calatrava who saw that the fortress could not be taken without undermining and thereby destroying the fortifications, which would have made the position difficult to defend thereafter. Certainly, it was at this point that the vast majority of the *ultramontanos* became exasperated and famously abandoned the crusade returning to their northern homelands. Amaury glossed over the incident, but the Muslim chronicler Abd al-Wahid al-Marrakushi commented, ‘a large number of Christians withdrew from Alfonso (may God curse him!) when he prevented them from killing the Muslims who were in the castle. They said, “You have only brought us along to help you conquer the country, and forbid us to plunder and kill the Muslims. We don’t have any need of your company [if we’re only going to act] in this way.”’⁵⁵⁶

Victory at Las Navas

Whilst it must remain a matter of speculation as to whether Malagón was yet another manifestation of Cistercian eagerness to slaughter enemies of the Church, Amaury, now left in command of only some 150 *ultramontanos* having been unable in spite of his great authority and prestige to dissuade the others from departing, remained with the expedition participating in all of the major decisions and leading his contingent in probably the most famous battle of the *Reconquista*, the landmark Christian victory of Las Navas de Tolosa on 16th July. In this way his activity was entirely consistent with the discharge of his possible function as papal proxy.⁵⁵⁷ Indeed, Amaury, described by Foreville as the ‘soul of the [Spanish] Crusade’, was

⁵⁵⁵ RHGF, vol. 19, pp. 250-54; Eng. trans. by Loud, *Contemporary Texts*.

⁵⁵⁶ Abd al-Wahid al-Marrakushi, *History of the Almohads* (1224), Eng. trans. in *Crusade and Christendom*, p. 88.

⁵⁵⁷ Alvira-Cabrer notes that among those remaining was the French nobleman of Castilian extraction, Count Thibaut de Blaison (Teolbado de Blazón) and, since the *Latin Chronicle of the Kings of Castile* at p. 46, explicitly associates

unwilling to end the campaign at Las Navas. With the Almohads in full retreat, their army irretrievably damaged and in disarray, Alfonso VIII was inclined to accept vassalage and tribute from the surrounding Muslim strongholds without further campaigning, but the accompanying prelates were having none of it. At their urging, Alfonso subsequently undertook the somewhat pointless investiture of the town of Úbeda, the population of which had been substantially swelled by refugees ahead of the advancing Christian troops.⁵⁵⁸ Here, once again, Amaury revealed his own views on *infidel* town dwellers when he described as 'contrary to God' the initial agreement struck between the Muslim defenders and Alfonso VIII according to which the citizens of Úbeda would pay the Castilian king 200,000 Almohad gold dinars in order to be allowed to remain in the town and keep their property. Amaury informs us, however, that 'certain prelates' (particularly Amaury himself, one senses) criticised the bargain thus forcing a further agreement to be concluded, the terms of which were somewhat more severe, whereby the Muslims would surrender of the town and everything in it, in return for their own safe conduct from the place. Even this did not satisfy Amaury who is clearly exultant when the agreement is thwarted recounting gleefully 'through the disposition of Divine judgement it happened that the Moors were unable to fulfil what they had promised, and they were led by the Christians into captivity...Let us therefore bless and praise the Lord...since he has granted to us this great mercy.'⁵⁵⁹ Finally, with the population of Úbeda taken into slavery and the town thoroughly plundered, an outbreak of 'flux of the stomach'⁵⁶⁰ put an end to the fighting ability of the Christians and, being forced to withdraw, they garrisoned what strongholds they could and razed those they could not, including the towns of Úbeda and nearby Baeza leaving them in desolation.⁵⁶¹

Amaury, 'three plagues to humanity' and the *complot de l'étranger*.

Amaury presented his report of the campaign in a lengthy and detailed letter which was read out to the abbots of the Cistercian Chapter General on 13th September 1212. In terms commensurate with contemporary crusading rhetoric, Amaury typically ascribes the victory not to the Christian troops but 'to the Lord Jesus Christ and to the Cross which these same infidels had insulted, and which our men wore on their breasts...' Significantly, Amaury demonstrates his perception of the Christian mission as essentially monolithic, since he states

him with Amaury, he wonders if the characters' Spanishness had anything to do with their decision to remain with the Crusade; 'Le "vénérable" Arnaud...' pp. 20-21.

⁵⁵⁸ *l'âme de la croisade*, Foreville, 'Arnaud Almeric' p. 132; Lay, *Reconquest Kings*, p. 203; *De Rebus Hispaniae*, mentions specifically Amaury and Roger of Toledo, p. 276.

⁵⁵⁹ RHGF, vol. 19, pp. 250-54; Eng. Trans. by Loud, *Contemporary Texts...* etc.

⁵⁶⁰ *fluxus ventrium*, *Cronica Latina de Los Reyes de Castilla*, p. 35, line.23.

⁵⁶¹ *Latin Chronicle of the Kings of Castile*, pp. 51-53.

that Christ has granted victory to the Catholic Christians over 'three plagues to humanity and enemies of His Holy Church, namely the eastern schismatics, the western heretics and the southern Saracens.'⁵⁶² In this respect, the views of Amaury-the-Cistercian-monk are very much in accordance with those expressed in the *Dialogus Miraculorum* by Caesarius of Heisterbach who frequently draws parallels between the beliefs and practices of those different peoples he terms *infidels*.⁵⁶³ Indeed, it is clear that Caesarius considered crusading as not only justified but necessary for the repulsion of the enemies of the Church which were, in his view, all aspects of the same genotype.⁵⁶⁴ Indeed, in DM 10.47 (*De pressuris quae facta sunt notsris temporibus*) Caesarius lists the adversaries which at that time he considered to be threatening the Catholic Church,

'In our times the Saracen peoples under the leadership of Saladin, the king of Syria, have risen against the Christian people and by him Jerusalem and the Holy Land have been captured...In our times, I say, the Latin people have risen against the Greeks, provoked by their faithlessness, and captured Constantinople and a great part of Greece. Around the same time the heresy of the Albigensians began to manifest itself. And the Catholic peoples were disturbed by the zeal of their faith, and the kingdoms (that is to say, of France and of Spain) were bent on its destruction but it is not yet finished.'⁵⁶⁵

For Caesarius, as for Amaury, the defence of Christendom made little distinction between eastern schismatics (Byzantines defeated in the Fourth Crusade), heretics (the Cathars of the Languedoc) and the southern Saracens (the Almohads defeated at Las Navas).⁵⁶⁶

Most interestingly, in relation to the last of these, Caesarius recounts a supposed alliance between the heretics of the Midi and the Almohads of North Africa;

'Before the army of the Lord came against the Albigensians, as has been said above, they had invited Miralimomelinus, the king of Morocco to aid them. And he left Africa and came to Spain with such an incredible number that he expected to be able to gain possession of the whole of Europe. He even sent word to Pope Innocent that he intended to stable his horses in the portico of St Peter's and to fix his standard over the church. This was in part fulfilled, even

⁵⁶² RHGF, vol. 19, pp. 250-54; Eng. Trans. by Loud, *Contemporary Texts*.

⁵⁶³ Jacques Berlioz, 'Exemplum et histoire: Césaire de Heisterbach (v.1180-v.1240) et la croisade albigeoise' in *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 1989, tome 147, pp. 49-86.

⁵⁶⁴ William Purkis, 'Crusading and crusade memory in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum*', *Journal of Medieval History*, 39:1, pp. 100-27, at p. 115-17.

⁵⁶⁵ DM, pp. 250-51; Engn. Tans. by Purkis, 'Crusading and crusade memory...etc', pp. 114-15. Caesarius was writing in the 1220s when the Almohad crisis in Spain had largely passed which may explain why he does not mention the Saracens of Iberia.

⁵⁶⁶ Alvira Cabrer, 'Le "Vénerable" Arnaud.' pp. 23-24.

though it was not in the way that he thought it would be. For because God crushes the proud, at the same time, namely on 16th July in the year of grace 1212, 40,000 of his army's warriors were killed. Miralimomelinus himself retreated to Seville and died there from sorrow. His principal standard was captured in the battle and sent to Innocent, who erected it in St Peter's to the glory of Christ.⁵⁶⁷

This notion of an alliance between heretics and Muslims, referred to by Berlióz as the *complot de l'étranger* is to be found in the *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, a source geographically close to Heisterbach,⁵⁶⁸ and also in the *Historia Albigensis* of Peter of Vaux de Cernay which recounts that Raymond VI of Toulouse had wished to form such an alliance with the Almohad Caliph and he accuses the Count of sending messengers to the king of Morocco in order to solicit his help, 'not only against our regions, but also with a view to the destruction of the whole of Christendom.'⁵⁶⁹ A reflection of similar fears is to be found in the *Chronica Major* of Matthew Paris who recounts the supposed attempt by King John Lackland of England to draw the aid of the Almohad Caliph, even offering to convert to Islam.⁵⁷⁰

Miramamolín's Challenge

Whilst the existence of an alliance between the Almohads and the heretics of Southern France is perhaps improbable,⁵⁷¹ the aforementioned stories are echoes of a more general rumour circulating in the build up to Las Navas de Tolosa that the Almohad Caliph had issued a general challenge to the Catholic world by proclaiming his desire of subjugating, not just the Iberian Christian kingdoms, but all worshippers of the cross, conquering the whole of Latin Europe along with its capital Rome. The earliest appearance that can be identified with certainty of

⁵⁶⁷ DM 5.21 (Schneider, 3:1030.) English trans. by Purkis, 'Crusading and crusade memory...etc.' p. 116.

⁵⁶⁸ Jacques Berlióz, 'Exemplum et histoire.' pp. 68-71; The *Chronica regia coloniensis* (also called the *Annales Colonienses maximí*) recounts the following; 'That year [1211] a great multitude of knights coming from various countries accompanied by an innumerable host, set off again against the heretics; they took numerous cities and fortresses and massacred a great multitude of them by burning or hanging. They even laid siege to the city of Toulouse, but as they were achieving nothing there, they withdrew entrusting the land they had subjected to Count Simon of Montfort. After their departure, the Toulousians as well as other heretics turned to the king of Morocco, Massamutus, imploring his aid against the Catholics. Responding to their wishes he assembled an innumerable multitude of Saracens in order to combat and subject to his profit the land of the Christians. They crossed the sea and first of all they invaded the land of the king of Spain destroying everything to within seven days march; they took towns and strongholds, killing or putting to flight their Christian inhabitants. The same Massamutus declared war the following year, on the fourth day before Pentecost, on all those who glorified the cross of Christ.'; ed. by K. Pertz, MGH, *Scriptores*, t.17, p. 826, lines, 35-50.

⁵⁶⁹ *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, ed. and trans. by Sibley and Sibley, p. 183.

⁵⁷⁰ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. by Henry Richards Luard (Burlington: Tanner Ritchie, 2008), pp. 559-64; Nevill Barbour, 'Embassy Sent by King John of England to Miramolín, King of Morocco', *Al-Andalus* 26 (1960) pp. 273-81; idem, 'Two embassies to the Almohad Sultan Mohammad al Nasir at Seville 211', in *Actas del primer congreso de estudios árabes e islámicos* (Cordoba, 1962), pp. 189-215.

⁵⁷¹ Cf. Derek Lomax, 'La conquista de Andalucía a través de la historiografía europea de la época' in *Andalucía entre Oriente y Occidente (1236-1492)*, *Actas del V Coloquio Internacional de Historia Medieval de Andalucía* (Cordoba: 1986) pp. 37-49, at pp. 40-41.

this story, which Alvira Cabra has called the 'Miramamolín's Challenge', is contained in the letter of Innocent III to the archbishops of Toledo and Santiago in April 1212, referred to above. The Challenge is referred to again in September of the same year by Amaury in his letter to the Cistercian Chapter General. As usual, following publication at the Chapter General, the Miramamolín's Challenge became widely disseminated appearing in Chronicles across Europe.⁵⁷² Interestingly, the notion is to be found neither in the Muslim sources nor in the principal contemporary Hispanic Christian sources for the Las Navas campaign, namely Rodrigo of Toledo's *Historia de rebus Hispaniae*, and the letters of Alfonso VIII of Castile and his daughters Barengária of León and Blanche (Branca) of Castile.⁵⁷³ Whilst it may be probable that the Challenge was a Christian invention originating among Crusade propagandists north of the Pyrenees, the possible roles played by Amaury or Innocent III himself, in the origination of the rumour must remain a matter of speculation or further research.

Nevertheless, whether fact or fiction, the Miramamolín's Challenge was powerful medicine. With news of the victory at Las Navas de Tolosa reported in chronicles and annals all over the Latin West, a shift in emphasis becomes detectible, away from the notion of fighting the Saracens by attacking them through the Peninsula (*per Hispaniae partes*) as an alternative to the Eastern route to the empires of Islam, and towards an entirely new sense of the Hispanic Christian princes, especially the Castilians, as the defenders of Christendom. Sicard of Cremona, who, in Peter Linehan's view, summed up the consensus of contemporary commentators, wrote that Castile had saved not only Hispania, but also Rome and indeed the whole of Europe.⁵⁷⁴

The Abbot of Citeux and the Caliph of the Almohads; champions in single combat.

In this momentous Christian triumph, the Cistercians had, yet again, played a significant role both in the preparation and in the fighting. Among the many reports of the victory, Alvira Cabra, in his survey of the origins and circulation of contemporary reports and rumours concerning Las Navas, draws attention to an account that is of particular interest in the present context. It is a version of the battle contained in the Italian *Cronica di Bologna*,⁵⁷⁵ (1104-1394), where the contest of Las Navas is re-imagined as a single combat between two

⁵⁷² For a detailed survey of the origins and spread of the rumour, see Martín Alvira Cabrer, 'El Desafío del Miramamolín antes de la Batalla de Las navas de Tolosa (1212). Fuentes, Datación y Posibles Orígenes' in *Al-Qāntara* 18/2 (1997), 463–490.

⁵⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 463-64.

⁵⁷⁴ Sicard of Cremona, *Sicardi episcopi Cremonensis Chronica*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH, SS., 32 (Hanover-Leipzig, 1905-13) p. 180; Linehan, *History and the Historians*, pp. 294-95; also *Spain 1157-1300*, p. 55.

⁵⁷⁵ *Cronica di Bologna*, ed. by Ludavico Antonio Muratori, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol.18 (Milan, 1731).

champions. Here, a proposal is made by the Saracens to the Pope that everyone will convert to the religion of the winner of the duel and, thereafter, all will live in peace. Thus -

'the Saracens chose a man named Massamuto⁵⁷⁶ and the Christians elected the abbot of a Cistercian monastery and on the day of St John they joined in hard and brutal combat and by the grace of God the abbot won over the aforesaid Massamuto. But the Saracens did not want to keep the Christian Faith. So the Christians imprisoned and killed a great number of the Saracens and many went back to their contrariness by ship'.⁵⁷⁷

This fabulous version of the battle, in which the central protagonists are undoubtedly the Almohad Caliph and Amaury, demonstrates a clear perception of the Cistercians as the central actors in the fight against the enemies of the Church. In addition, it suggests that the Cistercian slide to arms was essentially complete by the time of Las Navas de Tolosa, or shortly thereafter, and that it was entirely acceptable and indeed, common place, to find the White Monks directly involved in military actions.⁵⁷⁸

If we see in Amaury reflections of fighting prelates such as Archbishop Turpin of the *Chanson de Roland*, or Bishop Jerome of the *Poema de Mio Cid*, first redacted in May 1207 and probably 'a sort of recruiting poster' for the Las Navas campaign,⁵⁷⁹ we will be meeting a similar character in a later chapter in the figure of Soeiro Viegas, bishop of Lisbon, the SUERIUS, of the *Carmen*.

Innocent's Reaction to Las Navas and the return home of the Portuguese Crusaders

For Innocent III, victory at Las Navas had been a portent of towering significance, an unequivocal manifestation of God's approval of his mission, and a dazzling example of divine intervention on behalf of those who, with contrite heart, take up the fight against the enemies of the cross. Scarcely can it be doubted that it had been a perilous enterprise. The Castilians had ploughed all of their resources into the assembly of the army, with nothing left for the fortification of their cities. Instead, everything had been wagered on the outcome of a decisive battle in the field, a notoriously hazardous strategy.⁵⁸⁰ Yet God had granted a Christian triumph. In about mid October 1212, the exultant pope summoned a gathering of the people

⁵⁷⁶ The name Massamuto is a Latinisation of Masmuda, a confederation of Berber tribes united by Ibn Tumart, founder of the Almohad movement.

⁵⁷⁷ *Cronica di Bolgna*, p. 251.

⁵⁷⁸ Alvira Cabrer, 'Le "Vénerable" Arnaud.' pp. 23-24.

⁵⁷⁹ Linehan, *Spain 1157-1300, A Partible Inheritance*, p. 47; Colin Smith, *The Making of the Poem de Mio Cid* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) p. 97.

⁵⁸⁰ Lomax, *Reconquest*, p. 125.

of Rome, those same men and women who had just a few months earlier, for Spain's sake, processed barefooted and solemn, around the city. Now, before the crowd, he read aloud to them Alfonso VIII's letter reporting the great tidings.⁵⁸¹ It is of no small significance that the next spring, buoyed by the success, Innocent promulgated his greatest crusading bull, *Quia Maior* (19-29 April), calling for a new expedition to recover the Holy Land. In it Innocent proclaimed, 'already the Lord has given us a sign that good will come', almost certainly referring to his own personal motto adopted from his forebear and Cistercian role model, Eugenius III, *fac mecum domine signum in bonum*, 'show me, Lord, a sign of thy favour'.⁵⁸² God had seen fit to reveal that sign in Spain.

In spite of the absence of Afonso II of Portugal in the Las Navas Campaign and the non-participation, as far as is known, of members of the Portuguese nobility, many countrymen of lesser rank had presented themselves for service. In addition to Portuguese attending as members of the military orders, the Christian army had included substantial contingents from the town militias. Rodrigo of Toledo paid tribute to their qualities:

'There also assembled in that same city [of Toledo] many soldiers from parts of Portugal, verily a copious multitude of infantry who, with marvellous adroitness, easily endured the hardships of the expedition and went on the attack with courageous spirit.'⁵⁸³

Importantly, Rodrigo was careful to leave no doubt that the Las Navas Campaign had been a crusade, not just for the *ultramontanos*, but also for the Iberians. Perhaps in line with an aspiration to see himself at the head of all of the Spains as unchallenged primate of the peninsula, Archbishop Rodrigo was careful in his *De rebus Hispaniae*, to set out that the venture had included contingents from all parts of Christian Iberia.⁵⁸⁴ After listing at some length, the prominent personages, from the ranks of nobles, clerics and of the military orders, Rodrigo wrote,

'These had performed many noble works of chivalry in parts of Hispania; many therefore of the Christian faith inspired by individual vows and the passion of their calling and by sympathy

⁵⁸¹ PL 216, 703-04.

⁵⁸² Louise and Jonathan Riley-Smith, *Crusades, Idea and Reality* (London: Edward Arnold, 1981) p. 118; Moore *Innocent III, to root up and to plant*, p. 48.

⁵⁸³ *Convenerunt etiam ad eandem urbem plerique milites de partibus Portugalis, peditum vero copiosa multitudo, qui mira agilitate expeditionis onera facile sustinebant et audaci impetu impetebant; De rebus Hispaniae*, p. 260.

⁵⁸⁴ Pick, *Conflict and Coexistence*, p. 22.

for their fellow men, assembled there [in Toledo] emblazoned with the sign of the holy cross.⁵⁸⁵

This clear description of Christian fighters indigenous to the Peninsula, duly pledged to the cause and wearing the sign of the cross indicates that Rodrigo, at least, wished it to be understood that crusading was just as applicable to Iberians as it was to foreigners. Of course, to what extent individual Iberian participants in the expedition thought of themselves as crusaders, we can hardly say with any certainty, especially with regard to the participants of more lowly status. Certainly, with regard to the Portuguese, the question must be asked as to what compelled them, apparently in very great numbers, to travel all the way to Toledo to take up arms in a cause that was scarcely their own? This is even more remarkable given the strong tradition of independent action, even isolationism, which had been the bedrock of Portuguese Iberian diplomacy for almost a century. We have no reports of the preaching of the Spanish crusade in Portugal, yet we are compelled to concede its likelihood. Did those Portuguese militiamen gathering in Toledo arrive having taken vows, perhaps in Santárem, or Coimbra, or Lisbon? Did they sew crosses onto their tunics and make a pilgrimage into central Spain?⁵⁸⁶ Conceivably those Portuguese returning home from Las Navas may have felt some sense of their role as blessed instruments in a divine plan. The presence in the kingdom of large numbers of returned veterans of a momentously successful crusade likely meant that enthusiasm for such undertakings spread among the wider population, already somewhat conditioned to crusade-type notions through the continued presence of the military orders and strong communities of Cistercians. With all the ingredients present for a substantial grass-roots crusading movement in the kingdom, it is little surprise that the first clear evidence of a true Portuguese crusade being preached internally to the Portuguese for a campaign on their own Andalusí frontier was to come swiftly following Las Navas. Indeed, it came at the very first opportunity, in the mobilisation for what looked to be Innocent's greatest adventure, the Fifth Crusade.

⁵⁸⁵ *Hii in partibus Hispanie multa opera milicie decenter egerunt; multi etiam chistiane religionis diversorum votorum et professionum zelo et compassione moniti, insigniti signaculo sancte crucis inibi convenerunt; De rebus Hispaniae, p. 262.*

⁵⁸⁶ Such would be 'pilgrimage' in the more abstract sense as an act of exile and renunciation for penitential purposes; cf. Price, 'Alfonso I and the Memory of the first Crusade', p. 81.

Part 6

Alcácer do Sal The First Portuguese Crusade

Any popular crusading movement in Portugal in the wake of Las Navas can only have been encouraged through Innocent's inclusion of crusading ideology into ordinary Church liturgy. Lay piety had already shown itself a powerful force, most famously in the 'People's Crusade' associated with Peter the Hermit during the First Crusade. More recently however, during the latter half of 1212, Europe had seen another sizeable popular movement, probably inspired by Innocent's penitential procession in Rome and similar concurrent processions in France.⁵⁸⁷ In an event that historians are still labouring to explain, the so-called Children's Crusade saw tens of thousands of mostly young people, including large numbers of children, making their way through Europe heading for the ports of the Mediterranean intent on liberating Jerusalem from the hands of the infidel.⁵⁸⁸ Keen to harness and, crucially, to channel this enormous and powerful reservoir of Christian fervour into productive ends (the misguided Children's Crusade came to nothing) Innocent III decreed in *Quia Maior*,⁵⁸⁹ that monthly penitential processions of ordinary men and women be held throughout the Latin West beseeching divine help for the recovery of the Holy Land and, further to that purpose, he set out detailed instructions for the integration of extra ritual into the daily mass, such as the physical prostration of the congregation before the church altar and the chanting of a special prayer. Regarding the assembly of the army and date of departure of the new crusade, these details would be announced at a later time after consultation with 'prudent men'.⁵⁹⁰

However, *Quia Maior* was not sent out to the Iberian Christian kingdoms and, indeed, the bull temporarily revoked the crusading indulgences previously granted to foreign warriors travelling to participate in the wars against the Muslims of Iberia and also the heretics of the Midi because –

'these were conceded to them in circumstances which have entirely passed and for that particular cause which has already for the most part disappeared, for so far affairs in both

⁵⁸⁷ The Cistercian Alberic of Trois-Fontaines reports that litanies and prayers were held in France on behalf of those Christians who were about to fight in Spain; *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium fontium* ed. by P. Scheffer-Boichorst, in MGH, *Scriptores*, 23, p. 894; Dickson, *The Children's Crusade*, p. 52.

⁵⁸⁸ On the Children's Crusade, see generally, Dickson's excellent treatment, *ibid*, also Peter Raedts, 'The Children's Crusade of 1212' *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 3 (1977), pp. 279-323; and Norman P Zacour, 'The Children's Crusade' in Kenneth M Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 2 pp. 325-42.

⁵⁸⁹ PL 216, 817-822.

⁵⁹⁰ *de prudentum virorum consilio*; *Ibid*, col.821.

places have gone well, by the grace of God, so that the immediate use of force is not needed.⁵⁹¹

Sensibly the pope was careful to add that he would revive the indulgences if circumstances were to change and the indulgences were to remain in place for those warriors indigenous to Iberia or the Midi since, although things may have calmed somewhat, the enemies of the Church were still at large and defences needed to be maintained.⁵⁹²

Nevertheless, although the theatricals of the common rituals decreed in *Quia Maior* were not seen in the kingdom of Portugal, the effects of them probably were. Regular trading activity between the Portuguese ports and northern Europe, together with passing maritime pilgrim traffic, combined with the inevitable links forged with wider Christendom through northern European settlement, especially following the 1147 Lisbon conquest, so that foreign crusading fervour circulated among ordinary townsfolk, adding to an already heightened awareness of crusading paraphernalia thanks to those recently returned from Spain. Meanwhile, at higher levels of Portuguese society, the royal court maintained its remarkable ability for staying abreast of the latest currents of thought in the wider Christian world.⁵⁹³

Thus it was that, with a degree of ideological ground-work already in place, the first Portuguese crusade was preached in 1217 and targeted the troublesome Muslim port and stronghold of Alcácer do Sal. The campaign unfolded in circumstances similar to those of the conquest of Lisbon in 1147 and the (ephemeral) conquest of Silves in 1189. Now at the beginning of the Fifth Crusade, Portugal, as ever turned towards the Atlantic and away from its rival peninsular neighbours, looked not so much to *ultramontanos*, but once again to *ultramarítimos*, naval crusaders from northern seas.

The last will of Sancho I, Afonso II, and the Kingdom in 1217: a War of Succession?

Afonso II, ascended the Portuguese throne in March of 1211 on the death of his father Sancho I. Later generations would accord him the cognomen 'the Fat' which sobriquet, tradition holds, attached to the king on account of an unspecified ailment; some lifetime affliction, possibly leprosy, that led to his early demise. Indeed, his very survival into adulthood was

⁵⁹¹ Nor was it sent to the Latin Empire of Constantinople; Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1986) p. 17; Engl. Trans. Riley Smith, *Crusades, Idea and Reality*, p. 122.

⁵⁹² Ibid.

⁵⁹³ Maria João Branco, 'Escritura, Ley y Poder Regio: la cancellería regia y los juristas del rey en la construcción de un nuevo concepto de realeza en portugal (1211-1218)', *Actas de la XXXVII Semana de Estudios Medievales de Estella: 1212-1214: el trienio que hizo a Europa*; (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2011) pp. 343-71; also, 'The King's Counsellors' Two Faces: A Portuguese Perspective', in *The Medieval World*, ed. by Peter Linehand and Janet L. Nelson (London: Routledge, 2001) pp. 518-33.

ascribed to divine intervention.⁵⁹⁴ Most significant for our purposes is that this mysterious condition is almost certainly why Afonso avoided direct participation in military endeavours. If contemporary attitudes placed a premium on military prowess in the calibration of royal legitimacy, Portugal was an acute case. Afonso Henriques, Portugal's first king, had won papal recognition of his sovereignty, in 1179,⁵⁹⁵ thanks to a lifetime of successful campaigns against the Moors of al-Andalus with the status being confirmed to his son Sancho I, in 1190,⁵⁹⁶ following the latter's daring conquest of Silves deep in the Peninsular southwest in September of the previous year. Not to be outdone, but with the soldier's life denied to him, Afonso took his stand on the jurisprudential frontier of his kingdom where he proved such an aggressive combatant that Herculano was inspired to write 'never did so unwarlike a king fight so much'.⁵⁹⁷

It was just as well. Fighting of all kinds assailed the kingdom of Portugal during the final years of the twelfth century and endured almost uninterrupted throughout and beyond the reign of Afonso II, until the end of the first half of the thirteenth. To the Almohad invasions of the 1190s followed a series of natural disasters accompanied by recurring outbreaks of plague and famine creating a prophetic backdrop against which there unfolded a litany of domestic traumas spanning a period described by José Mattoso as 'sixty years of crisis'.⁵⁹⁸

The first signs of trouble emerged during the final years of the reign of Sancho I. In searching for the origins of the ferment, conventionally the historiography has given prominence to disputes between the king and the church. This fixation has tended to screen the likelihood that these problems were merely froth bubbling to the surface from the true crisis lurking beneath. Nevertheless, the theme of conflict caused by royal perceptions of excessive Church interference in secular matters is a recurrent one in Portugal's formative years, and deserves our attention here, albeit in brief of outline. Two disputes in particular assume the focus, both concern Bishops, one of Porto, the other of Coimbra.

The cause of the dispute between Sancho and Bishop Martinho Rodrigues of Porto has not been passed down to us, all we know is that in 1208, Innocent III initially appointed the bishop of Zamora and the deans of Zamora and León to mediate between the two parties. By this time, Martinho of Porto had placed an interdict over his diocese whilst the king had arrested

⁵⁹⁴ Herminia Vasconcelos Vilar, *D. Afonso II, Um Rei Sem Tempo* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2005) p. 38.

⁵⁹⁵ *Monumenta Henricina*, N.º.9, pp. 18-21.

⁵⁹⁶ *Ibid*, N.º.12, pp. 26-28.

⁵⁹⁷ Harold V. Livermore, *A History of Portugal* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1947), p. 115; Herculano, *Historia de Portugal*, vol.2, livro iv.

⁵⁹⁸ Mattoso, *História de Portugal*, vol.II, *A Monarquia Feudal*, p. 95.

the Bishop's bother and seized episcopal property.⁵⁹⁹ The actions of the papal intermediaries achieved peaceful settlement, but it was not to last. Before the year was out, things took a turn for the worse when Bishop Martinho refused to accept the marriage of *Infante Afonso*, future Afonso II, with Urraca of Castile, daughter of Alfonso VIII and Eleanor of England, on the grounds of consanguinity. Although the degree of consanguinity was less than earlier Iberian royal marriages and in spite of the fact that the Iberian clergy and Rome were untroubled by the match, Bishop Martinho stubbornly condemned it. When the newlyweds visited his diocese, he pointedly refused to receive them. Martinho was already in dispute with members of his chapter and also with the citizens of Porto. Following the royal snub, these cheerfully joined municipal officials in placing the episcopal palace under siege. After five months of blockade, Martinho capitulated, agreed to royal demands, was duly released, and appeared shortly thereafter in Rome. He laid out his complaints personally before Innocent III. Once again, Innocent III appointed local ecclesiastics to mediate between the bishop and the king.⁶⁰⁰

The dispute with Bishop Pedro Soares of Coimbra, a frequent agent for Innocent III in Iberia, concerned, *inter-alia*, the privileges of the royal monastery of Santa-Cruz, located within his diocese, and accusations that the crown was confiscating ecclesiastical incomes and property, compelling ecclesiastics to appear in secular courts and forcing them to participate in military operations. Matters reached a level of acrimony such that Sancho imprisoned Bishop Pedro along with his aids. One of the latter managed to escape and went immediately to Rome where he laid out the Bishop of Coimbra's complaints to an increasingly piqued Innocent III.⁶⁰¹ Unmoved by Innocent's reprimands, Sancho brazenly responded to the Pope with a warning, telling the pontiff that he was of a mind to confiscate all Church property in his lands. All the more so, since the only reason the Church had been able to amass such great wealth in Portugal, Sancho continued, was due to the misguided generosity of his father who had unwisely lavished great gifts on an ungrateful clergy when the resources would have been better spent on those who actively prosecuted the war on the Muslims. The response of Innocent III rings with a shrill petulance entirely undulled by the passage of eight centuries, 'No great prince, however powerful, unless perchance a heretic or tyrant, has ever attempted to write so irreverently or arrogantly to us or to our predecessors.'⁶⁰²

⁵⁹⁹ On Martim Rodrigues, see Azevedo, *Historia de Portugal*, Vol.5, pp. 36-39.

⁶⁰⁰ *Bulário*, N°145, pp. 280-82; DS, N°190, pp. 290-92, PL, 216: 272-73. Azevedo, *Ibid*, pp. 41-46; J. Antunes, J.G. Monteiro, A.R. de Oliveria, 'Conflitos políticos no reino de Portugal entre a reconquista e a expansão: estado do questão' *Revista das ideias*, 6 (1984), pp. 25-160, at pp. 29-35.

⁶⁰¹ *Bulário*, N°154, pp. 295-97, N°156, 299-301.

⁶⁰² *Ibid*, N°154, pp. 295-97 at pp. 296-97, PL, 216: 384. For a useful general outline see Lay, *Reconquest Kings* pp. 195-96.

Yet these vignettes have tended to beguile generations of those who have attempted to analyse Portugal's troubles during Sancho's final years. The vicissitudes of documentary survival, have resulted in the preservation of a very complete dossier in the papal curia detailing Sancho's disputes with his Bishops, whilst very little remains from domestic records which enable a more nuanced picture to be constructed. Even so, through a process of reading against the grain and the interpretation of a discourse of formal anomalies present in the chancery documents that *have* survived, Branco has made a compelling case that Sancho's final years were accompanied by nothing less than a war of succession of which the disputes with the clergy were but one symptom.⁶⁰³

Fernando Afonso

By 1207-1208 three things had become clear; in the first place, Sancho was ill and probably dying; secondly, the *Infante* Afonso, well known to be of a sickly disposition and of dubious longevity, was Sancho's chosen successor; and thirdly, Afonso's marriage to Urraca of Castile (1208) was unacceptable to a large portion of the Portuguese high nobility whose principal heartlands straddled the Entre Douro e Minho region bordering Galicia - they would have preferred closer ties to León.

It was from about 1207/08 that various parties and their supporters appear to have come forward either to claim the throne for themselves or to advance a pro-Leonese agenda, or both. It is in this context that the appearance of Fernando Afonso, Sancho's half-brother, assumes considerable significance.⁶⁰⁴ Fernando Afonso was Afonso Henrique's first-born son, although illegitimate. He had been made *alferes-mor* (chief martial of the army) under Afonso Henriques following the disaster of Badajoz of 1169 and appears to have already been manoeuvring against Sancho for succession to their father. In 1172-73 following a reorganisation of the royal curia which placed all royal officers under the direct command of *Infante* Sancho, Fernando Afonso had perhaps been exiled. In any event, he disappears from the documentation until he joins the Hospitallers, probably by 1198, becoming Spanish master of the Order.⁶⁰⁵ In December 1198, Innocent III recognised the receipt of monies sent by a certain '*Frater A*', representing, the regular monetary tribute promised to the pope by Afonso

⁶⁰³ Branco, *D. Sancho*, p. 287 *et seq.*; see also Atunes, *et al*, 'Conflitos políticos no reino...' pp. 29-47.

⁶⁰⁴ On Fernando Afonso, see Anthony Luttrell, 'Afonso of Portugal, Master of the Hospital: 1202/3-1206', in Susan Edgington, Helen J. Nicholson, Peter Edbury, eds., *Deeds done beyond the sea* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014) pp. 197-206.

⁶⁰⁵ Luttrell, 'Afonso', p. 198; Carlos Barquero Goñi, 'Los Hospitalarios en el Reino de León (siglos XII y XIII)', in *El reino de León en la alta edad media*, IX (Co. 'Fuentes y Estudios de Historia Leonesa, 65) (León, 1997), pp. 219-634, at pp. 562-3.

Henriques in 1143 but since fallen into arrears, which Rainier, legate to Iberia, had managed to persuade Sancho to pay.⁶⁰⁶ In 1202-03, Fernando Afonso rose to the office of Grand Master General of the Order of the Hospital and served as such in the Holy Land between the years 1203 and 1206. At the close of this period, having wrought a reform of the statutes of the Order, internal disagreements prompted him to resign his post and the year 1207 found him returned to Portugal where, on 1st March, his life ended. The Hospital's *Chronicle of the Deceased Masters*, redacted in the thirteenth century or earlier, says simply that he had been poisoned 'by his people.'⁶⁰⁷ The *Livro Velho de Linhagens*,⁶⁰⁸ a genealogical list detailing noble descent compiled in about 1270, adds a little more detail reporting, 'he was killed by the brothers of Úcles in Évora', that is to say he was murdered by the Order of Évora, the Cistercian brothers affiliated to Calatrava.⁶⁰⁹ It seems likely Fernando Afonso was returning to Portugal at precisely this time either in order to make his own bid for the throne, or to throw his support behind some other contender. If so, we may imagine his elimination as one cause, among others, for Afonso II coming to hold the Cistercian Order in particularly high esteem.

In such an atmosphere of intrigue, the Bishop of Porto's rejection of *Infante Afonso's* marriage to a Castilian princess for infringing the prohibited degrees, when even Innocent III had chosen not to take issue with it, becomes more understandable, especially when we note that the Bishop belonged to one of the most powerful aristocratic families of the Entre Douro e Minho with characteristically strong links to Galicia and León.

Afonso II and his sisters

This particular phase of chaos subsisted in the kingdom until the end of 1211 when a semblance of order was re-established following the promulgation of a new royal will, redacted in October of that year, with a codicil executed in December.⁶¹⁰ According to Branco this document, the final will of Sancho I, was drafted in order to placate the various warring parties of the kingdom, bringing peace to the realm in an attempt to ensure that his son, Afonso (II), would ascend the throne unopposed. It is in this light that various remarkable

⁶⁰⁶ *Bulário*, N°34, pp. 44-45.

⁶⁰⁷ ...*per gentem suam*, Antoine Joseph Marie Delaville Le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre, 1100-1310* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1904) pp. 130-31; Luttrell, 'Afonso', p. 205.

⁶⁰⁸ *Livro Velho de Linhagens* in PMH, Nova Série, vol.1, *Livros Velhos de Linhagens*, ed. by Joseph Piel and José Mattoso (Lisbon, 1980). The *Livro Velho* is the surviving fragment of a longer work, redacted towards the end of the thirteenth century either by a monk of the monastery of Santo Tirso, or by a cleric in the service of Gil Martins de Riba de Vizela. Assembled in reaction to royal attempts to seize lands and limit ancestral privileges, the purpose of the book, besides attempting to assure hereditary rights among the nobility, was also to regulate consanguineous marriages and to record the notable deeds of ancestors; José Mattoso, *A Nobreza Medieval*, pp. 37-55.

⁶⁰⁹ *Livro Velho de Linhagens* p. 25; Branco, *Sancho I*, p. 299.

⁶¹⁰ DS, N°194, pp. 297-301, and N°203, p. 310.

bequests contained in the will become more readily explicable, even though it could be foreseen by contemporaries that problems were likely to arise therefrom as soon as Alfonso II attempted to assert what he considered to be his royal rights. In particular, Sancho bequeathed huge areas of the kingdom, capable of autonomous rule, to his daughters (the *Infantas*) Queen Teresa, former wife of Alfonso IX of León, Sancha, Mafalda and Branca. This series of dispositions taken together with already existing extensive grants of lands and privileges to the Church, which had been made over the preceding years particularly by Afonso Henriques, meant that enormous parts of the kingdom had become exempt from taxation.

That the newly crowned Afonso II would seek to set-aside those testamentary dispositions that were repugnant to his authority was almost certainly anticipated by Sancho and the beneficiaries concerned, namely the *Infantas*. As a precaution, therefore, Sancho not only made sure he appointed the most authoritative office-holders in his kingdom to be his executors, but he went to the extra-ordinary length of insisting Prince Afonso take a solemn oath, sworn his hands clasped within the hands of his dying father, with members of the high clergy in attendance as witnesses, that he would fully comply with his father's wishes. The will was then promptly sent to Innocent III for confirmation. (Sancho in fact died before papal confirmation arrived to Portugal.)

Sure enough, the old king's body was scarcely tepid before the new king demanded that the *Infantas* recognise his sovereignty through the payment of the usual taxes on crown property and by accepting his choice of officers for the government of urban centres within their lands. The *Infantas* refused and successfully applied to Rome for confirmation of Sancho's will, which they very shortly obtained, in May 1211. In response, Afonso II sent to Rome to represent his interests and to contest his father's bequests, Bishop of Lisbon Soeiro Viegas (SUERIUS) and his dean, Master Vicente. In arguing that the bequests to Afonso's sisters were void, Soeiro and Vicente asserted that kings of Portugal had no right to alienate their possessions to the detriment of their heirs based on the terms of the bull *Manifestis Probatum*,⁶¹¹ granted to Afonso Henriques in 1179 in which Pope Alexander III recognised the autonomous kingdom of Portugal and Afonso Henriques' as legitimate king, and also upon it being established that Sancho I had been of unsound mind when the will was made.

While these contestations were taking place in Rome, Afonso's sisters, particularly Teresa and Sancha prepared to defend themselves in their lands against the troops of their brother Afonso II. Both sisters announced their allegiance to Alfonso IX of León. Teresa especially, as the

⁶¹¹ *Monumenta Henricina*, N°9, pp. 19-21.

former Queen of León and ex-wife of Alfonso IX, could count on powerful support. In early 1212, Alfonso IX invaded Portugal accompanied by Fernando, his son by Teresa, and by Pedro, Afonso II's younger brother, along with disgruntled members of the Portuguese aristocracy. Hardly surprising, therefore, Afonso II's absence from the field of Las Navas de Tolosa that summer.

The dispute between Afonso II and his sisters would drag-on and would not be settled until after Afonso's death in 1223. However a temporary settlement was achieved (through the intervention of Milanese jurist, Master Lanfranc on Afonso's behalf) which resulted in the bull *Cum olim charissimus*, of April 7th 1216.⁶¹² Afonso's rights of sovereignty were vindicated since Sancho had expressed nothing in his will that was consistent with an exclusion of royal jurisdiction. The *Infantas* were permitted to continue to reside on the estates bequeathed to them and receive the usufruct, however the lands were to be handed over to the Templars for their defence.

Afonso II and the Church

It was unquestionably the defiance of the *Infantas* that presented the most immediate problem to Afonso II on his accession and which demanded immediate action as old aristocratic rivalries were revived in the dispute over the sisters' hereditary rights. With increasing numbers of dissatisfied Portuguese nobles arriving to the court of Alfonso IX, prepared to support Leonese military intervention on behalf of the *Infantas*, and with Portuguese churchmen becoming divided on the issue, it was clear that Afonso needed to garner and consolidate as much support as possible. There was no time to lose. Shortly after his accession, Afonso convened a legislative assembly, the *curia regis* (*cortes*) of 1211, attended by the regular and secular high-clergy, members of the high-aristocracy, and other nobles.

The product of this *curia* was a set of General Laws, some twenty eight in total.⁶¹³ Among other things, Afonso II's intention appears to have been both to confirm the privileges enjoyed by the Portuguese elite whilst, at the same time, setting limits upon them. It was part of a policy intended to centralise government in the hands of a monarch who had inherited only a fraction of the power previously enjoyed by the crown. Further, Afonso II appears to have

⁶¹² Búlaro, N.º.214, pp. 376-78.

⁶¹³ The two most complete texts of these laws are to be found in the *Livro das Leis e das Posturas*, a manuscript of the fourteenth century, ed. by Nuno Espinosa Gomes da Silveira e Maria Teresa Campos Rodrigues (Lisbon: Universidade de Lisboa, 1971) and in the *Ordenações del-Rei D. Duarte*, which date to the fifteenth century, ed by Martim de Albuquerque and Nunes Eduardo Borges (Lisbon: Fundação Gulbenkian, 1988); cf. Vilar, Afonso II, p. 67.

been concerned to appease the Church, at least for now. With opposition from this notoriously troublesome quarter minimised, Afonso II could devote all of his attentions to the more pressing matter of bringing the *Infantas* under his control.

Several of Afonso's general laws were concerned with personal freedoms, for example, forced marriages were outlawed and tax-payers were given protection from excessive demands made by clergy or nobility. As for the Church, importantly, ecclesiastical law was declared to take precedence over civil law and all legislation contrary to the Church was to be deemed void. Further provisions included the imposition of obligations on public office-holders to protect ecclesiastical institutions against secular institutions and/or individuals, and the exemption of the clergy from the payment of various taxes and tributes. The only provision inhibiting the activities of the church was the prohibition on ecclesiastical purchases of land but, since the church obtained the vast majority of its properties by bequest, this had negligible practical effect and was unopposed by the clergy.

The *curia* was largely successful in so far as it freed Afonso, temporarily, from bothersome, costly and damaging, ecclesiastical wrangles. Further, the implicit assertion of Afonso's piety contained in the General Laws won him the publication, in 1212, of papal confirmation of his kingship, in the reissue of the bull *Manifestis probatum* which had been originally granted to Afonso Henriques in 1179, then re-issued to Sancho I in 1190, was now re-issued to Afonso II. However, this new version was drafted in terms different from the previous grants in order to accommodate Afonso's lack of military achievements.⁶¹⁴ It is likely that those behind procurement and, indeed, the wording of this new bull were Afonso's legal representatives in Rome, Bishop Soeiro Viegas of Lisbon and his dean Master Vicente. It is significant that the re-grant of the *Manifestis probatum* in 1218, immediately following the conquest of Alcácer do Sal, would represent a return to the original wording of the 1179 grant with all martial references duly restored.⁶¹⁵ These matters are dealt with in more detail in Chapter 3 herein.

The Conquest of Alcácer do Sal

The reign of Sancho I had coincided with the zenith of Almohad power. Following the Almohad campaigns of the 1190s, Sancho made no further efforts to pursue the war on the Saracens.

⁶¹⁴ *Monumenta Henricina*, N^o.18, pp. 36-38.

⁶¹⁵ *Ibid*, N^o.27, pp. 50-51. For a useful treatment of the terms of the *Manifestis Probatum* and its re-issues, see Vilar, *Afonso II*, pp. 114-120.

The state of paralysis on the Portuguese-Andalusi frontier was to continue throughout most of the first half of the thirteenth century, as Portugal was scourged by constitutional crisis and civil war. Whilst the kingdom, thus crippled, was incapable of producing a strong popular leader who could galvanize all efforts towards a single-minded push on the Muslim south, a desultory war of skirmishes and raids, carried on along the frontier, had produced incremental advances and, by 1210, the military Order of Santiago had succeeded in occupying the hilltop fortress of Palmela on the Sado Peninsula south of the Tagus. It was an excellent advance guard, with sweeping views over the approaches to Alcácer do Sal. Portugal's southern border now stretched in a line from Palmela in the west to Évora in the east. Further, the Cistercian Order of Évora received by donation from Afonso II, in June of 1211, the town of Avis on the left bank of the Erredel, following which the brothers became known as the Order of Avis. The deed of donation imposed upon them the duty of founding a castle there and populating the area.⁶¹⁶

Following Las Navas de Tolosa, the Almohad Empire began to implode. The Caliphal army had been heavily defeated and the psychological effect on the Muslim world had been profound, giving rise to a later tradition that the loss of life had been so great that a large part of Morocco had become completely depopulated.⁶¹⁷ The reality, however, appears to have been a good deal less bleak for the Almohads, and under a more able leader, they may well have been able to recover. Not long after the battle, a large Christian expedition from Talavera comprising some 70 horsemen and 4,000 infantry was cut to pieces by Saracen forces whilst foraging during a raiding operation near Seville.⁶¹⁸ But Caliph, al-Nasir was, apparently, rash and ill-considered in his judgments, as some of his reported actions in the weeks before Las Navas may have revealed, such as his unpopular execution of the commander of the garrison at Calatrava for surrendering to the Christians.⁶¹⁹ He returned to Marrakesh and, seemingly indifferent to the fate of his Empire, gave the running of the Caliphate over to his viziers and devoted himself to the delights of the harem. He died on 25th December 1213, poisoned, it was alleged, by members of his court.⁶²⁰ The epoch of great caliphal peninsular expeditions was over for ever and the Almohads never again confronted Christian troops.⁶²¹

⁶¹⁶ ANTT, *S. Bento de Avis*, mç. 2. N.º.61; Vilar, *Afonso II*, p. 64.

⁶¹⁷ Ahmad ibn Muhammad Maqqari and Ibn al-Khatib, *The history of the Mohammedan dynasties in Spain; extracted from the Nafhu-t-tib min ghosni-l-Andalusi-r-rattib wa tarikh Lisānu-d-Dīn Ibni-l-Khattib*, by; trans. by Pascual de Gayangos 2vols (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1843) p. 323-4.

⁶¹⁸ Kennedy, *Muslim Spain* p. 255-56.

⁶¹⁹ Ibid.

⁶²⁰ Pascal Buresi and Hicham El Aallaoui, *Governing the Empire: Provincial Administration in the Almohad Caliphate (1224-1269)* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 67-68.

⁶²¹ Kennedy, *Muslim Spain* p. 56.

Preaching the First Portuguese Crusade

When the first Portuguese Crusade was preached the kingdom was in a brief period of respite from years of civil war and domestic upheaval. The militiamen returning from Las Navas de Tolosa had arrived to find their homelands in chaos and, having survived the Almohads, many found themselves fighting their own countrymen, allied to one faction or another, as the Portuguese monarchy struggled for existence. By 1217, a relative calm had descended upon the kingdom, yet the memory of recent events may have contributed to an atmosphere of apocalypse. An eclectic array of documental scraps, from monastic annals to a curious memorandum of wrongdoing,⁶²² reflects a general mood of aberration and foreboding. The Portuguese sources, the *Anais Conimbricenses*, and the *Crónica de 1419* describe a period of 'evil years' when summers had been too cold, winters had been too hot, multitudes of vermin had swarmed through the towns, there had been an eclipse of the sun, a dreadful sea storm, and, on two separate occasions, rocks had been seen falling from the clouds like rain.⁶²³ For many these were the Last Days being lived - a fitting backdrop indeed for the miraculous appearance of crosses in the sky.

As we have seen, in 1211, Rodrigo of Toledo had personally travelled over the Pyrenees and in response to his preaching, large numbers of *ultramontanos* had joined the Spanish crusade. Even though the majority of these foreign troops withdrew before Las Navas, the campaign still retained the character of a crusade. Not only do we learn that a proportion, at least, of the Iberian warriors wore the symbol of the cross, but also that before the battle, Archbishop Rodrigo and the other prelates preached to the Christian warriors exhorting them to the fight. In response, the warriors confessed their sins and the clergy confirmed the indulgences to them.⁶²⁴ During the battle itself, a fragment of the True Cross and also an image of the Holy Virgin were carried aloft into the battle, both standards obligingly performing miracles during the combat.⁶²⁵ For Erdmann, it was at this point, 'the ice was broken in Portugal'.⁶²⁶

When, three years after Las Navas, the question of the new crusade was addressed at the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), Bishop Soeiro Viegas of Lisbon, in attendance along with the other Hispanic prelates, specifically requested of Innocent III authorisation for the retention of

⁶²² The so-called 'Notícia de Torto'; ANTT: MSV/003/0002/00040; transcription by Pedro de Azevedo, 'Nova leitura da Notícia do Torto (texto do Séc. XIII)', *Revista Lusitana*, 17, pp. 203-06.

⁶²³ Mattoso referring inter alia to the *Crónica de 1419* and the *Anais Conimbricenses*, identifies this series of 'evil years' (*maus anos*) as occurring between 1192 and 1218; Mattoso, *História de Portugal, A Monarquia Feudal*, p. 102; and see Branco, *Sanco I*, p. 289-90.

⁶²⁴ *De Rebus Hispaniae*, p. 270.

⁶²⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 270-72; Erdmann, *Á Ideia de Cruzada*, p. 44.

⁶²⁶ ...*se quebrou o gêlo*, Erdmann, *Ibid*.

maritime crusaders passing through Portuguese ports in order to engage their services in the Portuguese Reconquista. Innocent refused, no doubt painfully aware of the diversion of the Fourth Crusade, wishing to ensure that all efforts were concentrated on the Holy Land since 'he who teaches the freedom of the Church from enslavement must start from the head'.⁶²⁷ Indeed, as mentioned, Innocent had already suspended crusading indulgences for Iberia and the Midi, save for those warriors indigenous to those regions. Nevertheless, Soeiro Viegas was not one who was willing to let papal prohibition stand in the way of his scheme to garner northern maritime aid for the renewal of the Portuguese campaign on the Andalusian south, as we shall see in another chapter herein.

Such is the broad background to the conquest of Alcácer do Sal. Thanks to the express papal prohibition on foreign crusaders stopping to participate in the Portuguese-Andalusian wars, the Alcácer episode presents a situation that contrasts strongly with the scenario described in the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, discussed earlier. In the famous account of the 1147 Lisbon conquest, the task of persuading foreign mariners to involve themselves in military activity there included the direct use of a rhetoric of crusade. At Alcácer, however, the crusade was, apparently, preached vigorously to the Portuguese, but manifestly not to the warriors of the foreign fleets.

Perhaps the clearest and most unambiguous evidence of the preaching of this first Portuguese crusade is contained in the letter of October 1217 addressed to Honorius III by the bishops of Lisbon and Évora and the superiors of the military orders, in which they reported the Christian victory at Alcácer:

'Therefore [the agreement with the northerners] having been considered and agreed, and, at our words of exhortation, nearly everyone of our dioceses and similarly throughout the kingdom in their own dioceses, having donned the sign of the cross, together we went to besiege a certain castle that is called Alcácer which, furthermore, of all the castles of the Saracens in Spain is [especially] harmful to the Christians.'⁶²⁸

A different approach appears in the *Carmen*, which informs us that Bishop Soeiro of Lisbon welcomed the foreign crusaders who arrived by sea with gifts and called them to assemble so

⁶²⁷ ...*de vindicta ecclesie docens inchoandum a capite...De itinere Frisonum*, ed. by Reinholdus Röhrich in *Quinti Belli Sacri Scriptores Minores* (Geneva: Illustrandis Orientis Latini Monumentis: 1879), p. 63; and see Jaime Ferreira Alemarte, *Arribadas de Normandos y Cruzados a las Costas de la Península Ibérica* (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 1999) pp. 166-67.

⁶²⁸ *Monumenta Henricina*, p. 47.

that he could address them with 'pious words'.⁶²⁹ Beginning in terms not incompatible with a crusade sermon, 'Oh brethren, servants of Christ, enemies of the enemies of the cross / Scorners of the world and splendour of martyrdom', the speech nonetheless stops short of equating the Saracens of the peninsula with the Saracens of the East.⁶³⁰ Rather, the emphasis is on God's providential bringing of the fleet to Portuguese shores where their co-religionists stood in urgent need of succour. The Christians, according to Soeiro, were cruelly oppressed by the nearby castle of Alcácer which was '...above all fortresses injurious / for the Christians...'⁶³¹ Among other evils the Saracens of Alcácer sent 100 Christian captives per year to the caliph in Morocco as tribute and so far, according to the poem, 15,000 souls had been thus sacrificed.⁶³²

Soeiro highlighted the opportunity this presented for the foreign mariners to perform good works. Since it was too late in the sailing season for the crusaders to sail safely on to Palestine, he argued, they should winter in Portugal. But their time should not be squandered through indolence because, and here the *Carmen* returns to the theme with which it began, 'Idleness defiles the virtues and the grace of the mind / It erodes, and morals and pious resolution.'⁶³³ Thus the crusaders may continue to be 'servants of the cross, enemies of the enemies of the cross', by delivering a 'dutiful blow for God' in al-Andalus.⁶³⁴ In summary, the clear discourse of the *Carmen* regarding the foreign crusaders is one of making the most of a providential opportunity to deliver justice and help fellow Christians. Since the foreigners are *de jure* already in the service of the cross, they may be described in the *Carmen* by epithets such as 'enemies of the enemies of the cross' and 'splendour of martyrdom' without offending Innocent III's prohibition on foreign crusading on the peninsula since their enterprise in Iberia is in no way presented as being a diversion from, or substitute for, service in the Holy Land.

The *De Itinere Frisonum* also recounts a version of the address of the Bishop of Lisbon. Again the exhortation is scarcely towards crusading and concentrates, almost exclusively, on the convenience and advantages to be gained by wintering in the kingdom;

'Congregated then in this port [of Lisbon] were many ships and, with the council of the whole army gathered there, and the people of the city, the Bishop of Lisbon addressed [the mariners

⁶²⁹ *Carmen*, line 58.

⁶³⁰ *Ibid*, lines 59-60.

⁶³¹ *Ibid*, lines 63-64.

⁶³² *Ibid*, line 71. It is to be noted that if this figure cannot have been calculated on the basis of the Almohad reconquest of Alcácer do Sal from the Order of Santiago during Yaqub al-Mansur's campaign of 1191, in which case the figure would have been 24,000 up to 1216.

⁶³³ *Ibid*, lines 81-82.

⁶³⁴ *Ibid*, lines 83-84.

of the fleet] intending to persuade them to remain in Spain to conquer the fortress of Alcácer from the enemies of the Church, assuring them with a great collection of reasons that it would be a useful and honourable undertaking. He offered them the support of his own armed retinue and the support of the kings of that land, assuring them of countless profits and making them see that even without them the delay in the country would be in any case advantageous to them, not only because of the abundance of all types of things that could be purchased there, but also owed to the tardiness of the kings and princes who had undertaken the road by land, who would not arrive in the Holy Land in that year.⁶³⁵

Once again there is no attempt to equate the Iberian and Eastern crusading theatres.

A similar version of Soeiro's speech is reported in the *Gesta crucigerorum Rhenanorum*, recounting the conquest of Alcácer from the point of view of the Rhinelanders. Again, the emphasis is on aiding fellow Christians, fortuitous opportunity and the profitable use of the crusaders' time 'to bring peace to this place rather than lie around at their leisure like useless serfs'.⁶³⁶

The only other reported instance of possible preaching to the foreign crusaders in the campaign is contained in the *De Itinere Frisonum*. Here we are told the Abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Alcobaça encountered the Frisians when their fleet put into the port of Salir do Porto. Here, the author records that the Abbot imparted certain unspecified information about the condition of the kingdom and the 'difficulties of its ports' and also that he told the crusaders a miraculous story concerning a Muslim who had been converted to Christianity. There is no suggestion, however that an Iberian crusade was preached to the mariners.⁶³⁷

To sum up the position on the Alcácer campaign, neither during the immediate preparations for the venture, nor during the siege and conquest of the town, is there any evidence that the Portuguese prelates considered the foreign crusaders as engaged in a crusade, nor did they attempt to persuade them that they were. However, the situation is very different following the successful conclusion of the enterprise.

⁶³⁵ *De Itinere Frisonum*, pp. 62-63.

⁶³⁶ *Gesta Crucigerorum Rhenanorum*, in *Quinti Belli Sacri etc.* ed. by Röhrich (1879) p. 31; Also reproduced as *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, ed by G. Waitz, in *Chronica regia coloniensis (Annales maximi colonienses) cum continuationibus in monasterio S. Pantaleonis monumentis...* recensuit G. Waitz (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1880) pp. 239-40. English translation, *Crusade and Christendom*, p. 156.

⁶³⁷ *De Itinere Frisonum*, p. 61.

Victory at Alcácer

The siege began on July 30th and continued for five weeks, involving the usual methods of assault by towers, catapults and mines. However, on September 8th a large Muslim army of rescue arrived under the command of the governors of Seville, Jaén, Badajoz and Jerez. To the Christian besiegers, the force appeared to be overwhelming, with the author of the *Rhenanorum* estimating that it numbered as many as 100,000. The Christians, bemoaning their shortage of horses, swiftly dug a ditch around their position and prepared for imminent attack. Fortunately for them, reinforcements arrived led by Pedro Alvaritis, commander of the Templars in Spain. Battle was joined between the two armies on a plain extending in front of the city on 11th September, resulting in a decisive Christian victory. The defenders in Alcácer surrendered on 21st October, making the Christian triumph complete. With almost all of the defenders taken into captivity, the spoils were divided among the Christian warriors and the fortress was handed into the keeping of the Order of Santiago.⁶³⁸

With the tide having turned so conclusively in favour of the Christians, the Iberian leaders of the campaign, that is to say; Bishops Soeiro Viegas of Lisbon and Soeiro of Évora, Pedro Alvaritis Master of the Templars, the prior of the Hospitallers in Portugal and Martim Barregão Commander of Palmela of the Order of Santiago, in their correspondence with Pope Honorius III, immediately determined to persuade the pope to declare a full international Portuguese crusade. To this end they wrote to Honorius III request the following:-

1. that Honorius issue an order (*mandatum*) that the foreign crusaders remain in Portugal for another year so in order to 'extirpate the perfidy of the pagans from all Spain';
2. that 'the foreigners, as well as our crusaders (*crucesignati*) and those who will take the sign of the cross in the future will have the same indulgence that they would have had if they had presented themselves in person for the relief of the Holy Land';
3. that monies levied in Iberia pursuant to the *Vicesima*, the tax approved at the Fourth Lateran Council and promulgated in the bull *ad Liberandum* (1215)⁶³⁹ of a twentieth part of ecclesiastical income to be donated for a period of three years 'for the aid of the Holy Land', should now be applied exclusively for the fight against the Andalusí Saracens.⁶⁴⁰

⁶³⁸ Vilar, *Afonso II*, p. 144; ANTT, Reg. *Afonso II*, fols 81v-82.

⁶³⁹ *Ad liberandum* is to be found in *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, ed. by Joseph Alberigo et al. (Bologna: Istituto per le scienze religiose, 1973) at pp. 267-71.

⁶⁴⁰ *Monumenta Henricina* N°25, pp. 45-48.

Simultaneous with this clear petition for the declaration of an Iberian crusade, Count William of Holland, leader of the foreign crusaders at Alcácer, also wrote to the pope, setting out his view that southern Iberia now lay open to definitive Christian conquest and requesting instructions as to whether he was now to lead his men onward to the East, or to remain in Iberia to complete the expulsion of the Saracens from the peninsula. Here, it is to be remembered that in the bull, *Quia Maior*, Innocent III had expressly included the possibility of the lifting of the ban on crusade indulgences for foreigners fighting in Spain, if the situation were to change.

Miracles and the *Quia Maior* Proviso

If we view the *Carmen* as a text produced in Portugal immediately in the wake of the victory of Alcácer, designed to promote or encourage the declaration of an International Portuguese crusade, several aspects of the work assume considerable importance and indicate at least part of the function the work was likely intended to serve. That the *Carmen* was designed or, in any event, was in fact used to serve several purposes, is discussed further in Chapter 3, what will concern us here is the possible function of the work in the context of a putative international crusading operation on the Portuguese frontier following Alcácer.

In the first place, we notice the overwhelmingly providential tone of the *Carmen*. For example, a main theme early in the work is that it is God's will that the crusaders have been brought to Portuguese shores at a time too late in the season for them to sail on to Palestine. Indeed, that the enterprise of Alcácer enjoys divine support from the very beginning is not left to doubt in the work. Turns of fate are put down to divine influence and several miracles take place during the course of the action. However, it is one miracle in particular which is given great emphasis that deserves our close attention in the present context. This is the miracle of the appearance in the sky on the eve of battle the sign of the cross; 'Brighter than the stars gleams in the sky the sign / It is of the cross; a great many of our multitude see it. / After seeing this, the courage returns to our men, behold our cavalry / Attacks fiercely the enemy, it scatters them, it drives them away, indeed it kills them.'⁶⁴¹

This miracle is strikingly similar to the miracles involving the miraculous appearance of a great gleaming or rainbow-coloured crosses in the sky occurring during the preaching of Oliver of Paderborn during his Fifth Crusade recruitment sermons in Frisia. Indeed the witnessing of

⁶⁴¹ *Carmen*, lines 144-47.

these miraculous crosses, according to Oliver, caused thousands of the faithful to immediately take the cross.⁶⁴²

Against this background, it is possible to suggest that part of the *Carmen's* message (or more precisely the message of Bishop Soeiro, the commissioner of the work) was that, although the Alcácer campaign was not part of the official papally-sanctioned international crusade to the East, it was, nevertheless, equally blessed by God. Divine favour, in this instance, being indicated by the occurrence during the enterprise of an 'official' crusading miracle, namely an occurrence of the gleaming cross-in-the-sky-wonder, similar to that reported by Oliver of Paderborn.

In this context, of further note is the miracle reported in the *Carmen* directly following that of the gleaming cross; the appearance of a white-clad heavenly army in the sky at the height of battle.⁶⁴³ The episode is, of course, strongly reminiscent of the passage contained in the *Gesta Francorum* reporting the appearance of a supernatural army with white horses and white standards led by Saints George, Mercurius and Demetrius which enabled the crusaders to defeat Kerbogha at Antioch in 1098.⁶⁴⁴ The report quickly gained great credence and currency, being repeated with embellishments by Peter Tudebode and, a generation later, by Orderic Vitalis.⁶⁴⁵

With the Portuguese efforts blessed in this very special way and, moreover, their having won, according to divine will, a prodigious victory over the Muslims which now, ostensibly, left open the road to the conquest of the Andalus south, surely it was time for the pope to exercise the proviso in *Quia Maior* and expand the official crusading theatre to include Iberia by reinstating the indulgence for foreign warriors serving there.

Soeiro of Lisbon as Legate?

Further if, as was the hope, an International Portuguese crusade was declared, it would need a papal legate. Who might that be? In this respect we note that one of the *Carmen's* other principal concerns is to highlight and praise the crucial role played by Soeiro Viegas in the instigation and successful execution of the Alcácer enterprise. The work is emphatic that this

⁶⁴² Oliver of Paderborn's letter to Count Peter and Countess Jolanta of Namur, June 1214, in, *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters*, ed. H. Hoogeweg (Tübingen: Litterarischer Verein, 1894) pp. 285-86; Eng. trans. Riley-Smith, *Crusades, Idea and Reality*, pp. 135-36.

⁶⁴³ *Carmen*, pp. 149-54.

⁶⁴⁴ *Gesta Francorum*, ed. by Rosalind Hill, *Liber IX*.

⁶⁴⁵ Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hiersololymitano itinere*, ed. by J. Hill, pp. 93-96; Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica, Liber, IX*.

Bishop of Lisbon 'who so many good things on us bestowed' has been shamefully treated in victory, since he has received neither just recognition for his part in the success, nor any reward at all, indeed he had only asked for ten captives from all those (2,000) captured and enslaved at Alcácer. Instead, like a true man of God, the Bishop must be content with his reward in the kingdom of Heaven. In addition, although not mentioned in the *Carmen*, we know that king Afonso II, probably fearing that Bishop Soeiro Viegas was becoming too powerful for a churchman and usurping secular power, in this case military power, that was rightly the province of the crown, granted newly conquered Alcácer to the Military Order of Santiago, and *not* to the diocese of Lisbon. It is in the context of Soeiro's activities in the Alcácer episode and his 'unjust' treatment immediately afterwards, that we note a curious couplet occurring near the beginning of the *Carmen* which appears to be a dedication to the Pope but which at the same time may also be a dedication to the Bishop of Lisbon. Due to the peculiarities of Latin construction both the identities of the Pope and the prelate are fused into the name Peter:

And I also ask favour of you, Peter, for whose benefit our songs do their work,

[And] of you whom the boat [of Peter] is given to be guided⁶⁴⁶

Soeiro Viegas is, *ex officio*, the pope's representative in Lisbon, and since he has played such a pivotal role in the conquest of Alcácer, the suggestion may be that he is the obvious candidate for papal legate, the arch papal-proxy, indeed *simulacrum*, on any International Portuguese crusade. Thus appointed, Soeiro would be in an excellent position to take control of a great deal of territory in the Andalusi south, including Silves, the famously rich regional capital of al-Faghar. All this, he may have supposed, was eminently within his grasp now that the Saracens were on the run having been soundly defeated at Alcácer so soon after the Muslim disaster of Las Navas de Tolosa. All he needed was more troops and authority enough to command them, which legatine status would have afforded him. Alas, for Suerius, the pope could not be

⁶⁴⁶ *Ac tu, queso, fave cui carmina nostra laborant, / Cui petre Petri cimba regenda datur; Carmen*, lines 15-16. In a letter to the Cistercian Chapter General of 1198, Innocent III described himself as 'the helmsman in the barque of Peter, where on storm-tossed seas the Apostle stretches out his right hand to save those in danger.' Cf, Brenda Bolton, 'For the see of Simon Peter,' at p. 146. Also see *De Consideratione*, Book I Chapter Viii. Bernard, discussing Peter swimming to the shore of the sea of Tiberius to greet the risen Christ (John, 21: 1-7) writes, 'It was surely a sign of the unique pontificate of Peter, intended to show that while the others had charge, each of his own ship, he was entrusted not with one ship, but the government of the whole world. For the sea is the world, and ships are churches. [...] So then while each of the other bishops has his own ship, you are in command of the greatest, the Universal Church throughout the world, the sum of all the other churches put together.'; Bernard of Clairvaux, *Five books on consideration: advice to a pope*, trans. by J. Anderson and E.T. Kennan (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1976) pp. 55-56.

persuaded, and the foreign crusaders were ordered to continue their voyage to the Holy Land at the earliest opportunity.⁶⁴⁷

Further evidence of Soeiro's dedication to the crusading cause is to be found on his tomb. Three bold motifs are engraved into the rough stone lid of his sarcophagus, today found in a cloister chapel in Lisbon cathedral; they are a bishop's crosier, a palm tree and a cross (see fig. 10). The lapidary epitaph is simple:

LORD SUARIUS BISHOP OF LISBON LIES HERE

WHO DURING THE REIGN OF

ALFONSO II

CONQUERED ALCACER DO SAL

FROM THE MOORS IN THE YEAR 1217⁶⁴⁸

Although his career was long and eventful (spanning over 20 years), it appears to have been, above-all, for his orchestration of the conquest of Alcácer that he wished to be remembered – or – for which he was remembered. Leaving the other two motifs to be discussed later in this dissertation, in relation to the engraved cross, we notice it is not the Portuguese cross, a version of the cross pattée, with splayed points and convex ends, sometimes referred to as *croix pattée alésée arrondie* and found on royal chancellery documents of the period. Rather it is the simple cross of the ordinary crusader. Almost certainly Soeiro Viegas, who was one of the preachers, perhaps the principal preacher, of the first documented Portuguese crusade, the Crusade of Alcácer do Sal, took the cross himself with the carving on his sarcophagus persisting as testament to the fact.

⁶⁴⁷ Nevertheless, the pope praised the intent to prosecute an Iberian campaign and nominated as legates to promote the venture, Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo in Castile and Archbishop Estêvão of Braga in Portugal. Although Rodrigo was to discharge his mission with energy, Estêvão achieved nothing in this direction, *inter-alia* because Afonso II feared the growing influence of the clergy and was reluctant to support them in ventures, such as wars on the Andalusí Saracens, which were likely to inflate their prestige; Azevedo, *História de Portugal*, vol.5, pp. 105-06.

⁶⁴⁸ [Domnus Suarius Ulixbo] / NEN[sis e]PISCO[pus Hic] / JACET;-QUI REGNANTE / ALFONSO 2º A MAURIS / ALCASSARUM SALIS / ERIPUIT; NA[no] DE; [1217]; Mário Barroca, *Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa*, 3 vols (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2000) vol. 2 book 1, pp. 745-746; Cf, Phillips' comments on crusader epitaphs SCEC, p. 30.

Portuguese Crusade and Mission

In a curious post-script to the Alcácer campaign we note that, in the terms of surrender, Christians within the city were to go free. The Muslim governor of the city, Abu Abd Alah, along with some 100 of his coreligionists converted to Christianity. Apparently it was a ruse to escape enslavement, however, the event is remarkable.⁶⁴⁹ Significant perhaps is that the Santiagans were present in the campaign and played a prominent part in it. Their Rule, unusually for the period, included a missionary duty to promote the Christian faith.⁶⁵⁰ At the same time, we note the absence from Alcácer of the Cistercian orders; that of Calatrava and their filial Order, the knights of Avis, previously known as the Order of Évora. Their principal areas of operation being more towards the eastern perimeter of the kingdom, it appears they had been given the task of defending the flank of the campaign from Muslim offensives launched from central al-Andalus; something in which they were obviously not entirely successful. It is a matter of speculation if the presence of these orders would have meant a more violent end for the defenders of Alcácer rather than enslavement or baptism. At the same time, it appears that massacre at Alcácer would not have been a military necessity in view of the fact that, by this time, all of the principal fortresses on the Sado peninsula were in Christian hands and the Muslim force sent to relieve Alcácer had been resoundingly defeated, such that a further Muslim counter-campaign was unlikely to materialise in the near future. Nevertheless, we learn from the *Rhenanorum* that the process of enslavement was a brutal affair with babes torn from their mother's breasts and wives separated from husbands.⁶⁵¹ Indeed, towards the end of the Portuguese *Reconquista*, in about 1248, the Order of Santiago, under their master Paio Peres Coreia, were to famously slaughter the entire population of Muslim Paderne in central al-Faghar.⁶⁵²

Beyond the Portuguese Reconquista

Even though Alcácer may have been the First Portuguese crusade, Erdmann opined that the attraction of the ideology was still weak.⁶⁵³ Certainly, the letter to Honorius III requesting

⁶⁴⁹ According to the Muslim sources the baptism was a mere ruse to secure liberty from captivity, nevertheless, when Abd Alah was passing through Seville on his way to Morocco he was taken prisoner at the urging of his enemy Ibn Hud and condemned to death for his apostasy; Azevedo, *História de Portugal*, Vol.5., p. 97.

⁶⁵⁰ *The Rule of the Military Order of St James, 1170-1493*, ed. and trans. By Enrique Gallego Blanco (Leiden: Brill, 1971) Rule No. 30, p. 111.

⁶⁵¹ *Rhenanorum*, p. 33. Whilst it is an open question as to whether the author of the *Rhenanorum* might have been a Cistercian, there is little approbation shown in this passage.

⁶⁵² *Crónica da Conquista do Algarve in Cronica de Portugal de 1419*, pp. 145-61; The retrieval, in 2004-2005, of a large number of cross bow bolts in archaeological operations at Paderne at a layer corresponding to the date of the massacre, suggests the weapon of choice; Isabel Inacio, Paderne Archaeological Project, personal communication.

⁶⁵³ Erdmann, *Idea de Cruzada*, p. 46.

crusade privileges is tendentious and the effect of the preaching in the kingdom is very probably exaggerated, since none of the other sources make any mention of a preaching campaign. Nevertheless, crusading notions had now decisively entered into the Portuguese arsenal; a situation entirely in harmony with many indigenous warriors having had, by this time, direct and triumphant experience of crusading, if not during Sancho I's brief invasion of León in 1197, then certainly in central Spain during the operations of 1212, culminating in Las Navas de Tolosa.

In any event, it is following the 1217 Alcácer campaign that the ideology of the crusade begins to appear regularly in Portuguese theatres of warfare, being in evidence in the activities of Sancho II and of the *Infante* Fernando of Serpa.⁶⁵⁴ However, with the Portuguese *Reconquista* coming to an end with the definitive conquest of Algarve, concluded by 1250 without foreign aid largely by the Order of Santiago, the second half of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth saw no Portuguese crusading activity at all. During this time, the great preoccupations of the kings were those of internal administration and conflict with the Church. In spite of this crusading hiatus, King D. Dinis (1279-1325) managed, somewhat remarkably, to bring about a significant change in Portuguese crusading ideology when, in 1307, the Order of the Temple was famously suppressed by Pope Clement V. In a bold move, Dinis, through a stratagem of legal fictions, took charge of the holdings of the Order in his kingdom. However, rather than following the lead of his French counterpart Philippe *le bel*, who kept the possessions for himself, Dinis, being an advocate of the military order as an institution particularly suited to the fulfilment of Portuguese martial requirements, created the new Order of Christ and transferred Portuguese Templar property to it.⁶⁵⁵

Whilst it was, in many, ways something of a 'rebranding' exercise, there were crucial differences between the Templars and the Order of Christ. In the first place, the new Portuguese Order was to apply its resources only in Portugal and on behalf of the Portuguese kingdom. In this way, Templar wealth was preserved within the kingdom rather than being transferred abroad, which would have happened, at least in large part, if the properties of the disbanded Templars had been transferred to the Order of the Hospital, as occurred by papal order in relation to much Templar property outside France.⁶⁵⁶ Furthermore, the new Order of Christ was entirely freed from its obligations of prosecuting the universal Christian crusade since it had been formed by Dinis 'for the exaltation of the orthodox faith and of our kingdom

⁶⁵⁴ See generally Hermenegildo Fernandes, *D. Sancho II* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2006).

⁶⁵⁵ On King D. Dinis see José Augusto Pizarro, *D. Dinis* (Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 2008).

⁶⁵⁶ See generally on the Templars, Helen Nicholson, *The Knights Templar, A New History* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2001).

of Algarve' and was therefore explicitly established to prosecute specifically Portuguese interests.⁶⁵⁷

With the idea of the crusade now entrenched in Portugal, though now applied strictly in the service of the kingdom, the reign of D. Afonso IV (1325-56) epitomised the approach. Faced with continual incursions of Moroccan raiding parties along the coast, Afonso IV frequently petitioned the Roman curia for crusading privileges, including crusade indulgences, the right to receive tithes to finance his Muslim wars, and also for permission to preach those campaigns as crusades.⁶⁵⁸

When, in 1340, the forces of Portugal joined with armies from the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon to confront the last great attempt by African Islam to regain its former Peninsular territories, the Christian effort had all the characteristics of a crusade, at least from the Portuguese point of view. The result of the campaign was the Christian victory at Salado, the last of the major battles the Portuguese would join with Muslims on European soil.⁶⁵⁹

Following Salado, Portugal began increasingly to look to the sea and, only a year later, D. Afonso IV sent ships in search of the Canary Islands. It was a prelude to the so-called era of the Portuguese Discoveries that would really only begin in 1410 with an expedition to Ceuta. With the Order of Christ thriving almost from its very inception, it quickly came to constitute, in Erdmann's words, 'one of the most important bridges between the Saracen wars of the crusades and the Portuguese Voyages of Discovery.'⁶⁶⁰ Famously, Prince Henry the Navigator (1394-1460), Grand Master of the Order of Christ would equip ships in the name of the Order and furnish them with captains selected from among its brethren.⁶⁶¹ With the campaigns in Morocco and North Africa being fought principally against Muslims, and with the Order of Christ a modified continuation of the Templars, another crusading feature that would enjoy an extended life in the kingdom was the crusading bull. Such had been granted for the expedition to Ceuta which established a pattern that would be repeated in subsequent overseas enterprises. Thus crusading ideology, although not penetrating Portugal until well over a century after the First Crusade, would endure in the kingdom and would evolve to be transported over oceans by new generations of maritime pilgrim-warriors hoisting sails famously emblazoned with crosses.

⁶⁵⁷ A.C. de Sousa, *Provas da historia geneologica da casa real portugueza* (Lisbon: Academia Real, 1739) p. 79s. *apud* Erdmann, *Idea de Cruzada*, p. 52.

⁶⁵⁸ On King Afonso IV see Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, *D. Afonso IV* (Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 2009).

⁶⁵⁹ For the Battle of Salado see Miguel Gomes Martins, *De Ourique a Aljubarrota* (Lisbon: A Esfera dos Livros, 2011).

⁶⁶⁰ Erdmann, *Idea de Cruzada*, pp. 51-52.

⁶⁶¹ On Henry the Navigator see João Paulo Oliveria e Costa, *Henrique O Infante* (Lisbon: A Esfera dos Livros, 2009).



fig. 2. Detail: Padrão dos Descobrimentos, Belém, Lisbon.

CHAPTER 2

Portuguese Formation and Cistercian Influence

Due consideration of the *Carmen* involves consideration of two strands of Cistercian influence; one already established in the region since at least 1144 and one arriving to Portugal by sea in crusader ships from northerly regions. This chapter will examine both of these branches, first examining the nature and extent of the Cistercian presence and Influence in Portugal up to the thirteenth century, before moving on to consider some Cistercian aspects of the sea-borne crusaders, paying particular attention to the 1147 conquest of Lisbon.

Part I

The Nature and Extent of Cistercian Presence and Influence in Portugal up to the Early Thirteenth Century.

It would hardly be controversial to state that the presence of the manuscript of the *Carmen* in the *fundo* of the Cistercian house of Santa Maria de Alcobaça establishes a *de minimis* link between the work and the Cistercian Order. However, immediately we attempt to move beyond this to begin our search for a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between text and Order, we encounter our first obstacle, namely, a stark lack of direct evidence. Indeed, the historiography of early Portuguese Cisterciana is particularly frustrating since this disappointing state of affairs is owed to a catalogue of documental ruin and mishap largely occurring in relatively recent times, during the troubled nineteenth century.

Nevertheless, making do with what is to hand and taking the Codex Alc.415 in which the *Carmen* is contained as a starting point, a first step may be ventured by supposing at least some Cistercian interest in the progress of the Portuguese *Reconquista*. This is unobjectionable since, in addition to the fact that the *Carmen* recounts the Portuguese conquest of the Andalusí Muslim fortress of Alcácer do Sal, the manuscript of the *Carmen* is found in Alc.415 immediately following a manuscript containing a text narrating the Portuguese conquest of another important Andalusí fortress, that of Santarém, in 1147. This is the so-called *De Expugnatione Scalabis*, a work which, like the *Carmen*, survives uniquely in the

manuscript contained here in Alc.415, is copied in the same hand as the manuscript of the *Carmen*, and is located in the same final quire of the Codex.⁶⁶² This quire, literally tacked-on to the end of Alc.415 as a seeming afterthought (see Appendix herein), contains no other material, being entirely taken up with these two manuscripts save for the last folio which has been left blank. Since both texts relate the successful conclusion of ventures key to the formation of the autonomous kingdom of Portugal, and since Alc.415 was compiled probably in about 1250, perhaps after the definitive Christian conquest of *al-Faghar* province (the Algarve of today) we would be wise to suspect some element of hindsight in the process.⁶⁶³ Significant here is that both Santarém and Alcácer were Portuguese victories fundamental to opening the way to a wider campaign which would not otherwise have been possible.

Alc.415 and mid-thirteenth century hindsight

The Conquest of Santarém in March of 1147 was a necessary preliminary to the conquest of Lisbon in October of that same year. The Santarém and Lisbon campaigns of 1147 achieved for Afonso Henriques a remarkable extension of the lands under his control and transformed the political map of the Peninsula in such a way as to make his kingdom of Portugal the most conspicuous feature of the Iberian west. With the southern perimeter of his domain now extending along the line of the River Tagus, Afonso could be forgiven for surmising that official papal recognition of his kingship was imminent. In this conceit he was to be disappointed. Indeed, it would be another thirty two years before that particular royal ambition was consummated. Nevertheless, the practical reality was that, by October 1147, Afonso suddenly found himself in possession of huge swathes of territory in urgent need of settlement and consolidation. The Cistercian Order would be in the vanguard of the solution to this problem with their great abbey of Alcobaça, founded in 1153 in the wilds of the Portuguese Extremadura, their flagship.

Some seventy years after the conquest of Lisbon, the conquest of Alcácer do Sal was a necessary preliminary to the conquest of the southern provinces of *al-Kassr* (Alentejo) and *al-Faghar* (Algarve), completed by 1249/50.⁶⁶⁴ Thus, the Alcácer campaign of 1217, marked the launch of another great territorial leap, the conquest of the Andalusí south. With the supremely strategic Alcácer taken into Christian hands and placed safely under the tutelage of

⁶⁶² The rest of the Codex, discussed in the Appendix, contains well known, broadly historical texts, comprising the works of Fulgentius of Ruspe and Orosius' *Historiarum Adversum Paganos*.

⁶⁶³ Cocheril, among others, has noted that the Cistercian legends linking Santarém with the foundation of Alcobaça date to the thirteenth century, i.e., around the time of the compilation of the Codex, Alc.415; Fr Maur Cocheril, 'Abadias Cistercienses Portuguesas,' *Lusitania Sacra*. 1a série. 1 (1956) pp. 51-64.

⁶⁶⁴ On the definitive conquest of al-Faghar, see Lay, *Reconquest Kings*, pp. 231-60.

the Order of Santiago, the brother knights were able to make steady progress eastward and southward over the entire province of *al-Kassr*, arriving to Aljustrel by 1232 and then moving further south into *al-Faghar*. They definitively took Silves in 1248/9, Santa Maria de Faro fell shortly afterwards and, in 1250 Aljezur, isolated on a steep and windy hill overlooking the Atlantic in the region's north-western corner, accepted terms and surrendered.⁶⁶⁵ Having thus achieved the natural geographical limits of expansion, being constrained only by the Ocean in the West, the Gulf of Cadiz in the South and the River Guadiana in the East, the borders of continental Portugal have remained unchanged to this day.

With the hindsight achievable by the mid-to-late thirteenth century when Alc.415 was assembled, the great significance of the conquests of Santarém and Alcácer do Sal would have been obvious. The victories were certainly capable of being seen as the last two great milestones of three, the first being Afonso Henrique's 1128 victory over his mother's forces at São Mamede, whereby he became leader of the Portuguese. Here it is well to recall that it was only in the historiography of a later period that Afonso's quasi-legendary victory over the Andalusí Saracens at Ourique, 1139, came to be considered a watershed moment in the creation of the Portuguese kingdom; an event for which the details and even the location of the battle, have remained notoriously obscure.⁶⁶⁶

If the presence of the *Carmen* and the *De Expugnatione Scalabis* in the final quire of Alc.415 suggests Cistercian interest in important moments in the formation of the Portuguese polity, the question is begged; to what extent was the Order involved in the process of the establishment of Portugal as an autonomous entity and in that great inseparable concomitant to it, the Portuguese *Reconquista*? Having in the previous Chapter noted some aspects of Cistercian activity in this direction in the context of the wider movement of the Crusades, here the focus will narrow to examine the activities of the Order inside the kingdom of Portugal in order to gain a deeper understanding of the environment into which the *Carmen* was introduced. Consideration of the environment/s from which the *Carmen* was produced, will be the subject of the chapters that follow.

⁶⁶⁵ Ibid; also Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *Historia de Portugal*, 12 vols. (Lisbon: Verbo, 1989), vol.I, pp. 137-40.

⁶⁶⁶ Branco, 'Introdução' in *A Conquista de Lisboa*, p. 10.

Cistercian beginnings in Portugal

Since the establishment of the Portuguese royal house and the growth of the kingdom was, for the most part, concurrent with the installation and florescence of the Cistercian Order, it is appropriate to begin our analysis with an exposition of the vexed question of the origins of the Order in Portugal.

The subject is one of the most difficult and controversial in Portuguese ecclesiastical history.⁶⁶⁷ Complications arise from two principal causes; a lamentable paucity of surviving documentation relating to the monasteries where the Cistercian Reform began, and certain fabrications and doubtful traditions promulgated particularly during the seventeenth century, which tended to mislead scholars until at least the central years of the twentieth century.⁶⁶⁸

The problem of scarcity of documental sources is particularly grave in relation to Cistercian origins in the kingdom. The reasons for this are several, one being a simple matter of the short-lived nature, owed to a variety of causes, of some of the early Cistercian communities. For example, one of the very earliest, Santiago de Sever, had been abandoned by 1288, its cartulary long-lost.⁶⁶⁹ The situation has been exacerbated over the centuries to the rhythm of Portugal's all-too-often tumultuous history which has seen the passage of countless warring armies crossing the country, leaving in their wake scenes of devastation including many a sacked and vandalised monastery, its library used to fuel the cooking stoves of a military camp. The depredations of Napoleon's troops were particularly injurious.⁶⁷⁰ However, worse was to come. In 1841, a fire in the Viseu Seminary reduced the Central Archive of the Portuguese Cistercian Order to ashes.

Yet, in spite of this bleak state of affairs, or perhaps because of it, many scholars since the eighteenth century have accepted the challenge of putting a date to the arrival of the Cistercian Order in the kingdom. The first systematic study was undertaken in the 1790s by Frei Joaquim de Santa Rosa de Viterbo⁶⁷¹ with the baton being taken up thereafter by such as

⁶⁶⁷ Cf, Maria Alegria Fernandes Marques, *Estudos sobre a Ordem de Cister em Portugal* (Lisbon: Colibri, 1998) p. 29.

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁹ Miguel de Oliveira, 'Origens da Ordem de Cister em Portugal,' in *Revista Portuguesa de História*, 5, 1951, pp. 317-353, at p. 323; Marques, *Estudos*, p. 33.

⁶⁷⁰ See, *inter alia*, Jean Jacques Pelet, *The French Campaign in Portugal, 1810-1811*, ed. and trans. by Donald D. Horward (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1973) pp. 347-48; Archie Hunter, *Wellington's Scapegoat* (Barnsley: Leo Cooper, 2003), p. 117; John Kincaid, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade in the Peninsula, France and the Netherlands, from 1809 to 1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

⁶⁷¹ *Elucidário das palavras, termos e frases que em Portugal antigamente se usaram e que hoje regularmente se ignoram*, 2 vols., 1798-1799, ed. Mário Fiúza (Porto, 1965-1966); *Provas e apontamentos de História Portuguesa* (Ms Biblioteca Pública Municipal de Viseu).

Artur Nobre de Gusmão,⁶⁷² and Rui de Azevedo.⁶⁷³ However, for most of the past sixty years, the prevailing views have been those of Miguel de Oliveira⁶⁷⁴ and Maur Cocheril.⁶⁷⁵

Oliveira, in his important study of the problem undertaken in the late 1940s, attempted to sort Portuguese Cistercian fact from fiction. This he did by examining surviving relevant, reliable documents and by completely ignoring chronicles which, in his view, had been the cause of much confusion and misleading information. In a further refinement of his methodology, he only recorded an institution as being Cistercian when he found the affiliation of the house expressly stated, e.g., where a community might be described as *secundum ordinem Cistercii*. The first document to contain such explicit indication was a royal donation dated April of 1144 belonging to the cartulary of São João de Tarouca.⁶⁷⁶ Thereafter, the year 1144 became the point of reference for the entry of the Cistercians into Portugal and, indeed, for many historians it still is.⁶⁷⁷

Oliveira's methodology was called into question in the late 1980s by Maria Alegria Marques who found Oliveira's approach overly restrictive.⁶⁷⁸ Rather than looking exclusively for express indications, Marques championed a method which took account of implied references and arrived at the earlier date of 1138 for the entry of the Cistercians to Portugal. Accordingly, the distinction of being the first house to receive a Cistercian community fell to S. Cristovão de Lafões or, at least, to a grouping of three former hermitages, of which S. Cristovão was one, together with São João de Tarouca and the already-mentioned Santiago de Sever. Meanwhile, São João de Tarouca still retained the privilege of being the first house for which there exists express reference to the presence of a Cistercian community. That reference is contained in a document recording a royal gift to the house which is clearly datable to April 1144.⁶⁷⁹ Since Marques' conclusions, although highly persuasive, are still at the level of hypothesis and, since Oliveira's 'express terms' method can leave no doubt, a prudent scholar would place the beginnings of the Cistercian Order in Portugal somewhere between 1138 and the spring of 1144.

⁶⁷² Artur Nobre de Gusmão, *A Expansão Da Arquitectura Borgonhesa E Os Mosteiros De Cister Em Portugal; Ensaio De Arqueologia Da Idade Média*. (Lisbon: n.p., 1956).

⁶⁷³ Rui de Azevedo, DR, Vo. 1, ii; idem 'Primórdios da Ordem militar de Évora', Sep. *Boletim Cultural da Junta Distrital de Évora*, nº8, 1969.

⁶⁷⁴ Oliveira, 'Origens'; idem, 'A milícia de Évora e a Ordem de Calatrava' in *Lusitania Sacra*, I, 1956, pp. 51-64.

⁶⁷⁵ Cocheril's literary output on the operations of the Cistercian Order in Portugal is considerable including, 'Abadias Cistercienses Portuguesas,' *Lusitania Sacra*. 1a série. 1 (1956) pp. 51-64, and *Etudes sur le Monachisme en Espagne et au Portugal* (Paris and Lisbon, 1966) which among others of his works have been particularly useful in the preparation of this chapter.

⁶⁷⁶ DR, vol.1, pp. 251-52, No.203.

⁶⁷⁷ Cf, Marques, *Estudos*, p. 34.

⁶⁷⁸ Marques, *Estudos*, pp. 31-73.

⁶⁷⁹ DR, vol.1, pp. 251-52, No.203.

Galicia

Before we leave the subject of the date of the first Cistercian community in Portugal, we must briefly consider a proposition put forward by the great scholar of Hispanic Cisterciana, Maur Cocheril, since herein lies an important clue as to the geographical point of entry of the Order into the kingdom. Whilst grappling with the problem of shortage of Portuguese documents, Cocheril looked to the example of Galicia for aid in constructing a plausible chronology for the first Cistercian houses in Portugal. Following Oliveira, Cocheril concluded the first Portuguese community arose in about 1143-1144, somewhat later than the establishment of the first Cistercian community in Galicia which, according to his findings, was at Osera in 1141.⁶⁸⁰ Since Afonso Henriques had attempted to empower himself of Galicia on the basis that for him it was a natural extension of the Entre-Douro e Minho region,⁶⁸¹ Cocheril rejected the notion that the River Minho had constituted a frontier between Portugal and Galicia and stated; 'the implantation of the Cistercians in Galicia from 1141 seems to have had as a natural corollary their installation in the Beira, one or two years later.'⁶⁸²

An examination of the distribution of the first Cistercian communities in western Iberia up to the time of the death of St Bernard in 1153 quickly demonstrates the fallacy of Cocheril's proposition. True enough; the first three Cistercian communities were clustered in the Beira. However, between this grouping and the first Galician communities of Melón and Monte de Ramo encountered on a northward trajectory, there lies the vast region of the Entre Douro e Minho where, in spite of this being par-excellence a region of appeal to Cistercian tastes, not one single Cistercian community was established. Like the Beira, the Entre Douro e Minho had a strong tradition of eremitism, communities with a known propensity towards acceptance of the Cistercian reform. Added to this, the region was sparsely populated, presenting not only a land of new opportunities of the kind the Cistercians were so adept at exploiting, but also near perfect conditions of solitude in the manner of the *desertum* so beloved of the Order. Since Cistercian absence in this region militates against the natural spread of the order from north to south, we are left with the conclusion that the Order in Portugal had autonomous beginnings.⁶⁸³

⁶⁸⁰ Cocheril, *Études sur le monachisme* (includes a map of Cistercian houses on the Iberian Peninsula showing dates of foundation); Derek Lomax, 'Las milicias cistercienses en el reino de Leon' *Hispania*, 23 (1963), pp. 29-42; M Parisse, 'L'Expansion du Modèle Romain', in *Apogée de la papauté et Expansion de la Chétianté (1054-1274)* (Paris: Desclée, 2001) p. 283 *et seq.*

⁶⁸¹ Cf, Livermore, *History of Portugal* pp. 62-64.

⁶⁸² Maur Cocheril, *Études sur le monachisme* p. 230; Marques, *Estudos*, p. 52.

⁶⁸³ Cocheril, 'Abadias Cistercienses Portuguesas', pp. 71-72; cf, Marques *Estudos*, pp. 51-53.

Having eliminated Galicia as the source of Portuguese Cisterciana, let us turn our attention to the earliest traditions preserved in various sources, namely the *Exordio do mosteiro de S. João de Tarouca*,⁶⁸⁴ the *Vita Teotonii*,⁶⁸⁵ and a passage from the writings of Rodrigo da Cunha which attest the presence of foundation parties arriving from Clairvaux to Portugal. In the *Exordio*, we learn of a foundation party at S Cristovão de Lafões present in 1138 on the instructions of St Bernard to found the community which was eventually established at Tarouca.⁶⁸⁶ Rodrigo da Cunha, meanwhile, informs us of a foundation party, again acting on the instructions of St Bernard, which was welcomed into the monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra in 1152, where the White Monks were given lodging, having arrived to the kingdom to attend to the business of establishing the community of Santa Maria de Alcobaça (founded 1153),⁶⁸⁷ a proposition which is supported in no small measure by the *Vita Teotonii* (see below).⁶⁸⁸ In the absence of a Galician link in Portuguese Cistercian propagation, we are left with the possibility, significant given the context of the *Carmen*, that these foundation parties arrived to Iberia by ship along the western sea-lanes.

In addition to the pilgrimage trail extending from northern centres such as Vézelay and Le Puy to Santiago de Compostela, trans-European land-routes to and from Portugal were well established. Passing across northern Spain and crossing the Pyrenees often by S. Ruf de Avignon, these journeys were, however, usually to Rome or to Southern Italian ports such as Brindisi and Bari for embarkation on pilgrimage to the Holy Land.⁶⁸⁹ Given the arduous and frequently dangerous nature of such journeys, it would seem more likely that a foundation party setting out from Clairvaux, might rather take ship from the Atlantic seaport of La Rochelle which, by the early twelfth century was a thriving commercial centre with a prodigious maritime trade. Not only was there a Cistercian monastery nearby, La Grâce-Dieu founded in 1135 and affiliated to Clairvaux, but La Rochelle was also a centre for Templar

⁶⁸⁴ Fr. António Brandão, *Monarquia Lusitana*, Part 3, Appendix XXI (Portuguese trans. at pp. 154-56 in facimile edition, Lisbon: Casa da Moeda, 1973).

⁶⁸⁵ *Vita Teotonii* in *Hagiografia de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, ed. and trans. by Aires Augusto Nascimento (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 1998) pp. 138-222.

⁶⁸⁶ *Exordio do mosteiro de S. João de Tarouca* in Marques, *Estudos*, pp. 67 and 69.

⁶⁸⁷ Rodrigo da Cunha states this in two of his works identifying his source as a document contained in the cartulary of the Cathedral of Porto (since lost): *Catálogo dos bispos do Porto* (Porto:, 1623) p. 17 and *História eclesiástica dos arcebispos de Braga*, vol 2 (Braga, 1635) p. 62. See also Oliveria, 'Origins da Ordem' p. 319; Marques, *Estudos*, pp. 34 and 38, Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, p. 131.

⁶⁸⁸ *Vita Teotonii*, pp. 194-95

⁶⁸⁹ Cf, Brother E. Austin, O'Malley, F.S.C., *Tello and Theotónio, the Twelfth Century Founders of the Monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1954), p. 30-31.

maritime activity and a major port of re-supply for crusader ships making the journey from northern kingdoms along the west coast of Europe to Palestine via the Strait of Gibraltar.⁶⁹⁰

Tardiness of Cistercian entry into Portugal

By comparison with other regions of Europe where Cistercian implantation occurred from the late 1120s, the arrival of the Cistercians to Iberia was late by at least a decade.⁶⁹¹ At the time of Bernard's death in 1153, less than twenty of the 338 monasteries of the Order were to be found on the peninsula.⁶⁹² Given that as early as 1128, Afonso Henriques was already established leader of the Portuguese, some may question whether the delayed arrival of the Cistercian Order was in some way owed to a certain reluctance on his part to welcome and encourage the monks. In fact, there is little evidence for this; rather the tardiness of this aspect of the Cistercian expansion has been attributed to the reluctance of St Bernard himself who, in about 1127, wrote to Abbot Artaud of Preuilly advising him against branching out into Spain in the following terms:

'I hear it said that you wish to found an abbey in Spain with monks from your holy community. For myself I ask with great wonder for what reason, with what counsel, for what utility, do you intend to exile your sons to so distant a land?'⁶⁹³

It is notable that in 1127, most Cistercian houses were close to their parent houses of Cîteaux, La Ferte, Morimund and Clairvaux in north-eastern France. A further and likely more compelling cause for hesitation may have been the insecurity into which the Iberian territories were plunged following the arrival of the Almoravids in the late eleventh century; after all, similar considerations had delayed Cistercian settlement in Palestine and, in any event, at the time of Bernard's advice to Artaud, Holy War apparently had not yet become part of the Cistercian agenda.⁶⁹⁴

In addition to the foregoing, strong, long-established local religious traditions appear to have been another factor resistant to early adoption of the Cistercian Reform. As in much of the

⁶⁹⁰ Helen Nicholson, *The Knights Templar: a brief history of the Warrior order* (Philadelphia: Running Press, 2010) pp. 213-14.

⁶⁹¹ Louis J. Lekai, *The Cistercians, Ideals and Reality* (Ohio: Kent. State University Press. 1977) pp. 33-51.

⁶⁹² Evidential uncertainties prevent precise enumeration; Cocheril puts the number at 14 *Études sur le monachisme*, p. 230, Marques calculates 18, *Estudos*, p. 52.

⁶⁹³ PL, 182, *Epistola LXXV*, 188D. However, it is to be noted that, in this case, the monks already had a very acceptable alternative location provided to them for a new foundation nearer to home; Maur Cocheril, 'L'implantation des abbayes cisterciennes dans la Péninsule ibérique', *Anuario de Estudios medievales*, 1 (1964), p. 217-87 at p. 230.

⁶⁹⁴ On the spread of the Cistercian Order see Janet Burton and Julie Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), pp. 21-55, and esp. pp. 50-51.

rest of southern Europe, monastic and regular life had been present in Iberia since the early days of Christianity. Already by the seventh century a number of Rules were in operation in various parts of the Peninsula including the Rules of Isidore of Seville, of Fructuosus of Braga and of Valerius of Bierzo.⁶⁹⁵ Thanks largely to the circulation of Smaragdus' commentary, the Rule of Benedict began to be adopted in Hispania during the 800s which paved the way for the introduction of Cluny.⁶⁹⁶ But, in Portugal, the uptake of the Rule was slow. Whilst the Council of Coianca convoked by Fernando the Great in 1050 (or 1055), had ordered monasteries to adopt the Benedictine Rule, and whilst the 1076 Council of Burgos purported to abolish the Hispanic rite, there was a marked inertia particularly among small communities of religious. In part this was caused by uncertainty over implementing the Rule; Cluny had only begun to arrive to the county of Portucale in the late eleventh century and, until the introduction of Cluniac customs in Sahagun from about 1080, there were no great abbeys from which example could be taken.⁶⁹⁷ On the other hand, powerful Mozarabs, such as Sisnando Davídez, governor of Coimbra, were resistant to the suppression of their traditional liturgy and opposed imposition of the Roman rite.⁶⁹⁸ Indeed, it appears that the Rule of Benedict did not enter Portugal until as late as 1085.⁶⁹⁹

Further, in spite of the increased adoption of the Rule of Benedict, especially during the reign of Alfonso VI (1065-1109), when Cluniac influence arguably reached its apogee in Iberia,⁷⁰⁰ the civil war following Alfonso VI's death, along with fierce Almoravid aggression, precipitated an atmosphere of chaos, violence and insecurity which prompted a revival of eschatological and apocalyptic notions and led to a powerful revival of the already well-entrenched Iberian traditions of eremitism.⁷⁰¹ José Mattoso has listed six hermitages founded in Portugal from 1106 to 1139, with as many as twelve more founded even after the explicit notice of the

⁶⁹⁵ Adeline Rucquoi, 'Les cisterciens dans la Péninsule ibérique' in *Unanimité et diversité cisterciennes* (Saint-Etienne, 2000) pp. 487-523, p. 492; cf., José Mattoso, 'O monaquismo ibérico e Cluny,' in *Religião e cultura na Idade Média Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Casa da Moeda, 1982) pp. 55-72.

⁶⁹⁶ Rucquoi, 'Les cisterciens...' p. 492.

⁶⁹⁷ Mattoso, 'O monaquismo ibérico e Cluny,' p. 69.

⁶⁹⁸ On Sisnando Davídez see Brian A Catlos, *The Victors and the Vanquished* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 77 *et seq*; also Ramon Menéndez Pidal and Emilio Garcia Gómez, 'El Conde Mozarabe Sisnando Davídez y la política de Alfonso VI con los Taifas', *Al-Andalus*, 12:1 (1947) pp. 27-41.

⁶⁹⁹ The first reference to the Rule of Benedict is found in the monastery of Vilela near Paredes in the diocese of Porto; Mattoso, 'O monaquismo ibérico e Cluny,' p. 67.

⁷⁰⁰ See, *inter alia*, Charles Julian Bishko, 'Fernando I and the Origins of the Leonese-Castilian Alliance with Cluny' in *Studies in Medieval Spanish Frontier History* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1980), II.

⁷⁰¹ Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, pp. 28-29, Lay, *Reconquest Kings*, pp. 35-39.

adhesion to the Cistercian Order of Tarouca in 1144. Indeed, Mattoso placed the zenith of the eremitical movement at between 1130 and 1150.⁷⁰²

Portuguese Support for Cistercians

In spite of the existence of factors initially resistant to it, the Cistercian Reform, once it had gained a foothold in Portugal in the early 1140s, was thereafter taken up quite readily in the kingdom. Not only was the Cistercian Observance appealing to hermits, since it represented a continuation of many of their fundamental ideals, emphasising solitude, communion with nature, poverty and humility, but the Reform came at a time when Portugal was already conditioned to the reception of outside influences, particularly from France. Count Henry of Portucale, was the possessor of a prodigious French lineage being descended from the French royal family, though his grandfather Duke Robert I Capet (1032-1076) brother of King Henry I (1031-1060). Henry's elder brothers were Duke Hugh I of Burgundy (1076-1079), who had resigned his title in order to become Abbot of Cluny, and Duke Eudes (1079-1103); their sister was Queen Constance (d.1093), mother of Raymond's wife Urraca of Castile.⁷⁰³ At the ecclesiastical level, the Francophile wave was continued in the county of Portucale through the appointment of French, or Paris-educated Bishops, e.g., Bishop Maurice (Maurício) Bourdin of Aquitaine Bishop of Coimbra (1099-1109) who was educated at Cluny and Limoges; Geraldo Archbishop of Braga (1096-1108) scion of a noble family of Gascony; the Frenchman Hugo, Bishop of Porto (1112-1136); and João Peculiar, successor to Hugo as Bishop of Pôrto for two years before being promoted Archbishop of Braga (1139-1175) who, although probably of Portuguese origin, was educated in Paris and spent considerable time in France.⁷⁰⁴ The French influence is also famously present in the foundation in 1131 of the house of canons regular, Santa Cruz de Coimbra, which was closely and deliberately modelled on the French house of St Ruf at Avignon.

Following the entry of Bernard of Fontaines, the future St Bernard, into the *Novum Monasterium* of Cîteaux in 1112 and the subsequent foundation of its daughter house, Clairvaux, in 1115, with Bernard as its first Abbot, this quintessentially Burgundian institution famously experienced such unprecedented growth that the Burgundian and French

⁷⁰² José Mattoso, 'Eremitas Portugueses no Século XII', in *Religião e cultura na Idade Média portuguesa*, pp. 103-145; and cf. Rucquoi, who suggests that Mattoso's model also applies to the kingdom of Castile, where the fervour that had benefitted Cluny soon faded, 'Les Cisterciens...', pp. 487-523.

⁷⁰³ Lay, *Reconquest Kings*, pp. 35-36.

⁷⁰⁴ Bernard F. Reilly, 'Santiago and Saint Denis: the French Presence in Eleventh-Century Spain', *Catholic Historical Review*; Oct. 1, 1068; 54, 3, pp. 467-83; Lay, *Reconquest Kings*, p. 75; Branco, 'The king's counsellors' pp. 520-23; Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, pp. 117-19.

connections already established on the Peninsula, not least in its north-western corner, could not have failed to have aided the diffusion of news of the great Cistercian wave sweeping Europe and of its most charismatic and influential proponent, Bernard himself. Travellers to Portugal would have confirmed and augmented these reports, such powerful visitors as papal legate to Hispania, Cardinal-Deacon Guido Moricot de Vico, friend and correspondent of Bernard, being especially influential.⁷⁰⁵ In 1135, D. João Peculiar, at the time Bishop of Pôrto, along with Archdeacon D. Telo, headed a delegation of Portuguese clerics meeting with the Pope at the Council of Pisa in order to ask papal protection for the house of Santa Cruz which had run into problems with the Bishop and Chapter of Coimbra. On this occasion it is possible, even likely, the Portuguese delegates met with Bernard himself who was present at the Council to promote a consolidation of power around Innocent II in the wake of the Anacletian schism.⁷⁰⁶ João Peculiar made another Journey to visit the pope in 1139, when he almost certainly attended the Second Lateran Council, and he was with the pope again in 1144. Indeed, during a long career spanning more than five decades, Peculiar made at least seven trips to the papal curia.⁷⁰⁷ To these various perambulations of Portuguese churchmen we might add the many trips to the papal curia undertaken by Portuguese bishops and other prelates for multifarious reasons including the solicitation of protection, to lodge appeals from local canonical decisions, and to seek adjudication for all kinds of disputes. With such a plethora of opportunities for the exchange of information, it is not surprising that Portugal, like other areas of eleventh and twelfth-century Europe, had experienced a surge of revivalist movements, fuelled by notions of the *ecclesia primitiva*, the *vita apostolica* and that common preoccupation with the eremitic life imagined to have begun with the Desert Fathers. In this way Portugal, in common with many areas of Western Christendom at the time, presented a cultural environment well-primed for the acceptance of the Cistercian way.

Royal Support for the Cistercians

Princely attention was immediate. From the very early stages of its appearance in Portugal, the Cistercian Order was encouraged and supported by royal donations, concession and privileges, as is abundantly confirmed in the documentation. Favour was bestowed perhaps most obviously through the granting of generous charters known as *cartas de couto*,⁷⁰⁸

⁷⁰⁵ For example see *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux*, Eng. Trans. by Bruno Scott James (London: Burns and Oats, 1967), Letters 246, 415 and 416.

⁷⁰⁶ Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, pp. 122-23.

⁷⁰⁷ On João Peculiar's visits to Rome, see Erdmann, *O Papado e Portugal* esp. p. 69.

⁷⁰⁸ Latin: *Cautum* (also *cotum*, *coto*, *couto* and *coito*). Donations of *Couto*, were frequent between the ninth and eleventh centuries. The privilege was officially defined during the reign of D Dinis (1279-1325) as the act of excusing the dwellers on the land from the obligation to serve in the royal army, to participate in the *fossado* (yearly raid on

frequently endowing a house with an impressive degree of autonomy, including the prohibition of the entry of royal officers (including judges, bailiffs and stewards) onto the land that was *coutada* ('so protected'). Analysis of the chronology of these *cartas*, has shown that a house adopting the Cistercian usage, could expect shortly thereafter to find itself the beneficiary of princely largess.⁷⁰⁹

Yet, the Cistercian Order was a foreign force under essentially foreign control. Certainly by the early 1140s, it had evolved into an effective transnational organisation with a rigid mono-linear chain of command descending, in characteristic military fashion, from the decrees of the annual Chapter General at Cîteaux down to the tips of its many branches through a largely successful system of affiliation and visitation. Once granted sufficient land and attendant royal privileges, the Order was perfectly capable of constituting a *genus* of 'state-within-a-state'.⁷¹⁰ It is in this regard that Afonso Henriques' ready acquiescence in the establishment of the Order in his domains requires some explanation, since it would appear to sit uneasily with his cardinal objective, namely the firm establishment of his own autonomous rule over the lands he was in the process of consolidating and expanding under his tutelage. The solution to the conundrum appears to lie in the fact that the advantages the White Monks brought to Afonso Henriques far out-weighed the disadvantages in terms of advancing both his territorial ambitions and his aspiration to the winning of official papal recognition of his kingship.

Portuguese Land and the Cistercians

Where territory was concerned, the Cistercians had much to offer Afonso. Pledged to 'toil with their own hands and produce their own food and clothing',⁷¹¹ the White Monks rejected virtually all forms of revenue traditional to religious houses. Tithes, income from public mills, fees for the burial of the dead and much else were all forbidden, certainly in the early decades of the Order. In addition, Cistercian statutes decreed that their foundations were to be far removed from the settled world of towns and villages.⁷¹² This was just as well, for the subsistence of even modest communities of brethren, solely from their own toil, required substantial grants of agricultural land – or land that could be turned into such. In an expanding

Muslim territory), from payment of the *foro* (ground rent) and of the *peita* (excise-duty); i.e., immunity from royal taxes and royal justice. The *Cartas de Couto* could be granted by the king, as recompense for services or to encourage of settlement in particular regions, to nobles or ecclesiastics and by lay or ecclesiastical lords of the land; see, Arnaldo Rui Azevedo de Sousa Melo. 'O Couto de Santo Tirso nas cartas de couto de 1097 e 1098: os documentos e as características do espaço', *Revista de Guimarães*, n.º 106, 1996, pp. 175-92.

⁷⁰⁹ Marques, *Estudos*, p. 59.

⁷¹⁰ See, *inter alia*, Burton and Kerr, *Cistercians*, pp21-55.

⁷¹¹ Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History* trans. by Chibnall, vol.4, p. 325.

⁷¹² On the location of Cistercian houses see Burton and Kerr, *Cistercians*, pp. 56-81.

society where land, especially in northern European areas, was already becoming scarce, the Cistercians were driven, more by their own religiosity than anything else, to the very fringes of Europe. Their ideology and social background served them well in this. Though conditions were frequently harsh and dangerous at these outposts of Christendom, their dedication to asceticism and hardship along with the rigorous enforcement of their own rules of conduct almost certainly fortified them. The early Cistercians came from the same military aristocracy as Bernard of Clairvaux and it is hardly surprising that it was he who was the most ardent and vociferous proponent of the Knights Templar.⁷¹³ In the same vein it is noted that frontier military orders such as the Order of Calatrava in Spain and the Order of Évora in Portugal adopted the Cistercian Observance.⁷¹⁴ Indeed, although Cistercian literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries abounds with military analogies, one need look no further than Chapter 1 of the Rule of Benedict, and the aspiration to single combat in the Desert, or the *Exordium Parvum* and *Exordium Cistercii* with their references to monks as *miles Christi*.⁷¹⁵

The hardiness and tenacity of the White Monks coupled with their land-taming abilities which, as a matter of necessity, they had developed to a high standard, made them extremely attractive to rulers seeking to consolidate recently conquered territories on the fringes of a rapidly expanding Europe. In this way, we see the encouragement of Cistercian houses in, for example, Scandinavia, Hungary and, of course, on the frontiers of the Christian kingdoms of Iberia; one of the most emblematic houses being the Royal Monastery of Santa Maria de Poblet in Aragon founded in 1150, already mentioned in the previous Chapter in relation to one of its most famous abbots, Arnaud Amaury.⁷¹⁶

Cistercian land-management talents were many and various. They made vigorous use of armies of lay-brothers who were set to the tasks of forest clearance and general agricultural work.⁷¹⁷ The prodigious adroitness of the monks in hydraulic engineering for irrigation, the driving of mills, and the supply of drinking water enabled them to transform these newly cleared lands into bountiful *hortas*. Added to this was the monks' expertise over a broad spectrum of practical areas including livestock farming, cereal cultivation, viticulture, textile

⁷¹³ Cf, Martha G. Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity: Cistercian Culture and Ecclesiastical Reform, 1098-1180* (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 1996) pp. 29-37.

⁷¹⁴ See, *inter alia*, O'Callaghan, 'The Affiliation of the Order of Calatrava', pp. 3-59.

⁷¹⁵ *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Citeaux*, ed. and trans by C. Waddell, Citeaux: Commentarii Cisterciensies, *Studia et documenta*, 9 (Citeaux, 1999) (henceforth 'NLT'); and see Newman, *Boundaries*, *ibid*.

⁷¹⁶ See, *inter alia*, Lawrence J. McCrank, 'The Frontier of the Spanish Reconquest and the Land Acquisitions of the Cistercians of Poblet, 1150-1276,' *Annalecta Cisterciensia*, 29, fasc. 1-2 (1973); c.f., Rucquoi, 'Les Cisterciens...', p. 8 and more generally, E. Jamroziak, *Survival and Success on Medieval Borders, Cistercian Houses in Medieval Scotland and Pomerania from the Twelfth to the Late Fourteenth Century* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

⁷¹⁷ Burton and Kerr, *Cistercians*, pp. 149-88.

manufacture, mining, metallurgy, tool manufacture and trade; all these activities and many more, being reflected in the many privileges granted to them, e.g., freedom from excise duty, protection of herds and grazing rights. Importantly for Afonso Henriques, the Cistercians facilitated the emplacement of settlers in recently conquered zones. For immigrants in search of lands that would be capable of sustaining them, the White Monks prepared the ground ahead of them and provided essential infrastructure, especially around their monasteries and granges. Further the monks mentored them, not only at the material level but also at the spiritual level.⁷¹⁸ Of this very Cistercian solution, the great Abbey of Alcobaça, founded in 1153 would be the quintessential paradigm.

Following the prodigious successes of the conquests of Santarém and Lisbon in 1147, Afonso found himself master of a vast new territory comprising all the lands north of the Tagus between the Atlantic Ocean in the west and the Leonese frontier in the East. Now, the vast area of Portuguese Estremadura, a sparsely populated and wild region, lay open for colonisation, a necessity if the territory were to be secured under Christian rule. It was a gargantuan task hampered, as ever, by a shortage of personnel, a state of affairs that, if anything, had worsened due to the death-toll and displacement of populations, many having fled southward into al-Andalus on account of Afonso Henriques' recent campaigns.⁷¹⁹

A wealth of surviving documentation from the royal chancellery for the ensuing decade-or-more charts Afonso's considerable efforts to settle his newly gained territories and, at the same time, to reorganise and improve productivity in his older territories. Unsurprisingly, the aristocracy and ecclesiastical institutions stand out as the major beneficiaries, as do the military orders of the Hospital, receiving confirmation of its holdings in Portugal in 1157, and of the Temple whose holdings were augmented with properties in Sintra and Santarém. Meanwhile, Bishop Gilbert of Lisbon received, in 1149, some thirty-two farms, formerly belonging to the Lisbon mosque.⁷²⁰ However, by far the majority of land grants executed during this time to noble beneficiaries were located in the traditional Portuguese heartlands; that is to say in the more central and northerly regions such as Guimarães, Viseu, the Beira, the Douro valley and the Trás-os-Montes/Alto-Douro zone; areas that had been unequivocally in Christian hands at least since Fernando the Great's conquest of Coimbra in 1064. In these relatively secure places lay the estates that were the fitting prizes for those who had served Afonso so well in his wars. These were also the lands for which those who had not sufficiently

⁷¹⁸ Ibid.

⁷¹⁹ Lay, *Reconquest Kings*, p. 105.

⁷²⁰ DR, vol.1, pp. 281-96, 307-08, 321-25; and see Lay, *ibid*, pp. 105-09.

distinguished themselves in military adventures, but who nevertheless possessed sufficient means, were willing to pay the highest prices. By contrast, the newly conquered territories tended to be largely wilderness areas where land lay either completely untamed or abandoned, and which were constantly vulnerable to Muslim raiding parties where capture meant enslavement and likely deportation to the Maghreb.⁷²¹

As a further device for attracting settlers to strategic regions, Afonso issued generous town charters by which those agreeing to move to a particular location could enjoy various exemptions from taxes or duties on goods, or from military service, or would win the right to other special privileges such as that granted to any person who could establish a farmstead or a vineyard, and maintain it for a year, could thereafter keep it for himself and his descendants in perpetuity. In similar fashion, a fleeing serf, or *mudejar* slave, could win freedom by dwelling in a place for a certain amount of time, often one year. Stephen Lay has highlighted a good example of such a town charter, being that which was granted to Freixo de Espada à Cintra in 1162,⁷²² however, this town was in the north on the border between Portugal and León. Here the military obligation on a citizen was reduced to a minimum requiring him to fight against Muslims, unlikely in that region, or 'evil Christians' meaning the Leonese, a possible occasional menace, but nothing compared to the constant Muslim raids perpetrated in the south. Of course, with such generous charters being available for border locations in the north, it was even more difficult to attract populations to settle the south.⁷²³

In the light of this difficulty, the Cistercians were an obvious boon to Afonso Henriques. Nevertheless, the Portuguese southern frontier appears to have been a considerable challenge even for these lovers of hardship, poverty and places of 'horror and of vast solitude'.⁷²⁴ In 1148, seeking to avail himself of the Cistercian solution, Afonso had granted to the White Monks the lands of S. Pedro de Mouraz at Tondela in the region of Viseu but, for reasons that are unclear since the area was relatively secure from attack either from Muslims or from the Leonese, within just four years the monks had abandoned the site. Afonso then transferred the land to the Bishop of Viseu, complaining that his gift had been spurned.⁷²⁵ Yet this transfer to the see of Viseu was no adequate solution to the problems of settling the Estremadura and

⁷²¹ Ibid.

⁷²² DR, pp. 309-10, N° 284; Lay, *Reconquest Kings*, p. 107; see also Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, p. 294.

⁷²³ Lay, *Ibid.*

⁷²⁴ NLT, p. 399-400.

⁷²⁵ *Chancelarias Medievais Portuguesas*, vol.1 *Documentos de Chancelaria de D. Afonso Henriques*, ed. By A. E. Reuter (Coimbra : Instituto Alemão da Universidade, 1938) pp. 230-31; DR, N°240; Cocheril, *Études sur le Monachism*, p. 205; Idem 'D Afonso Henriques et Les Primiers Cisterciens Portugais', *Actas do Congresso Histórico de Guimarães e sua Colegiada*, vol.5. (Guimarães, 198) pp. 321-332, p. 327.

Afonso appears to have been forced to try once again to entice the monks into serving his plans for land usage. In April 1153, Afonso wrote to Bernard of Clairvaux, who was at this time close to death, offering an enormous estate ranging from the Atlantic coast to the Serra dos Condeiros, comprising some 44,000 hectares. In the light of the experience of S Pedro de Mouraz, Afonso included the warning, 'if through your neglect and without my permission, while I live, you allow this place to be abandoned, you will never recover it'.⁷²⁶ Bernard duly sent out a foundation party and they established themselves at the intersection of two rivers, the Alcoa and the Baça, whereby they christened their new monastery Santa Maria de Alcobaça. This monastery survived to be one of the most successful and renowned Cistercian houses in Europe, nevertheless, the early stages of its life would be tough and Afonso found it necessary to provide a further inducement to the monks to encourage them in their efforts by granting in 1157 their perpetual exemption from excise duties.⁷²⁷ In addition, the implantation of the Cistercian house went hand-in-hand with the usual granting of generous privileges designed to stimulate urban development in the region, with Alcobaça, like many population-hubs in frontier zones, receiving the privilege of being able to shelter those fleeing from justice.⁷²⁸

Portuguese Kingship and the Cistercians

If expanding and consolidating the territories under his control was the first of Afonso's two overriding concerns, the second was the winning of unequivocal papal recognition of his kingship over them. In this respect, the Cistercians brought Afonso another important advantage in the form of their great prestige and influence in the Roman Curia.

By the time of the first Cistercian arrivals to Portugal, Afonso's efforts to establish his royal title were well underway. Certainly by July 1139, Afonso was styling himself 'king' in his official documents and it is apparent he was accepted as such by his subjects.⁷²⁹ In addition, in early October of 1143 in the Leonese border town of Zamora, Alfonso VII of León-Castile, who had in 1135 assumed the title of 'Emperor of all Spain,' was persuaded to recognise his cousin Afonso Henriques as king of Portugal.⁷³⁰ The meeting was presided over by the aforementioned papal legate to Hispania, Guido de Vico and, although no account of the proceedings has survived, the results are evident from two documents of the chancellery of Alfonso VII which describe

⁷²⁶ Cocheril, *Ibid*; *Chancelarias Medievais... D. Afonso Henriques* vol.1 pp. 234-36; DR, N°243.

⁷²⁷ Artur Gusmão, *A Real Abadia de Alcobaça* (Lisbon: Ulisseia, 1948) P36.

⁷²⁸ Rucquoi, 'Les Cisterciens...', p. 14; Maur Cocheril, 'L'implantation des abbayes cisterciennes...' pp. 273-80.

⁷²⁹ Up to July 1139, documents contain the title *Infans* or *Portugalensium princeps*. From at least April 1140, the title standardises as *rex Alfonsus*; cf., Livermore, *History of Portugal*, p. 65.

⁷³⁰ Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, pp. 207-13.

Afonso Henriques as 'king' and state expressly that they were redacted at Zamora at the time when Cardinal Guido, 'came to a meeting of the king of Portugal with the Emperor.'⁷³¹ Although the hierarchical relationship between the two rulers persisted, the result of the Zamora conference was mutually beneficial, since in the eyes of onlookers, particularly those outside the Peninsula, each had received from the other recognition of the title he claimed.⁷³²

Yet this was not enough for Afonso Henriques. Precisely because Zamora had done nothing to change his *de facto* relationship with Alfonso VII, the spectre of Portuguese vassalage to the king-emperor of Leon-Castile continued to loom large. Therefore, shortly after Zamora, on 13th December 1143, Afonso Henriques, taking full advantage of the presence of Cardinal Guido in his lands, placed his kingdom under direct papal protection.⁷³³ Becoming a vassal of the Holy See, he avoided vassalage to Alfonso VII. It was a bold manoeuvre, though not an unprecedented one. Sancho Ramirez of Aragon had done the same in 1089 and Count Berenguer Ramon II of Barcelona followed a year later.⁷³⁴ In his letter of enfeudation, *Claves regni*, witnessed by papal legate Cardinal Guido, the archbishop of Braga, the bishops of Coimbra and Porto, and addressed to Innocent II (1130-1143), Afonso described himself prominently in the incipit as 'King of the Portuguese' (*Aldefonsus Dei Gratia Rex Portugaliae*), declared himself to be a *miles Sancti (Beati) Petri et Romani pontificis*, and stated that he held his lands and all attendant rights for the defence and consolation of the apostolic see.⁷³⁵ Further, he would accept the authority of no other lord, secular or ecclesiastical. He also pledged the annual payment of a tribute comprising four ounces of gold, the *census* mentioned in the previous Chapter; an obligation which was to be binding upon himself and his successors. The letter was witnessed by Archbishop João Peculiar of Braga, the bishops of Coimbra and Porto and papal legate to Hispania Cardinal Guido. As we have already noted in Chapter 1, the ploy was not completely successful. After some delay, in 1144, the then current pope, Lucius II sent a letter back to Afonso and accepted his homage, his monetary tribute, and his land on behalf of, and to be protected by, St Peter, and agreed to take Afonso's lands under

⁷³¹ Ibid, p. 212. Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VII, 1126-1157* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), pp. 80-81, documents referenced at p. 357, notes 458 and 459.

⁷³² Cf, Lay, *Reconquest Kings*, p. 81,

⁷³³ For a discussion of the involvement of Cardinal Guido de Vico (friend of Bernard of Clairvaux) in the brokering of the vassalage arrangement between Rome and Portugal, see Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, pp. 210 *et seq.*

⁷³⁴ Precedent is provided in similar acts by King Sancho Ramirez of Navare and Aragon in 1068, renewed by King Pedro of Aragon in 1095, and of Count Bernardo II of Besalú and of Sicily in 1077; Mattoso, *ibid.* p. 214; Ángel J. Martín Duque, 'Navarra y Aragón,' *La Reconquista y el proceso de diferenciación política (1035-1217)*, in *Historia de España*, dir. by Ramón Menéndez Pidal (Madrid: España Calpe, 1998) tomo IX, pp. 239-323 at pp. 269-271 and p. 292.

⁷³⁵ DR, vol.1, p. 250.

the protection of the Holy See.⁷³⁶ That the pope was willing to go this far is likely to have reflected the violent antagonism between Afonso of Portugal and Alfonso VII of Castile-León during the preceding years which had led to a precarious stand-off at Valdevez in February-March 1141, an event which had probably led to the Zamora meeting two years later.⁷³⁷ By taking Portuguese territory under his protection, the pope was enforcing a peace on the two leaders which would hopefully put an end to the border conflicts meaning that they could henceforth concentrate their combined efforts on campaigns against the Muslims. However, following a traditional line which was wary of harming relations between the Roman Curia and León-Castile, Lucius continued to refer to Afonso as *dux* not *rex*. This was immediately dealt with at the opening of the letter, the pope's incipit directly answering Afonso's incipit in the pointed terms; *Dilecto in Christo Filio A. Illustri Portugalensium Duci*.⁷³⁸ Indeed, it would be another three and a half decades before a pope would finally bestow upon Afonso the title he so desired.

Afonso's principal stumbling block to papal recognition was the Curia's Spanish policy which traditionally envisaged unification of Christian powers on the Peninsula in the fight against the Muslims of al-Andalus. This view held that the paramount task of all Hispanic rulers was the eradication of Iberian Islam and that this could most effectively be attained if the various princes stood united under one sovereign direction forming a single army under a single commander, rather than fighting each other.⁷³⁹ Lucius II, in line with his recent predecessors, placed himself on the side of the strongest, favouring the hegemony of the united kingdom of León-Castile under Alfonso VII over Aragón, Navarra and Portugal. Indeed, to the Curia in the 1140s, Alfonso VII looked set to repeat the feats of King-emperor Alfonso VI, a view that was reflected in the papal letters of friendship and laudatory honour addressed to him along with the award of the Golden Rose.⁷⁴⁰ As long as the papacy continued to pin its hopes for the maintenance of Christian orthodoxy and the prosecution of the war on Islam on Castilian-Leonese hegemony, Afonso Henriques' struggle for the recognition of his crown was likely to be frustrated.

Already by the early 1140s the White Monks wielded prodigious and increasing influence in the papal court, with Eugenius III, a monk of Clairvaux and pupil of Bernard, rising to the

⁷³⁶ JL 8590; PL 179, 860. In fact, the *Claves regni* did not reach its intended recipient since, Innocent II died before it reached him and his successor, Celestine II (1143-44), whose papacy lasted a mere five months made no reply; Cf, Lay, *Reconquest Kings*, p. 89.

⁷³⁷ Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, p. 212; Lay p. 81.

⁷³⁸ JL 8590; PL 179, 860.

⁷³⁹ Cf, Damien J Smith, 'Alexander III and Spain', p. 207.

⁷⁴⁰ Reilly, *Afonso VII*, p. 102.

throne of St Peter in 1145. Although Eugenius, the Cistercian, made no move to recognise Afonso Henriques' kingly title, and in spite of the fact that in the first year of his appointment the pope ordered Archbishop João Peculiar of Braga to recognise the primacy of the Archbishop of Toledo, Afonso appears to have remained hopeful. Certainly, he continued to support the Order with generous donations. Among the surviving documents from his chancellery there are at least twenty recording Afonso's grants to the White Monks. Besides the *carta de couto* granted in 1140 to São João de Tarouca,⁷⁴¹ a house probably strongly influenced by the Cistercians if not already home to a Cistercian community by this time, another was granted in 1141 to Santiago de Sever also probably already a Cistercian house, with further *cartas de couto* being granted to São Pedro de Mouraz in 1148, to Alcobaça in 1153, to Salzeda in 1155, to Lafões in 1161, to Bouro in 1162, to Tomar in 1172, to Maceiradão in 1173, to Santa Maria de Aguiar in 1174 and to Seiça in 1175. Other types of grants were also plentiful with the famous donation of April 1144 to São João de Tarouca being followed up in 1164 and 1170 with further donations, while Bouro received grants in 1148 and 1180, Salzedas in 1161 and Alcobaça in 1157 and 1183.⁷⁴²

Sancho I and the Cistercians

With his kingship finally recognised by Pope Alexander III in 1179,⁷⁴³ Afonso Henriques died some six years later. His son, Sancho, who succeeded him as king of a now fully-autonomous kingdom of Portugal, appears to have been far less generous to the Cistercians. Tellingly, perhaps, during his reign no new *cartas de couto* were granted and, if Alcobaça received royal donations, it appears to be only in recognition of its important role in settling and developing the Estremadura region. Nor, it appears, was Sancho as willing as his father to leave the White Monks unhindered to run their communities and exploit their lands as they saw fit. A suggestion that Sancho took a more hands-on approach is reflected in the deliberations of the Cistercian Chapter General of 1208, where the assembled Abbots considered the merits of the complaint of the Abbot of Bouro who had alleged that Sancho had forced the election of his own candidate to the Abbacy of Alcobaça against the will of the monks.⁷⁴⁴ There is no record of the final decision of the Chapter General, but the documents of Alcobaça drawn up after

⁷⁴¹ *Exórdio de mosteiro de S. João de Tarouca*, pp. 66-71.

⁷⁴² A detailed enumeration of Afonso Henriques' grants to Cistercian houses, along with references to the relevant documentation is given by Oliveria, 'Origens' pp. 318-350.

⁷⁴³ *Monumenta Henricina*, vol.1 N°9, pp. 18-21; Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, p. 359 *et seq.*

⁷⁴⁴ However, it seems as though the Abbot of Bouro had ambitions for taking up the post himself, so his descriptions of monastic discontent at Alcobaça are probably not disinterested and so must be viewed with all due caution; Canivez, vol.1, p. 352 and Cf., Marques, *Estudos*, p. 60 and Lay, *Reconquest Kings*, p. 179.

1210 are sanctioned by Abbot Fernando whose frequent presence in the royal court suggests he had close connections to Sancho.⁷⁴⁵

Afonso II and the Cistercians

When, in about 1130, Afonso Henriques established his centre of government in Coimbra, with the Augustinian monastery of Santa Cruz being established there at about the same time, the city had quickly become the religious focus of the polity. By the end of the reign of Afonso II, almost a century later, that focus had migrated considerably further southward with the Cistercian abbey of Santa Maria de Alcobaça assuming the leading role, whilst Lisbon, although not yet capital of the kingdom, was enjoying an increasing ascendancy.⁷⁴⁶

Changing royal attitudes to Santa Cruz and Alcobaça were the subject of a study by Joaquim Verríssimo Serrão who compared fluctuations in the incidence of royal donations and testamentary dispositions made to each monastery and also charted the choices made between the houses when it came to selecting them as places for royal burial.⁷⁴⁷ When his results were published in 1976, it came as little surprise that his findings clearly demonstrated that Portugal's first two kings had favoured Santa Cruz, both through the predominance of donations made to that house, and by their choosing it as their final resting place. In contrast, Afonso II (d.1223), Sancho II (d.1248) and Afonso III (d.1279) all plumped for Alcobaça as the ultimate repository for their mortal remains.⁷⁴⁸

Equally un-controversial was Verríssimo Serrão's assertion that, by the beginning of the thirteenth century, the political and cultural axis of the nation had shifted from the River Mondego (and Coimbra), to the River Tagus (and Lisbon) in step with the southward progress of the Portuguese *Reconquista*.⁷⁴⁹ As a concomitant, the function of Santa Cruz in the establishment of the kingdom, including its production of royal propaganda, had decreased in importance whilst the power and influence enjoyed by the monastery of Alcobaça had increased.⁷⁵⁰ When Afonso II ascended the throne in 1211, Alcobaça had, already for two generations, enjoyed an advantageous geographical position at the centre of the kingdom now so dramatically extended following the campaigns of 1147. The White Monks had further accrued important prestige through their actions in fostering the settlement of the newly

⁷⁴⁵ DS, pp. 288-95; Lay, *Reconquest Kings*, p. 179; Cf, Branco, *Sancho I*, p. 292.

⁷⁴⁶ On the rise of Lisbon, see Ventura, *D. Afonso III*, pp. 164-171.

⁷⁴⁷ J. Veríssimo Serrão, 'Santa Cruz de Coimbra e Santa Maria de Alcobaça: um caso de rivalidade cultural?' *A Historiografia portuguesa anterior a Herculano* (Academia Portuguesa da História, Lisboa, 1977) pp. 87-101.

⁷⁴⁸ In fact Sancho II, in spite of his choice, is buried in Toledo where he had died in exile; *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90.

⁷⁴⁹ Serrão, 'Santa Cruz de Coimbra e Santa Maria de Alcobaça...', pp. 89-91.

⁷⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 91;

acquired lands. Indeed the stature of the abbey had increased to such an extent that in 1220, Afonso II went so far as to express his desire that the Monastery of Santa Cruz adopt the Cistercian Rule and become filial to Alcobaça,⁷⁵¹ although, in the event, ensuing serious disputes between Afonso II and Rome and the king's early death in March 1223, prevented the proposed reform from taking place.

Afonso's partiality for the Cistercians is readily understandable. In addition to their colonising and land-taming activities, the White Monks appear to have actively supported the Portuguese war on the Andalusi Saracens, with the Abbot of Alcobaça having been personally engaged in persuading passing foreign maritime crusaders to join the Portuguese assault on the key fortress of Alcácer do Sal in 1217.⁷⁵² Victory at Alcácer had garnered for Afonso substantial benefits through the addition of extensive rich lands to his kingdom and, importantly, in greatly increasing his standing both at home, among his fractious nobility, and abroad, especially in Rome. In this latter respect, notable is the confirmation to Afonso II of his legitimate kingship by Honorius III in the re-issue of the *Manifestis probatum*, in early January 1218, complete with full military accolades.⁷⁵³

In addition, Afonso II's support for the White Monks is likely to have been at least partially coloured by the king's problems during the last years of his reign when he entered into serious disputes with his own clergy and with Rome. In this respect it is of considerable interest that, at about this same time, support for the Order of Cîteaux had become a main indicator of orthodoxy. As mentioned in the previous chapter, for the anonymous author of the *Canso de la Crozada*, proving support for the Cistercian Order was the surest way for a member of the Occitanian nobility to prove his steadfastness in the Catholic faith.⁷⁵⁴ Although Afonso II does not appear to have been suspected of heresy, it is likely that, in his favouring of the favourites of Rome, he had hoped to gain increased leverage, especially during the last years of his life. Indeed, Afonso II was to die excommunicate before negotiations with the pope for the lifting of the ecclesiastical sanction could successfully be concluded (see Chapter 3 herein).

⁷⁵¹ ANTT, *Forais Antigos*, Maço 12, n.3, fol 42vb; On this curious point see António Dominuges de Sousa Costa, *Mestre Silvestre e Mestre Vicente, juristas da contenda entre D. Afonso II e suas irmãs* (Braga, 1963) p. 90, *et seq.* (document reproduced at pp. 90-91 - ANTT); Cf, Francisco da Gama Caeiro, 'São Bernardo e os Primórdios de Santa Cruz de Coimbra,' *Academia Portuguesa da História, Anais*, vol.37, pp. 35-54, at p. 46. See also, Maria Teresa Nobre Veloso, *D. Afonso II, Relações de Portugal com a Santa Sé Durant o seu reinado* (Coimbra: Archivo da Universidade de Coimbra, 2000) p. 257, note 39.

⁷⁵² *De Itinere Frisonum*, p. 61.

⁷⁵³ *Monumenta Henricina*, N^o.27, pp. 50-51; Vilar, *Afonso II*, pp. 114-20.

⁷⁵⁴ Graham-Leigh, *The Southern French Nobility*, p. 86.

Afonso II's last will, redacted in 1221, is redolent of the king's support for the White Monks of Alcobaça, in which, besides bequeathing to them 2,000 morabitanos, one of the largest donations that he would make to a religious institution, the king is emphatic in his wishes to be buried in their monastery, even if his death were to occur elsewhere, specifying that his body should be transported to Alcobaça.⁷⁵⁵ We also find the Abbot of Alcobaça first to be named in the list of the king's executors, followed by the Prior of Santa Cruz in second place.⁷⁵⁶

In line with the experience of so many other areas of Europe, by the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century, in Portugal the Cistercians were certainly the most influential regular order in the kingdom. Besides noting the adoption of the Cistercian Reform by the important, formerly Benedictine, houses of São Mamede de Lorvão in 1206, and by S. Pedro de Arouca in 1226,⁷⁵⁷ we may observe that, in selecting Alcobaça for the new royal pantheon, Afonso II started a royal trend that would result in a virtual Cistercian monopoly over royal burials that would remain unchallenged until the late-fourteenth century.⁷⁵⁸ Accordingly, Afonso II's queen D. Urraca (d.1220) would be entombed in Alcobaça and three of his sisters would enter Cistercian convents; D. Teresa died a nun in 1250 at São Mamede de Lorvão, D. Sancha similarly died at Celas de Coimbra in 1229 (her body later transferred to Lorvão) and D. Mafalda, who became a nun at Arouca died there in 1256.⁷⁵⁹

Relations between Alcobaça and Santa Cruz

Although, as we have seen, the Cistercian Reform was not adopted into Santa Cruz, it appears it had been a realistic possibility, since this change in life-style would not necessarily have been repugnant to the canons of Coimbra. The analysis presented by Verríssimo Serrão which placed the houses of Alcobaça and Santa Cruz in opposition, may have contributed to the obscuration of the view that relations between the two houses were, for the most part, more than cordial and that the true state of affairs was far from the *zero-sum* scenario his study tends to suggest. There was after all the important underlying unifying factor of shared monastic spirituality which for Francisco da Gama Caeiro was the 'authentic *substratum*' that

⁷⁵⁵ ANTT, Alcobaça, Docs. Régios, cx1, m.I,21, ed. by Veloso in *D. Afonso II, Relações*, pp282-84. Afonso's previous wills of 1214 and 1218 also specify his wish to be buried in Alcobaça, in similar terms; *ibid*, p. 257, note 40.

⁷⁵⁶ The three wills of Afonso II are to be found edited and reproduced at appendices 1.a), b), and c) in Veloso *D. Afonso II, Relações*.

⁷⁵⁷ Veloso, *Ibid.*, p. 228. On Lorvão see Maria Alegria Fernandes Marques, 'Inocência III e a passagem do mosteiro de Lorvão para a Ordem de Cister' in *Estudos* pp. 75-125; on Arouca see Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, *O mosteiro de Arouca do século X ao século XIII* (Arouca, câmara Municipal, 1988) p. 374.

⁷⁵⁸ Saul António Gomes, 'Panteões Régios Monásticos Portugueses nos Séculos XII e XIII', in *Actas do 2.º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães*. Vol. 4. Sociedade, administração, cultura e igreja em Portugal no séc. XII, Guimarães, Asa e CMG, 1997, pp. 281-295, at p. 285.

⁷⁵⁹ Gomes, 'Panteões Régios...', p. 292.

bound the communities of Santa Cruz and Alcobaça together.⁷⁶⁰ A far closer link between the two houses, however, lay in the fact that the over-arching spiritual presence of Bernard of Clairvaux was very much in evidence in the foundation and the lives of both. Whilst Alcobaça was linked through the *Carta Caritatis* explicitly to the Abbey of Clairvaux and its most famous abbot, the relationship between St Bernard and Santa Cruz was also strong. Here the bond was based not on a constitutional document but upon 'brotherly friendship' symbolised by Bernard's gift to D. Teotónio, the first prior of Santa Cruz, of a prelate's crosier. This remarkable event is detailed in the *Vita Theotonii*, penned by an anonymous disciple of the prior shortly after his death in 1162. The relevant passage is as follows:

[St Teotónio] supported his aged limbs with that crosier which was sent to him as a present through his brothers, on hearing of his piety, by the man-of-God Bernard, who was the first abbot of Clairvaux in the lands of Burgundy, and who many times felt with him the needles of pain. Already by this time, between the Monastery of Clairvaux and ours of Santa Cruz, there was established a pact of fraternal friendship,⁷⁶¹ which is to say that an association was underwritten in all blessings and prayers in the way that each one of the orders every year made, with the greatest devotion, general suffrage, one to the other.⁷⁶²

The crosier (in the form of a Tau cross rather than the more usual stylised shepherd's crook) is today to be found on display in the Machado de Castro Museum in Coimbra. There is, of course, a clear precedent for early spiritual links between St Bernard and the regular canons of St Augustine. William of Champeaux (famously linked to the origins and later development of the Augustinian house of St Victor in Paris) when he was Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, had invested Bernard in the office of abbot of the newly founded Abbey of Clairvaux.⁷⁶³ Further it was William who promoted the foundation of Clairvaux's first daughter house, Trois-Fontains, in his diocese. Bernard and William visited each-other frequently and a deep friendship developed between the two prelates with William even encouraging Bernard towards a less rigorous asceticism out of concerns for his physical health.⁷⁶⁴ In the *Vita Prima*, William of Saint-Thierry described the relationship of the two men as being so close they were 'of one spirit in the Lord and often took turns having each other as guests. Clairvaux was like the bishop's own house, and not only the bishop's house, but through him, the entire city of

⁷⁶⁰ Caeiro, 'São Bernado e os Primórdios...' p. 43.

⁷⁶¹ *societas pactum*.

⁷⁶² *Vita Theotonii*, Ch.28, p. 195; Caeiro, 'São Bernado e os Primórdios...' p. 39.

⁷⁶³ Newman, *Boundaries*, pp. 144-45.

⁷⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p145.

Châlons became home to the monks from Clairvaux.⁷⁶⁵ Indeed, Bernard's friendship with William may well lie at the origin of Cistercian support for St Victor in their disputes with the chapter of Notre Dame over plans to introduce Victorine canons into the Cathedral and Charles Giroud has noted the marked influence of the *Carta Caritatis* in the provisions of the Victorine *Liber ordinis*.⁷⁶⁶

Likewise, this alliance of Augustinian and Cistercian appears to have been present in Portugal during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, one of the first manifestations of this being the abovementioned gift of the crosier sent in 1152 by St Bernard to Prior D. Teotónio of Santa Cruz and brought to Portugal by the monks going out from Clairvaux who constituted the foundation party that would establish the monastery of Alcobaça. Having arrived to Portugal, the monks lodged for some days at Santa Cruz with their host D. Teotónio during which time, apparently, lasting bonds of friendship were cemented. It is certainly possible that St Bernard had learned, in 1135 or 1139 from his meetings with João Peculiar, of the great sanctity of Teotónio and of the esteem afforded the Prior by King Afonso Henriques. Further, it is reasonable to suppose that the crosier, used by St Teotónio, 'as a relic with which he touched his aching limbs,'⁷⁶⁷ and which features prominently in his iconography, may have functioned as a symbol of the culmination of a diplomatic process which resulted in the fraternal and mutual friendship whereby each house celebrated the other with annual prayers and offices, as suggested in the passage quoted above from Teotónio's *Vita*. That such a friendship indeed existed between Santa Cruz and Alcobaça is confirmed in a codex forming part of the *fundo* of Alcobaça dating to the second half of the thirteenth-century which contains a list of monasteries with which Alcobaça retained these relations; Santa Cruz being duly listed therein.⁷⁶⁸

Such prayer associations were a long established monastic practice and were a recognition of the underlying spiritual unity of the monastic world; the exchange of prayers being an acknowledgement of brotherhood across different communities of religious, and a recognition that, although their regimes differed, they essentially spent a good deal of their lives at prayer

⁷⁶⁵ *Vita Prima*, 1.7.31; PL 185, 246, quoted by Newman, *Boundaries*, p. 145.

⁷⁶⁶ Charles Giroud, *L'Ordre des Chanoines Réguliers de Saint-Augustin et ses diverses formes de régime interne. Essai de synthèse histórico-juridique* (Martigny: Éditions du Grand-Saint-Bernard, 1961) p. 140; Caeiro, 'São Bernardo e os Primórdios', p. 44; J. Chatillon, 'influence de S. Bernard sur la scolastique,' in *Saint Bernard Théologien* (Rome, 1953), pp. 268-88 at p. 271. And see generally, Newman, *Boundaries*, pp. 145-46.

⁷⁶⁷ *Vita Theotonii*, *ibid.*

⁷⁶⁸ Codex, Ms. Alc.231, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal; Caeiro, 'São Bernardo e os Primórdios', p. 45; J. Leclercq, 'Les manuscrits cisterciens du Portugal,' in *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis*, 6 (1950), pp. 131-139, at p. 132 *et seq.* Indeed many other Augustinian houses are also listed, including Sainte-Marie de Vertus, in the diocese of Châlons, Saint-Victor of Paris and Saint-Vincent de Fora in Lisbon. Many Benedictine houses also appear in the list including Molesme, Cluny and Saint-Denis.

striving after the same Christian virtues. It was usual for these arrangements to arise from face-to-face exchanges; Newman gives the example of the 'association of mutual brotherhood' established by Stephen Harding and the abbot of Saint Vaast (Arras) arising from the good relations engendered between the two men when Stephen was in Flanders during 1124.⁷⁶⁹

Further evidence of good relations between Santa Cruz and Alcobaça is present in the frequent exchanges of manuscripts detected between the two houses noted and commented upon by Pierre David and Aires A. Nascimento among others.⁷⁷⁰ It is in this bibliophilic cooperation that we discover strong evidence that Cistercian spirituality was popular among the canons of Coimbra since, in the library of Santa Cruz, we find an important codex containing the sermons of Bernard of Clairvaux.⁷⁷¹ It is dated by the final subscription to 1187⁷⁷² and codicological and palaeographical analyses have established that the volume was produced in the *scriptorium* of Santa Cruz.⁷⁷³ This manuscript is likely to have been that which served the young Fernando Martins, the future St Anthony of Lisbon/Padua, as he pursued his studies at Santa Cruz between 1212 and 1220, and where he prepared, and probably indeed wrote, his *Sermones Dominicales* before joining the Order of Franciscans also in Coimbra.⁷⁷⁴

More generally, the Cistercians and Augustinians were linked through their both being favoured by the Portuguese monarchy from the early years of the reign of Afonso Henriques, as part of a royal scheme to escape the excessive influence of the overbearing northern nobility which was closely tied to the houses of Cluny.⁷⁷⁵ In many respects, Afonso II continued this policy. That, following 1223, monarchs continued to take pains to deposit sealed copies of their wills both in Santa Cruz and in Cistercian houses, particularly Alcobaça, shows that, in spite of the change in the choice of *locus mortis*, both monastic centres continued to be relied upon as guarantors and guardians of the last wishes of the sovereign.⁷⁷⁶

⁷⁶⁹ Newman, *Boundaries*, pp. 124-125.

⁷⁷⁰ Pierre David, 'Regula Sancti Augustini – à propos d'une fausse charte de fondation du Chapitre de Coimbra' in *Revista Portuguesa de História*, 3 (1947), pp. 27-39 at p. 35, n.15; Aires Augusto Nascimento, 'Concentração, dispersão e dependências na circulação de manuscritos em Portugal, nos séculos XII e XIII,' in *Coloquio sobre circulacion de códices y escritos entre Europa y la Peninsula en los siglos VIII-XIII, 16-19 Septiembre 1982. Actas* (santiago de Compostela, 1988), pp. 61-85 at p. 77.

⁷⁷¹ Santa Cruz, Cod.33 (*Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto*, 44); Caeiro., 'São Bernardo e os Primórdios', p. 46.

⁷⁷² *Expliciunt Sermones Sancti Bernardi Abbatis Claraveleis: SUB ERA 1225*; Ibid.

⁷⁷³ António Cruz, *Santa Cruz de Coimbra na Cultura Portuguesa da Idade Média: Observações sobre o 'Scriptorium' e os Estudos Claustrais*, vol. I, *Coleção Edições Marânus* (Porto: Empresa Industrial Gráfica do Porto, 1964) p. 111;

⁷⁷⁴ F. Gama Caeiro in 'Introdução' to *Santo António de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Ramos, Afonso & Moita, 1969) pp. 9-55; António Rigon, 'S. Antonio e la cultura universitária nell'ordine franciscano delle origini,' in *Francescanesimo e la cultura universitária. Atti del XVI Convegno Internazionale* (Assisi, 1990) pp. 65-92.

⁷⁷⁵ See generally, Mattoso, *Ricos Homens*, pp. 181-9; idem, *Afonso Henriques*, pp. 76-77 (HB); idem, 'As três faces de Afonso Henriques', pp. 25-42.

⁷⁷⁶ Gomes, 'Panteões Régios', p. 286.

Part II

Cistercian aspects of the sea-borne crusaders; the case of Lisbon, 1147

Having discussed Cistercian activity in Portugal on dry land, it is now appropriate to turn to consider the Order's participation in the affairs kingdom in its maritime aspect. In the three campaigns for which we have the most cogent and detailed information, Lisbon 1147, Silves 1189 and Alcácer do Sal 1217, the presence of the Cistercian Order is more or less evident. Leaving Cistercian involvement in the Alcácer campaign to be dealt with more fully in Chapter 4 when we consider the authorship of the *Carmen*, and having already in the previous chapter noted Cistercian elements present at the conquest of Silves, it is now apt that we turn our attentions to the evidence for the involvement of elements of the Order at Lisbon in 1147 and the vexed question of the extent of the participation of Bernard of Clairvaux in the enterprise. In so doing we shall attempt to unravel and clarify the issues surrounding a letter controversially attributed to Bernard and supposedly written by him shortly prior to the Portuguese campaigns of 1147 - the notorious 'Letter 308'.

Bernard of Clairvaux, Afonso Henriques, Lisbon and 'Letter 308'

As we have seen, Afonso Henriques appears to have understood from an early stage that support for the Cistercian Order in his kingdom was likely to bring him substantial benefits. Whilst his association with the Order is amply demonstrated through the many gifts and favours he bestowed upon it, there is considerable evidence for a more personal connection with that great spiritual mentor of the White Monks, indeed the most famous of them all, Bernard of Clairvaux. Although the great Cistercian abbot and the Portuguese king never met, connections between the two are evident, in no small part, through Afonso's queen and her highly influential family.⁷⁷⁷

Afonso Henriques did not marry until relatively late in life at the age of 37 in March 1146, probably on the day of Easter.⁷⁷⁸ The reasons for this delay are not known, however, since he was anxious to secure his kingship, it can readily be surmised that he would have wanted to make a prestigious match with the daughter of a suitably royal house. As we have seen, at the time of his marriage, Afonso had won only partial recognition of his kingship, that is to say

⁷⁷⁷ For what followings concerning Queen Matilda/Mafalda and for much useful material on the campaigns for Santarém and Lisbon, I am much indebted to Mattoso's *Afonso Henriques*, pp. 217-247.

⁷⁷⁸ Mattoso *Afonso Henriques*, pp. 220-21.

from his own subjects and from Alfonso VII. He had yet to receive the all-important papal sanction. Further, in comparison with other Christian realms, Afonso's kingdom was young and small and there was no guarantee it would survive, being vulnerable to re-absorption into Galicia/León-Castile or to conquest by Muslim forces. In this light, Afonso Henriques was hardly the most eligible bachelor and it is understandable that other peninsular monarchs, even putting aside their rivalries with Portugal, may have entertained a certain reluctance when it came to the betrothal of their daughters.⁷⁷⁹ Almost certainly, attitudes would have been markedly different following Afonso's great advances of 1147, but such was not his circumstance in spring of 1146, thus the king of Portugal was forced to look beyond the Peninsula for a spouse. We are introduced to the queen in a somewhat puzzling passage of the *Annales D. Alfonsi*, a text produced in Santa Cruz in the late 1180s;

In the era of 1183, King D. Afonso received D. Matilda as his wife, daughter of the Count Amadeus of Moriana, and because he was a Catholic and very God fearing he preferred and chose rather to receive a woman of humble condition and without sin, than marry with a woman of his family and, in this way, to sin...⁷⁸⁰

As Mattoso has pointed out, it is clear that the author of the *Annales*, writing some thirty years after her death, had scant knowledge of the pedigree of D. Matilda or, as she is known in Portugal, D. Mafalda.⁷⁸¹ In passing, we also note that the pre-occupation expressed here on the part of Afonso for not marrying within the prohibited degrees, 'in this way, to sin...' does not seem traditionally to have much concerned Peninsular monarchs and certainly did not concern Afonso when he betrothed his daughter Urraca to Ferdinand II of León, his cousin in the second degree.⁷⁸² As for Mafalda being of 'humble condition', the description is woefully incorrect. She was the daughter of Count Amadeus III of Maurienne and Savoy who was very well-connected indeed.⁷⁸³ His father, Umberto I of Maurienne, had powerful aunts. One was Berta, Empress of Germany, wife of Henry IV; another was Adelaide, Queen of France, married to Louis VI (The Fat, 1108-1137) and mother of the current king of France, Louis VII (1137-1180). Mafalda was thus the niece of Louis VII. The mother of Amadeus III, Gisela of Burgundy, was also of illustrious stock and counted among her twelve siblings, Pope Callixtus

⁷⁷⁹ Cf Ibid, p. 218.

⁷⁸⁰ *Annales D. Alfonsi*, E. 1183, ed. M. Blöcker-Walter, *Alfons I von Portugal. Studien zu Geschichte und Sage des Begründers der portugiesischen Unabhängigkeiten* (Zurich, Fretz und Wasmuth Verlag, 1966) pp. 156-157.

⁷⁸¹ Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, p. 218.

⁷⁸² Ibid. p.217.

⁷⁸³ Laurent Ripart, 'La croisade du comte Amédée III de Maurienne († 1148) : un potlatch sans contrepartie?', in Benoît Grévin, Annliese Nef et Emmanuelle Tixier (dir.), *Chrétiens, juifs et musulmans dans la Méditerranée médiévale. Mélanges en l'honneur d'Henri Bresc*, Paris, 2008, p. 149-165.

II, Ida/Clementina of Namur Countess of Flanders (wife of the great First Crusader Robert II of Flanders, aka *Robertus Hierosolimitanus*) and Raymond Count of Galicia (cousin to Afonso Henriques' father, Henry Count of Portucale).⁷⁸⁴ Thus, in taking the hand of Mafalda of Savoy, Afonso received at the same time a powerful boost to his personal prestige and international profile. The nuptials broadcast loud and clear, into the very heart of the Latin West, Afonso's bold assertion of his close blood-ties to the noble families north of the Pyrenees.⁷⁸⁵

Indeed, this already dizzying density of connectivity around Afonso's marriage intensifies when we recall that the match was not only a clarion re-assertion of the Portuguese king's familial links to his ancestral homeland of Burgundy, but also to the legendary stomping grounds of Charlemagne. Portrayed as the consummate hero of the Hispanic war on Islam, it was Charlemagne who was celebrated so famously and imaginatively in the *Historia Turpini*.⁷⁸⁶ As mentioned in the previous Chapter, the *Turpini* was promulgated widely in northern Europe and was an integral part of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, a book inseparable from the tireless activities of Archbishop of Compostela Diego Gelmirez in promoting of the cult of Saint James and the fight against the Andalusí Saracens. The earliest surviving copy of the *Liber*, kept in the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, is of course known as the *Codex Calixtinus* owed to the tradition which attributes a good deal of its contents to the pen of Pope Calixtus II. Of course, Calixtus was a strong supporter of Deigo Gelmirez and, in 1120, the Pope raised him to the status of metropolitan. Calixtus was also brother of Gisela of Burgundy and thus great uncle of Afonso's bride Mafalda, on her father's side.⁷⁸⁷

There were yet further advantages to the match. The County of Savoy occupying borderland territory straddling the Alps at the intersection of today's France, Italy and Switzerland, in the twelfth century fell under the jurisdiction of the Empire; an aspect which, no doubt, was intended to further ingratiate Afonso Henriques with the Holy See and at the same time distance him from the 'Emperor' of the Spains, Alfonso VII. Significantly, Savoy neighbored Avignon, the city of the monastery of Saint-Ruf which maintained close links with Santa Cruz at this time. Indeed, Mattoso suggests that João Peculiar may himself have brokered the marriage agreement with Amadeus III during one of his sojourns in the region, the above-mentioned account given in the *Annales* notwithstanding. Certainly Peculiar would have had

⁷⁸⁴ Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, p. 218-19;

⁷⁸⁵ Cf, Lay, *Reconquest Kings*, pp. 85-86.

⁷⁸⁶ *Chronicle of Pseudo Turpin*, ed. and trans. by Kevin R. Poole (New York: Italica Press, 2014).

⁷⁸⁷ Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, p. 219.

the opportunity to do so during the course of his journey to Rome in the Spring of 1144 when he personally solicited a reply to Afonso's letter of infeudation (*Claves regni*) from Lucius II.⁷⁸⁸

The marriage took place two years later in March 1146, probably on Easter day which, because marriages were prohibited during Lent, would have been the earliest suitably significant occasion.⁷⁸⁹ If so, at precisely that same time, Bernard of Clairvaux, in an event probably stage-managed to imitate events at Clermont some fifty years previously, was making his famous appeal to crusade from a platform specially erected in a field near the Cathedral of Vézelay before an enormous crowd, principal among which were King Louis VII of France and his barons.⁷⁹⁰ One of the first and most prominent of those barons to take the cross was Louis VII's maternal uncle, Mafalda's father, Amadeus III.⁷⁹¹ A supporter of the Cistercian Order, Amadeus III had donated to St Bernard, in 1138, the land on the north-western shore of Lake Bourget, to which the Abbey of Hautecombe would be transferred.⁷⁹² Hautecombe had received the Cistercian Rule from Clairvaux through the intervention of Bernard himself and the abbey would be for centuries the burial-place of the Counts and Dukes of Savoy, beginning with Amadeus' son Umberto III. Ironically, Amadeus himself would not find his eternal rest within its walls. A veteran crusader, having participated in an expedition to Palestine in about 1111, Amadeus departed eastward for a second time in 1147 marching through Italy with his troops to make rendezvous with Louis in Constantinople. This time fate was not on his side. Having successfully completed the perilous journey across Anatolia and having survived severe defeats in Syria, his luck ran out in Cyprus where he died from disease in 1148. He is entombed in the Church of St. Croix in Nicosia.⁷⁹³

It appears more likely than not that Bernard of Clairvaux had knowledge of the proposed marriage of Mafalda of Savoy to Afonso Henriques and, indeed, we may suppose he would have approved the match, at the very least through it being a union of two noble houses supportive of the Cistercian Order. Certainly, circumstantial evidence is strongly suggestive of Bernard's awareness of events in Portugal – as outlined above, it is probable that Bernard had known João Peculiar since at least the Council of Pisa in 1135, meeting him a second time in 1139; he appreciated the rigour of the observance of the regular canons of Santa Cruz de Coimbra and of the holiness of its first prior St Teotónio; he was appraised of Afonso's patronage of new religious orders and, by 1144, he had already sent a foundation party to the

⁷⁸⁸ Ibid, pp. 219-20; Erdmann, *O Papado e Portugal*, p. 49.

⁷⁸⁹ Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, p. 220.

⁷⁹⁰ On Vézelay see, *inter alia*, Phillips, SCEC, pp. 66-68; Tyerman, *God's War*, pp. 278-80.

⁷⁹¹ Ripart, 'La croisade du comte Amédée III...', pp. 153-57.

⁷⁹² Ibid, pp. 150-52.

⁷⁹³ Ibid. pp. 157-59; Antholy Cardoza, L, and Geoffrey W. Symcox, *A History of Turin* (Turin: Einaudi, 2006) pp. 56-57.

Portuguese monastery of S João de Tarouca, with other direct foundations from, or affiliations to, Clairvaux being made during his lifetime and proliferating both in Portugal and in Galicia.⁷⁹⁴ Furthermore, it is reasonable to suppose that the commotion and pageantry of preparations for the Second Crusade would have favoured the circulation of news of the marriage of the daughter of the aristocratic crusader Amadeus of Maurienne and Savoy with Afonso Henriques of Portugal, also a renowned fighter of the Saracens whose martial prowess is likely to have been extolled and magnified by his ambassadors during the marriage negotiations, quite possibly by Archbishop João Peculiar of Braga himself.⁷⁹⁵

That Bernard of Clairvaux was pledged to fight the enemies of Christ not only in the East but wherever the theatre, adds further strength to the proposition that he was cognoscente of the marriage, especially since the bride was the niece of one who Bernard hoped would be one of the leaders of the expedition to the East, Louis VII. The nexus is even more acute in view of the likelihood that the marriage-ceremony took place in Coimbra on the same day Bernard delivered his great crusading sermon at Vézelay to a vast multitude of the faithful presided over by King Louis and the assembled chivalry which included the bride's father, and Luis VII's uncle, Amadeus III.

Letter 308

At the beginning of 1147, Afonso Henriques was 37/38 years old, recently married to a well-connected European princess, yet without the official papal recognition of his kingship he desired. If he was to consolidate and improve his status, he had to continue to expand his still comparatively small realm by conquering land from the Muslims of al-Andalus. This he would do in dramatic fashion, taking Santarém in March and Lisbon in October, the latter after a lengthy siege and with the help of passing sea-bourn crusaders from England and the Low Countries on their way to the Second Crusade. The participation of Bernard of Clairvaux in the venture has been debated principally around the notorious letter attributed to him which was published as 'Letter 308' in the collection edited by Jean Leclercq *et al*, *S. Bernardi Opera*.⁷⁹⁶ Alan Forey rendered the following translation of the letter:

To Afonso, Illustrious king of the Portuguese, Bernard, in name Abbot of Clairvaux,
the prayer of a sinner if that is of any worth.

⁷⁹⁴ Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, p. 222.

⁷⁹⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 222-23.

⁷⁹⁶ SBO vol.8 p. 228, doc.308.

We have received the letters and greetings of your Highness, rejoicing in him, 'who commands deliverances for Jacob'. What we have done in this matter, the outcome will reveal for us, and you will also discover from the outcome; you will discern our readiness to act from the care we have taken or at least from our known friendship. Pedro, the brother of your Highness, and worthy of all glory, related the matters enjoined on him by you, and is now fighting in Lorraine, after roaming in arms through France; and he is soon to fight for the Lord of hosts. Brother Roland, our son, is bringing letters conveying the papal concession. May you commit to your care him, our brothers residing with you, and myself.⁷⁹⁷

Depending on which side of the fence you stand on the authenticity of Letter 308, Afonso Henriques either appears as a local opportunist or a European statesman.⁷⁹⁸

The last word in Anglophone scholarship on Letter 308 was the article published in 2004 by Alan Forey which includes the above English translation⁷⁹⁹ and in which he dismisses Letter 308 as a forgery along with notions of any direct involvement of Bernard in the Portuguese Reconquista. In so doing, Forey stands in good company alongside respected scholars such as G. Ferreira Borges,⁸⁰⁰ Miguel de Oliveira,⁸⁰¹ and Maur Cocheril.⁸⁰² Certainly, at first blush, Forey's proposals appear cogent, weighty and persuasive, especially when taken in isolation of the contacts already established between Portugal and the Cistercian Order in the years preceding the 1147, some of which have already been mentioned. However, it is precisely because Forey fails sufficiently to consider these and other contacts, whilst omitting altogether some aspects of the wider historical context including certain geographical details and important elements of Cistercian practice, that he misses important corroborating material, thus we are bound to re-appraise his conclusions, taking a fresh look at Letter 308, this time from a broader and more fully informed perspective.

⁷⁹⁷ *Alfonso, illustri regi Portugallorum, Bernardus Claraevallis vocatus abbas: si quid potest, peccatoris oratio. Litteras et salutes celsitudinis vestrae suscepimus, gaudentes in eo qui mandate salutes Iacob. Quid in hoc egimus, et exitus pro nobis, et vos per exitum comprobabit: animi promptitudinem ex iniuncta sollicitudine, vel saltem ex memorata necessitudine colligetis. Petrus, celsitudinis vestrae frater et omni gloria dignus, a vobis iniuncta retulit et, Gallia armis pervagata, in Lotharingia milita, proxime militaturus Domino exercituum. Frater Rolandus, filius noster, apostolicae largitatis litteras defert. Ipsum, fratres nostros vobiscum degentes, et meipsum commendatos habete;* SBO vol.8 p. 228, doc.308. Livermore also gives a translation that does not differ materially from Forey's; Livermore op.cit., p. 9 and another translation can be found in *The Letters of St Bernard*, trans. by Bruno Scott James p. 496 no.397.

⁷⁹⁸ Cf, Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, p. 231-32.

⁷⁹⁹ Alan J Forey, 'The siege of Lisbon and the Second Crusade', *Portuguese Studies*, 20:1 (2004), 1-13.

⁸⁰⁰ G. Ferreira Borges, 'Saint Bernard et le Portugal. La légende et l'histoire' in *Mélanges Saint Bernard* (Dijon: M. l'abbé Marlier, 1954) pp. 134-50.

⁸⁰¹ Oliveira, 'Origens da Ordem de Cister...', pp. 338-43.

⁸⁰² Cocheril, *Études sur le monachisme* pp. 269-73.

The notion that the campaigns of 1147 were the result of a grand, wider-European plan found great currency with the Alcobacensian historians of the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries (see below) who saw the scheme as divinely inspired. It was a view that persisted in one form or another until relatively recently. Put in broad terms, this 'school' of Portuguese history held that Portugal had been a fundamental pole in Christendom's struggle against Islam. The completion of the Portuguese *Reconquista* in the middle ages (by 1250) was later transformed into an exemplary and glorious success in the light of the Portuguese Discoveries, the evangelising of Africa, the Americas and Asia, and later, the defence of western civilisation against the Communist threat. This interpretation of history became 'official' under Salazar and seduced a substantial proportion of twentieth century Portuguese historians.⁸⁰³

It is with this interpretation that Luís Gonzaga de Azevedo is often associated who, in 1942, set out the case for the involvement of a fleet of northern crusaders in the Conquest of Lisbon. Such foreign military participation, he argued, was the result of the direct intervention of Bernard of Clairvaux and Pope Eugenius III.⁸⁰⁴ For this he was savaged by critics, notably Maur Cocheril, who placed him in the same camp as the Alcobacensian historians of a previous age, most especially Fr. Bernardo de Brito who first published the letter in his *Crónica de Cister* in 1602.⁸⁰⁵ Brito is well-known to have made use of forged documents in order to arrive at his desired version of history.⁸⁰⁶ For the most part, Cocheril's objection to the authenticity of Letter 308 is the reference to King Afonso's 'brother' Pedro, who, for Cocheril, did not exist outside the imagination of Brito; and, indeed, there is no record of Afonso having a natural brother Pedro who could possibly fit the bill. Nevertheless, Cocheril's objection is entirely inapposite and irrelevant, as we shall see.

It was not until 1990 that Harold Livermore rekindled the arguments put forward by Azevedo in an article principally about the authorship of the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, but in which he turned to address the problem of Letter 308; alleged to have been written by Bernard in response to a request from Afonso Henriques for his support, sometime around the time of conquest of Lisbon.⁸⁰⁷ Essentially, Livermore agreed with Azevedo that the letter was indeed

⁸⁰³ See, Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, pp. 231-32 for a useful summary of the position.

⁸⁰⁴ Azevedo *História de Portugal* vol.4, pp. 47-48.

⁸⁰⁵ Bernardo de Brito, *Primeira parte da Chronica de Cister* (Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeek, 1602), Livro 2.

⁸⁰⁶ António d'Almeida, 'Errors historico-chronologicos de Fr. Bernardo de Brito na *Chronica de Cister*', *Memorias da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa*, 12 (1837), 45-152; Oliveira, 'Origens' *passim*; Cocheril, *Études*, *passim*; and see Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*. p. 232.

⁸⁰⁷ Whether the letter had been written before or after the conquest of Lisbon had been a matter of debate along with its authenticity; H. V. Livermore, 'The 'Conquest of Lisbon' and its author,' *Portuguese Studies* vi (1990), 1-16.

genuinely from Bernard, in spite of doubts voiced by Jean Leclercq.⁸⁰⁸ The scenario advanced by Livermore envisaged Afonso Henriques having requested aid from St Bernard in a message, delivered personally to the Abbot of Clairvaux, by his 'son or brother' Pedro. Bernard replied, in Letter 308, rather non-specifically, saying that Afonso would receive the reply he desired.⁸⁰⁹

In 1997 the baton was taken up again, this time by Jonathan Phillips who largely confirmed Livermore's conclusions.⁸¹⁰ In-so-doing, Phillips drew attention to the importance of Bernard's work in the recruitment-effort in Northern Europe for the Second Crusade, the abbot having concentrated his operations into a seven-month period from July 1146 to February 1147, of which about three months were spent entirely in the Low Countries. Further, Phillips highlighted the personal relationship between the Bernard of Clairvaux and Christian of Gistel, commander of the men of Boulogne and Flanders and, importantly, postulated it a high likelihood that Christian of Gistel had received direct instruction from Bernard to go to the aid of Afonso Henriques on the Portuguese frontier. The main reasons for Phillips' hypothesis are these:⁸¹¹

- i.) The frequently remarked upon fact of the bishop of Porto having prior knowledge that the expedition of sea-borne crusaders would by-pass Porto, and of his having received from the King the order that he arrive at an agreement with the crusaders for their participation in the attack on Lisbon; evidence for this order being confirmed in two independent sources, the *De Expugnacione Lyxbonensi* and a narrative text referred to by Charles David as the 'Teutonic Source', and by Susan Edginton as the 'Lisbon Letter'. The latter is extant in six versions, though the original was a letter written by a certain priest Vinand, an eyewitness to, and participant in, the conquest of Lisbon. His text has been shown to have been borrowed and adapted by two other participants in the expedition, one Arnulf who addresses his epistle to Milo, Bishop of Th rouanne, and

⁸⁰⁸ The letter was included by Jean Mabillon in his collection of the Works of St Bernard and was also included by Jacques-Paul Migne in *Patrologie Latine* 182, col.512. Jean Leclercq also included it in *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, vol.8, N .308, p. 228, noting, however, that its provenance gives cause for caution since no manuscript of it is known, nor does it appear separately or in any collection. Leclercq further noted Maur Cocheril's finding that the letter is a forgery and first published in Bernardo de Brito's *Chronica do Cister* in 1602.

⁸⁰⁹ The main point of Livermore's article was to demonstrate that the author of the *De Expugnacione Lyxbonensi* was one Raol, an Anglo-Norman priest, who Livermore proposed would have been St Bernard's envoy on the crusade. Raol would have written his account of the Lisbon adventure to Osbert of Bawdsey in order to assure him that the conquest of the city had not been a diversion from the crusading vow. Further, the report would have served a parallel function in encouraging the departure for Palestine of Ranulf of Glanville, brother of Hervey of Glanville of which the *De Expugnacione Lyxbonensi* is notably panegyric. On the possibility that the 'R' in the manuscript might alternatively refer to one Robert, an Anglo-Norman cleric who remained in Lisbon and was appointed Dean, following the restoration of the episcopacy of Lisbon under Bishop Gilbert of Hastings shortly after the capitulation of the city, see Maria Jo o V. Branco, 'Introdu o' in *A conquista de Lisboa aos Mouros* at p. 30-34.

⁸¹⁰ Jonathan Phillips, 'St Bernard of Clairvaux, the Low Countries, and the Lisbon Letter of the Second Crusade', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 48: 3 (1997), 485-97.

⁸¹¹ Following Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, p. 234.

one Duodechin, a priest from Lahndstein who addresses his version of the letter to Abbot Cuno of the monastery of Disibodenberg.⁸¹²

- ii.) The fact that the 'Lisbon Letter' in its various versions presupposes an action, if not precisely scheduled, at least foreseen; the letter of Vinand (the original letter) is replying to a request for news on the part of the archbishop of Cologne.
- iii.) The very early, indeed premature, embarkation of the ships from Dartmouth, on 23rd May, in relation to the date of the departure of the French and German crusaders, led respectively by Louis VII and Conrad III who, in spite of the journey by land taking longer, set out only in June.

Let us dismiss Forey's objections to the authenticity of Letter 308 once and for all. In the first place he observes that the letter first appears in Brito's *Chronica de Cister* in 1602 and he reminds us that a consensus of scholarly opinion holds that the *Chronica* is based partly on forged documents. He also notes that no individual manuscript of Letter 308 exists.⁸¹³ Whilst we may readily admit that the provenance of the letter gives some cause for suspicion, we may also note that many documents included in Brito's work are nevertheless known to be genuine. Further, Forey bases a good deal of the rest of his argument on the *incipit* in which Alfonso Henriques is addressed as 'king,' a title which was not granted to Afonso Henriques by the Pope until 1179. From this Forey asserts that, for the letter to be genuine, it must be assumed that Bernard was ignorant of the papal stance in the 1140s, in spite of the fact that he had been in close contact with Pope Eugenius III shortly before the alleged dispatch of the letter which, for Phillips, would have been in about July 1146.⁸¹⁴ This does not follow at all. Although some doubts persist, Alfonso Henriques appears to have been acclaimed king by his subjects in 1139 following the Battle of Ourique and was recognised as such thereafter and, certainly, he is identified as king in the documents of his chancellery from at least April of 1140.⁸¹⁵ Further, from 1143, Alfonso VII, Emperor of the Spains, recognised him as king at the meeting in Zamora presided over by Papal legate, Cardinal Guido, a known friend of the Abbot of Clairvaux.⁸¹⁶ Bernard, whilst being the pre-eminent churchman of his day, was also a

⁸¹²DEL p. 49; Susan B Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen, St Bernard and the Second Crusade', in SCSC, pp 54-70, esp. pp. 56-57. Such an expectation on the part of Afonso Henriques is supported by a passage from the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, where we learn that the bishop of Porto 'knew in advance' that the crusaders were to arrive and had been given orders by Afonso Henriques to meet them. Additional support for this is found in the Lisbon Letter which speaks of the bishop of Porto who was 'waiting for our arrival.' Also, the version of the Lisbon Letter, that of Duodechin sent to the Abbot of Disibodenberg states that it gives news of 'the naval expedition which was carried out to Lisbon...since your authority earnestly requested it.'; See generally, Phillips, 'St Bernard of Clairvaux, the Low Countries', p. 494.

⁸¹³ Forey, 'The siege of Lisbon and the Second Crusade', p. 2.

⁸¹⁴ Phillips, 'St Bernard of Clairvaux, the Low Countries', p. 493

⁸¹⁵ On the acclamation see Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, p. 167-78; DR 176 and see the critical commentary by Azevedo at pp. 663-667;

⁸¹⁶ Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, pp. 210-13.

shrewd diplomat and likely would have seen no advantage to be gained by insisting on addressing Afonso Henriques as duke (*dux*) in accordance with the papal reply to Afonso's letter of infeudation (the *Claves regni*).⁸¹⁷ In addition, there is reason to suppose that Bernard was more concerned with the exercise of virtuous authority and in particular the correct exercise of justice than with fine distinctions between official titles. As Newman has observed, whereas Stephen Harding had told King Louis VI that 'the king of heaven and earth has given to you the kingdom of the earth,' Bernard of Clairvaux seems not to have concerned himself at all with the distinction between king and count when, in terms almost identical to Stephen, he told Count Henry of Champagne, 'the ruler of earthly kings has established you as a ruler upon the earth.'⁸¹⁸ Indeed, it is to be noted that the first Cistercian monasteries were established in a region ruled not by kings, but by counts with little royal interference. Furthermore, the title of king is used quite freely in the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* and in the letter of *Vinand*, the authenticity of neither having been questioned by anyone.

Next, and for much of the rest of the article, Forey concerns himself with the identity of 'Pedro, the brother of your Highness'. Much ink has been spent on what we may call, for convenience herein, the 'Pedro Problem.' Whether he was an illegitimate son of Afonso Henriques, or whether his was indeed his brother or half-brother, or whether he was rather a monk buried at Alcobaça with an ambiguous epitaph,⁸¹⁹ it is not proposed to rehearse all the arguments here because the identity of Pedro in this respect is simply not relevant. It does not matter. We could just as well think of him as a messenger whose name is Pedro, perhaps an otherwise-unknown Templar, since he is described using the epithet 'brother'. It is here of note that, shortly after assuming control of the County of Portucale after defeating his mother's army at São Mamede, Afonso Henriques confirmed her 1128 donation to the Templars in the course of which he declared himself a 'brother' in the Order.⁸²⁰ Thus any Templar, especially one from Portugal, could be described as a 'brother' to Afonso Henriques. Likewise, it does not matter, for these purposes, whether or not Afonso made a vow in the

⁸¹⁷ That Bernard may have been uncomfortable with this position, however, may be indicated in his famous exclamation, 'May my monstrous life, my bitter conscience, move you to pity. I am a sort of modern chimaera, neither cleric nor layman. I have kept the habit of a monk but have long ago abandoned the life.' Bernard of Clairvaux, SBO vol. 8, 147; trans. by James, *Letters of St Bernard*, p. 402; cf. Brian Patrick McGuire, 'Writing about the Difficult Saint,' *Cistercian Studies Quarterly*. 2009, Vol. 44, Issue 4, pp. 447-61.

⁸¹⁸ Newman, *Boundaries*, pp. 178-179.

⁸¹⁹ Cocheril suggested the source of much confusion was an epigraph inscribed by the Abbot of Alcobaça at the end of the thirteenth century in the monastery of Alcobaça recording one Pedro Afonso, a monk of the abbey in the following terms: *Hic requiescit dominus Petrus Alfonsus Alcobaciae Monachus F' domini Alfonsi...* where, the 'F' could stand for either *filius* or *frater*; Cocheril, *Etudes sur le Monachisme*, pp. 282-83; see the analysis by Mario Barrocca, *Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa (862-1422)* (Lisbon: Gulbenkian, 2000), vol.2, book 1, N°427, pp. 1097-1103; and see Mattoso's comments, *Afonso Henriques*, pp. 234-35.

⁸²⁰ ...*et pro amore cordis mei quem erga vos habeo et quoniam in vestra fraternitate et beneficio omni sum frater*. DR, vol.1 p. 120.

presence of Pedro before the conquest of Santarém to the effect that, if he were successful in the undertaking, he would donate land to St Bernard to found a monastery, which became the great abbey of Alcobaça. Letter 308 makes no mention of any vow whatsoever. This again, relates to the Pedro Problem which is nothing but a red-herring.

It is notable that Livermore also concerns himself at some length with the Pedro Problem, dealing with it in a somewhat unconvincing way by stating that, since there is mention of a certain Pedro brother to Afonso Henriques contained in a late medieval Portuguese chronicle, the so-called *Crónica dos Sete Primeiros Reis (Crónica de 1419)*, then if the authenticity of the *Crónica* is accepted, then this Pedro existed. Livermore's treatment of the matter is puzzling, to say the least as, indeed, is the fact that he bothers with the Pedro Problem at all, given its irrelevancy. The mists start to clear, however, when it becomes apparent that Livermore has relied not on the original Latin text of the letter, but upon a translation made of it and published in the collection of Bernard's letters by Bruno Scott James:⁸²¹ which includes a mistranslation (or over-translation) of the Latin, whereby *Petrus, celsitudinis vestrae frater et omni gloria dignus...* is rendered into English as, 'Peter, the brother of your Highness and a prince worthy of all honour...' [my emphasis]. But clearly the Latin does not bear such a translation. Given the Scott James' English version one would expect to encounter the Latin, *regulus* or some equivalent word in the original but this is not so. Whilst it is clear there can be no justification whatsoever for Scott James' rendering, Livermore appears to have laboured on oblivious, and hence his preoccupation with the Pedro Problem.

Although perhaps not as flagrant, other hermeneutical problems are evident, and Forey's translation of the text is far from unchallengeable. In particular the words *frater* and *militar* admit various interpretations, e.g., the noun *frater* may be rendered 'cousin,' or more figuratively as 'friend' or 'ally,' in addition to 'brother,' whilst the verb *milito, militare, militavi, militatum*, may be rendered 'to serve,' or 'to serve as a soldier' and not merely 'to make war', 'wage war', or 'war against' which more suit's Forey's arguments and hence presumably his translation choices. Further, whilst Forey's observations concerning the ambiguity of Letter 308 may be apt, they are also inconclusive. That, as he comments, 'the wording is imprecise and provides no direct evidence about the letter's purpose' might just as well support the interpretations of Livermore and Phillips.⁸²²

⁸²¹ *Letters of St. Bernard*, p. 469.

⁸²² Forey, 'The siege of Lisbon', p. 5

Equally inconclusive is the absence of references to Lisbon in Bernard's writings following the disaster at Damascus in 1148. Bernard's *De consideratione* may only allude to the failure in the East because that was what needed to be explained away. Lisbon, on the other hand, had been a success and required no explanation, whereas to celebrate it would be to risk indulging in the sin of pride. The same may be said of the failure to refer to Lisbon in the writings of John of Casamari and in Geoffrey of Auxerre's *Vita Sancti Bernardi*.⁸²³ In addition, for many contemporaries, it appears the real battle was that taking place in Palestine, 'in the place where his feet have stood'.⁸²⁴ It is the failure in this crucial location that would have caused most comment; other campaigns against non-Christians in other regions being perceived as mere sideshows.⁸²⁵

Importantly, the theory that Letter 308 is a forgery takes us nowhere in explaining the contents of the letter. Pedro went to Lotharingia, and unless the Portuguese forger actually knew of this circumstance he could not possibly have invented it.⁸²⁶

In the light of the foregoing, the better view is that we should admit the direct involvement of St Bernard in the conquest of Lisbon and that the arguments of Livermore and Phillips should, after all, be accepted. Indeed, this was this view that was adopted by Mattoso in 2006.⁸²⁷ The evidence shows that at least some of the crusaders were anticipating an action at Lisbon, almost certainly because of an obligation placed upon them by Bernard of Clairvaux.

If this is accepted, then the tradition of the conquest of Santarém being owed to a miracle of St Bernard may have some historical foundation. It is here that the Pedro Problem becomes of some interest, though probably peripheral to our purposes. The earliest record of this tradition is contained in the *IV Crónica Breve* de Santa Cruz de Coimbra which recounts that Afonso Henriques was travelling to Santarém in the company of his 'brother' Pedro Afonso and that, as they were passing over the peaks of the Serra de Minde, Afonso after hearing from Pedro of the holiness of St Bernard, vows to donate to the Abbot of Clairvaux the wide expanse of territory that extends from Leiria to the sea, so that he can found a monastery there.⁸²⁸ This episode was later included in the *Crónica de Portugal de 1419* which brought together in one account information from two independent sources, the *De Expugnatione*

⁸²³ Ibid, pp. 7-8.

⁸²⁴ Psalms, 131, 7.

⁸²⁵ See generally Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, esp. Chapter 5.

⁸²⁶ Cf, Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, p. 235.

⁸²⁷ Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, p. 234.

⁸²⁸ *IV Cronica Breve*, pp. 69-70.

*Scalabis*⁸²⁹ and another narrative whose original text is now lost, but which formed the basis for the account contained in the *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*.⁸³⁰

Whilst it is, herein, un-necessary to go into the various hypotheses as to the identity of this Pedro, we can at least note that the garbled version of events contained in the *IV Crónica Breve* tends to support the authenticity of Letter 308. However, if it is the same Pedro that is being spoken of in the *IV Crónica Breve*, he must be excluded from participation in the conquest of Santarém since at the time he would be in Lotharingia having joined with the men of Christian of Gistel, as we shall see below, and was making ready for the return voyage to Portugal.⁸³¹

It is indeed ironic on a number of levels, not least of which is the fact that it is raised by Cocheril, a proponent of the falsity of Letter 308, that the historiographical distortions and contortions performed by Bernardo de Brito in constructing a version of events that supported his patriotic, anti-Spanish agenda could have been avoided if he had known of the strict rules promulgated in the twelfth century by the Cistercian Chapter General for the foundation of new houses.⁸³² Brito was concerned to assert Portuguese independence under the reign of the Spanish Philips through striving to establish links between Bernard of Clairvaux and the establishment of the Portuguese monarchy. As part of his stratagem, Brito adduced Letter 308 in order to prove that Afonso Henriques had requested Bernard's help in securing papal recognition of Portugal as an independent kingdom. One of the problems for Brito appears to have been that, at the time of the foundation of Alcobaça in 1153, St Bernard would have been gravely ill, close to death and already unable to take part in current affairs. In order to circumvent this problem, he attempted to place the foundation of Alcobaça at an earlier date, a convenient point being the conquest of Santarém in 1147. The pre-dating of the foundation by five years lends credibility to the legend that Afonso Henriques made an oath that if he were to be successful in the conquest of Santarém, he would found a monastery as a gift to St Bernard. In reality, However, in order to conform with the stipulations of the Order on the subject of foundations, Afonso Henriques must have presented a formal request to the

⁸²⁹ Appearing as *Quomodo sit capta Santarem civitas a rege Alfonso*, in codex Alc.415, see Introduction herein, *Note on Titles*.

⁸³⁰ Armando de Sousa Pereira, 1996, 'A conquista de Santarém na tradição historiográfica portuguesa', *2º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães. Actas do Congresso*, Guimarães, Câmara Municipal, vol. v, pp. 297-324.

⁸³¹ For a useful *resumé* of the problems surrounding the identity of Pedro, see Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, pp. 234-35.

⁸³² Although the Cistercian Congregation of Portugal, an autonomous entity independent of Citeaux, was only established in 1567, Brito and his contemporaries appear to have had little or no conception of the early organisation of the Cistercian Order; Maur Cocheril, 'Abadias Cistercienses portuguesas', *Lusitania Sacra*, 4 (1959) 61-92.

Chapter General for the foundation of a house in 1151 at the latest. Next, the duly appointed inspectors, abbots from other monasteries, would then carry out their investigations and deliver their report to the Chapter General in the following year. These formalities were a necessary preliminary to the securing of the permission of the Chapter for the signing of the foundation charter of the new house, by the proposed abbot of that house. It follows that Bernard must have been in agreement with the establishment of the monastery that became Alcobaça, in at least 1151.⁸³³

Further, as Livermore has pointed out, the very fact that Brito went to such tortured lengths, reinforces Cocheril's own observation that Brito stayed faithful to the documents supplied to him: 'A true forger would surely have equipped himself with more, and more consistent, documents to make his case: Brito strove too hard to wrest the story from a single source. And this is an argument in favour of the authenticity of Letter 308, rather than the reverse.'⁸³⁴

Santarém and Lisbon: The Likely Course of Events

Having so far detailed a number of important links between Afonso Henriques, Portugal's first monarch and the Cistercian Order, including Afonso's letter of infeudation (*Claves regni*) to the Holy See being witnessed by Bernard's friend and correspondent, papal legate Cardinal Guido de Vico and, further, Afonso's marriage to Mafalda of Savoy, daughter of Amadeus III, patron of the Cistercian Order, associate of Bernard and prominent participant in the Second Crusade and, additionally, taking due notice of the important participation in the conquest of Lisbon of Flemish and German crusaders, let us now suggest a likely narrative of events. What follows, builds upon and extends the important works of those who have previously travelled along this road, including Gonzago de Azevedo, Harold Livermore, Jonathan Phillips and, more recently, José Mattoso.

By early 1146, news would have reached Santa Cruz de Coimbra of the loss of Edessa (Dec, 1144), the canons would have become aware of the popular dismay occasioned in Christendom by the event, and also of the publication of Eugenius III's crusading bull *Quantum praedecessors* (1st December, 1145). At this time, marriage negotiations were underway with Amadeus III which would have brought news to Portugal of the preparations for a great Christian campaign in the East and of the prominent role played in the proceedings by Bernard of Clairvaux. Further or alternatively, news could have also arrived to Portugal of Bernard's activities through the Cistercians already established at São João de Tarouca, through the

⁸³³ Cocheril, 'Abbas Cistercienses Portuguesas', p. 65.

⁸³⁴ Livermore, 'The Conquest of Lisbon and its Author', p. 11.

canons of Santa Cruz in Coimbra, or through the person of Archbishop of Braga, João Peculiar. As suggested by Mattoso, it seems reasonable to suppose that the idea of making direct contact with Bernard may have come from Peculiar who, on receiving news of the Abbot's powerful preaching at Vézelay on Easter Day of 1146, would have anticipated the imminent passage of fleets of well-armed northerners heading southward along the Iberian west coast.⁸³⁵ At any rate, this news would have reached Portugal by about May of that year.⁸³⁶ Therefore, possibly on the advice of Peculiar, Afonso Henriques wrote to St Bernard requesting the Abbot enlist the aid of as many crusaders as possible for the conquest of Lisbon. Afonso, a confrere of the Order of the Temple, entrusted the letter to his 'brother', perhaps a Templar knight, one Pedro. Indeed, such an important message would not be entrusted to any ordinary messenger; a highly-trained Templar, however, would fit the bill nicely.

Pedro, 'the Templar', set off to find St Bernard and, in the words of Letter 308, 'after roaming in arms through France', as would befit a Templar charged with such an important mission,⁸³⁷ he eventually caught up with the Abbot of Clairvaux during his preaching tour of the Low Countries. Bernard then replied to Afonso by way of Letter 308, promising to arrange support. Shortly thereafter, as would be expected, Bernard in the continuation of his preaching campaign, met many influential individuals including Abbot Milo of Thérouanne, one of the recipients of the Lisbon Letter, and made contact with Christian de Gistel, the leader of the Flemish contingent of crusaders, in 'Lotharingia' who were already making ready to set out for the East. Bernard perhaps also encouraged Christian de Gistel to persuade other individuals and groups, at least among the Germans and the Flemings, to go to the aid of Afonso at Lisbon.

Sometime before March 1147, Afonso received confirmation that crusaders would be passing the Iberian coasts and were willing to fight the Saracens in Portugal. Once this news was received, Afonso immediately began planning his conquest of Santarém, a necessary preliminary to the successful siege of Lisbon. It was in mid-March 1147 that Afonso carried out his surprise attack on Santarém and took the town. He then granted the privileges of Santarém to the Templars and, in the same charter, expressed his hopes of conquering Lisbon.⁸³⁸ We may speculate that the successful solicitation of Bernard's help by 'the Templar' Pedro can only have encouraged this grant to the Order. The fact that the conquest of Santarém was effected long before the first appearance on Hispanic coasts of crusaders

⁸³⁵ Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, p. 235.

⁸³⁶ Phillips, 'St Bernard of Clairvaux, the Low Countries', p. 493.

⁸³⁷ Even not being a Templar, it is hard to conceive of any messenger carrying a crucial royal communication, over such a great distance, going about un-armed.

⁸³⁸ Phillips, 'St Bernard of Clairvaux, the Low Countries', p. 494; *Chancelarias medievais...* no.145.

heading for the Second Crusade, militates strongly against the notion that the Lisbon venture, later that year, was the result of mere opportunism. Afonso was preparing the ground for the planned arrival of his northern helpers.⁸³⁹

It may be significant that it was shortly after the taking of Santarém, on 11th April, that Eugenius III issued the crusading bull *Divina dispensatione II*.⁸⁴⁰ At the time, the Pope was at Troyes, where Bernard had stayed with him for five days. The bull extended the scope of the crusade and exhorted the faithful to fight the enemies of the cross on a number of different fronts including in Eastern Europe against the pagan Slavs and against the Muslims of Hispania. The reference in the text to the king of Spain is undoubtedly to Alfonso VII, the pope probably being aware of that monarch's agreements with Genoese merchants to attack Almeria. The timing is so synchronous with events in Portugal that Mattoso has wondered if the pope had not implicitly meant to refer to activities in Portugal also.⁸⁴¹ Indeed, Eugenius III, subscribing to the traditional papal position of the maintenance of Christian unity in Iberia under a single 'king of Spain', which would be 'Emperor' Alfonso VII, would be hardly likely to mention any of the other Iberian Christian rulers and certainly not Afonso who was officially only *Dux*.⁸⁴²

Livermore thought that the Anglo-Norman priest Raul, for him the possible (even probable) author of the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, could have been Bernard's delegate on the expedition to Lisbon, however, as Mattoso notes, Phillips' conclusions rather indicate that a more likely candidate for the role would have been Christian de Gistel, to whose contingent in Lotharingia the mysterious Pedro appears to have attached himself in order to make the return journey to Portugal.⁸⁴³ It must be noted that Bernard appears to have had more contacts with the Flemings and the Germans than with the Anglo-Normans. Indeed, Bernard did not cross the English Channel.⁸⁴⁴ This is one explanation, opines Mattoso, why 'R', the apparent author of the *Lyxbonensi*, never mentions Bernard at all. Here, it is notable that the accounts of the conquest of Lisbon ostensibly represent the points of view of two contingents only; the Anglo-Norman and the German. We have no Flemish account of the expedition,

⁸³⁹ See generally, Phillips, 'St Bernard of Clairvaux, the Low Countries', p. 494.

⁸⁴⁰ Eugenius III, *Epistolae, et Privilegia*, PL, vol.180 col 1203; Cf, Phillips, SCEC, pp. 134-35.

⁸⁴¹ He notes further that the Pope went from Troyes to meet with Louis VII in Paris, where Adelaide, the aunt of Queen Mafalda of Portugal, lived in a convent in Montmartre; Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, p. 236.

⁸⁴² The position would change on the death of Alfonso VII in 1157 when Leon and Castile once again became separate polities, see Smith, 'Pope Alexander III and Spain' p. 207.

⁸⁴³ Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, p. 240.

⁸⁴⁴ Stephen Lay, 'Miracles, Martyrs and the Cult of Henry the Crusader in Lisbon,' *Portuguese Studies*, 2008, vol.24, Issue I, pp. 7-31.

which would go some considerable way to explaining why no mention is made of St Bernard in any surviving contemporary account of the Lisbon episode.⁸⁴⁵

That Bernard was engaged in the Rhineland in preaching a campaign specifically to Iberia, and indeed perhaps even envisaging the assault on Lisbon, has been persuasively advanced as a distinct possibility by Susan Edgington.⁸⁴⁶ Her argument is based on the evidence of the manuscript copy of Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana* currently housed in the Stadtbibliothek in Trier,⁸⁴⁷ which is a fifteenth-century copy of a putative mid-twelfth-century exemplar produced in Cologne. Noting that annexed to the Trier manuscript of the *Historia* there is a copy of the Lisbon Letter which was manifestly present in the Cologne exemplar, Edgington postulates a direct connection between Bernard's preaching tour of the Rhineland and the dissemination of copies of Albert's *Historia*. Further, since the scribe had included a short text whereby he attempted to explicitly link Albert's text to the text of the Lisbon Letter, Edgington perceives the implication that Bernard was preaching an expedition to go to the aid of the Christians fighting the Saracens in Iberia.⁸⁴⁸ The proposition is supported by the existence of another text to which Edgington draws our attention, the *Annales Rodenses*, written in the 1150s in Klosteran, north of Aachen. An extract from the 1146 entry, having referred to the crusade preaching of Bernard of Clairvaux in the area, continues:

'...This expedition was divided into three, which would fight every-where against the heathens. For very many from this land set out in a fleet beyond the bounds of Galicia, and when the city of Lisbon had been conquered with the region around it, they installed a bishop there and left there with him very many common people...'⁸⁴⁹

Edgington concludes that there could hardly be a clearer statement that the Rhineland crusaders well knew their objective in 1147. They were setting out on an expedition to Iberia at the urging of Bernard of Clairvaux who had exploited a distinct Rhineland crusading tradition, represented in Albert's *Historia* (strongly panegyric of Godfrey and Baldwin), in order to preach a maritime venture along the coast of Iberia.⁸⁵⁰

⁸⁴⁵ Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, p. 241.

⁸⁴⁶ Susan B. Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen, St Bernard and the Second Crusade', in SCSC, pp. 54-70.

⁸⁴⁷ Ms N: Trier, Stadtbibliothek ms. 1974/641. Edgington notes that this fifteenth-century copy is a close relative of two mid-twelfth-century copies, 'Albert of Aachen...', p. 56.

⁸⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁸⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 60-61; *Annales Rodenses*, MGH Scriptorum, vol. XVI, p. 718. Trans. by Edgington who gives the Latin text at 'Albert of Aachen...' p. 69, note. 20.

⁸⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

Before leaving the campaigns of 1147, let us note some other points that are of interest from the Cistercian perspective. Phillips highlights Constable's detection of a strong Bernardine tone of the oath taken by the crusaders when they sail from Dartmouth, some details of which are particularised in the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*.⁸⁵¹ Notable here is the austerity of the agreement and the specific regulations regarding the liturgy, however, the provision banning costly garments probably has a direct foundation in *Quantum praedecessores* the author, Eugenius III, being himself a monk from Clairvaux.⁸⁵² In this respect, we may also note one of Bernard's letters in which he suggests the terms of an agreement to be concluded between crusaders which is very close indeed to that put in place between the crusaders of the *Lyxbonensi*.⁸⁵³

Finally, viewed from a broader perspective, certain overtones of coordination emerge regarding Christian activity against Muslims in Iberia in 1147. Whilst Afonso Henriques was busy in the western peninsula, Alfonso VII occupied himself in the taking of Calatrava and later Almeria, the latter being almost simultaneous with Afonso Henriques' conquest of Lisbon.⁸⁵⁴ However, although the Saracens of al-Andalus appear to have been kept busy across a vast front stretching the breadth of the peninsula, we have no explicit reference in any document to an agreement between Afonso Henriques and Alfonso VII to synchronise their campaigns. This same sense of combination between the Christian monarchs is also present in events surrounding the conquest of Silves in 1189, yet once again, no evidence has been forthcoming of any agreement for coordinated campaigns.

Conclusion: Cistercians and the Sea, and the problem of the wandering monk

That the miners of Goslar, possible central protagonists in the conquest of Silves in 1189, may have been connected to the Cistercians of Walkenried, as suggested in the previous chapter, highlights the notion of the arrival of Cistercian influences and personnel to Portugal by sea - in this particular case, from the Rhineland in the fleet of the author of the *De Itinere Navali*. Indeed, it is possible to speculate that the author of the *Navali* may have been a Cistercian monk, perhaps a priest serving a ship's company. Indeed, the White Monks' involvement in

⁸⁵¹ Phillips, 'St Bernard of Clairvaux, the Low Countries', p. 494.

⁸⁵² Ibid, p. 495;

⁸⁵³ Bernard, *Letters*, p. 464.

⁸⁵⁴ Cf, Phillips, 'St Bernard of Clairvaux, the Low Countries', p. 496; also Giles Constable, 'The Second Crusade as seen by Contemporaries', *Traditio* 9 (1953) pp. 213-79 at pp. 255-60.

the Third Crusade is known to have been significant.⁸⁵⁵ Although the principle of stability was fundamental to the monastic existence, and in spite of the wandering monk being vociferously discouraged and condemned by numerous contemporary commentators and canonists, the presence of monks accompanying all of the major crusades is documented from the very beginning of the movement in 1095.⁸⁵⁶ Bernard of Clairvaux had forbidden Cistercian monks or lay brothers from going on the Second Crusade under penalty of excommunication,⁸⁵⁷ but he had died in 1153 and many that came after him did not share his reservations. Henri de Marci, abbot of Clairvaux from 1176 until 1179, before being appointed cardinal bishop of Albano at the Third Lateran Council, did much to lubricate the transition of the Cistercians, formerly tied to the cloister, into a 'crusading' Order fully active in the world outside it.

Radical changes in the crusade vow wrought by Innocent III in 1213, during the preparations for the Fifth Crusade, substantially clarified and liberalised the canonical position of would-be crusading monks who were henceforth allowed to take crusading vows and to fulfil them if it was considered they would be of service to the crusading army as preachers or spiritual advisors.⁸⁵⁸ Sure enough, and by now with a weighty crusading pedigree, the White Monks were well represented on the Fifth Crusade both in the preaching and on the expedition itself.⁸⁵⁹

The possible entry of the first Cistercians to Portugal by sea, during the period 1138-1144, quite possibly from the port of La Rochelle, has already been suggested. Of course, with Cistercian monks actively engaged on crusading expeditions, at least from the time of the Third Crusade, we might reasonably expect to find them accompanying crusader fleets voyaging to Palestine along the west coasts of Iberia. Certainly, by the time of the Fifth Crusade, it would not have been unusual to find a Cistercian presence on a ship somewhere off the Atlantic coast of Europe, against a broader background of general marine traffic carrying pilgrims, warriors and merchandise between the northern regions, the Mediterranean and Palestine. This notion will be taken up in more specific detail in Chapter 4 when considering the possible identity of

⁸⁵⁵ See generally, Thomas M. Prymak, *The role of the Cistercian Order in the Third Crusade* (unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1972).

⁸⁵⁶ James A Brundage, 'A Transformed Angel (X 3.31.18): The Problem of the Crusading Monk', in *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History Presented to Jeremiah F. O'Sullivan* (Cistercian Studies Series 13; Spencer, Mass. 1971), pp. 55-61.

⁸⁵⁷ Bernard, *Letters*, Letter 396, p. 468.

⁸⁵⁸ Brundage, 'A Transformed Angel...' p. 59.

⁸⁵⁹ See, *inter-alia*, William Purkis, 'Crusading and Crusade Memory in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum*', *Journal of Medieval History* vol. 39 (2013) pp. 100-27; and by the same author, 'Memories of preaching for the Fifth Crusade in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus Miraculorum*', *Journal of Medieval History*, 40 (2014) 3, pp. 329-45; Ann E. Lester, 'A shared imitation: Cistercian convents and crusader families in thirteenth-century Champagne' *Journal of Medieval History*, 35:4, pp. 353-70.

the author of the *Carmen*. Beforehand, however, it is necessary to consider the person of the *Carmen*'s likely commissioner, Bishop Soeiro Viegas of Lisbon, the SUERIUS of the acrostic.



Fig.3, Lisbon: Castelo de São Jorge.



Fig.4, Silves: the north wall, formidably fortified by the Almohads.



Fig.5, Silves: viewed from the south.



Fig.6, Calatrava la Vieja: Headquarters of the Order of Calatrava furiously contested with Almohads.



Fig.7, Alarcos: the remains of Alfonso VIII's fortification and the scene of his flight from the battlefield, 1195.



Fig.8, Salviatierra: Order of Calatrava, fortress established as an act of defiance deep in Almohad territory following the Christian defeat at Alarcos. According to the *Rawd al-Mitar*, it was 'the right hand of the Lord of Castile' and 'a black spot that loomed over the plains of Islam and a high observatory against which the Muslims could do nothing'.



Fig. 9, Las Navas de Tolosa 1212, Francisco de Paula Van Halen y Gil (1814), *Palacio del Senado*, Madrid.



Fig.10, Alcacer do Sal: some of the remaining fortifications.

Chapter 3

SUERIUS

It is almost certain that the *Carmen* was commissioned by, or written in support of, Soeiro Viegas, the SUERIUS of the acrostic, Bishop of Lisbon from 1211 until his death in 1233; an often controversial and embattled figure about whom the lacunae in the documentary record frequently leave us guessing. In this chapter, dedicated to him and divided into two parts, we address the fundamental questions: Who was Soeiro Viegas? Why did he commission the *Carmen*?

Part I

Soeiro Viegas, Bishop of Lisbon

We know nothing of Soeiro Viegas' life prior to his ecclesiastical career, a feature he shares with several of his contemporaries, including the bishops Pedro Soares of Coimbra, Fernando Raimundes of Viseu and Master Soeiro of Évora, who only appear in the documentation in their capacity as clerics. Like them, Soeiro had been dean of his diocese before rising to the episcopal dignity and indeed, as Vilar has indicated, it may be that during this period the office of dean was an 'antechamber' post to the office of bishop.⁸⁶⁰ Beyond this, however we know nothing of his antecedents, the patronym Viegas reveals little since, like his Christian name, it was relatively common.

The first documented reference associating Soeiro with the episcopacy is from 1211 where he appears as bishop elect in a charter of donation made by Sancho I to the abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Moreruela in the district of Zamora in León.⁸⁶¹ It is only in the following year that he begins to appear confirmed in the episcopal office. He would be the fourth Bishop of Lisbon following the restoration of the See in 1147 and, since he was

⁸⁶⁰ Hermínia Vasconcelos Vilar, *As Dimensões de um Poder; a Diocese de Évora na Idade Média* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1999) p. 42.

⁸⁶¹ 'Suerius Vlixbonsnsis electus,' DS, N^o.205, p. 312; Rodrigo da Cunha, *Historia Ecclesiastica da Igreja de Lisboa* p. 110 (da Cunha erroneously dates the document to January 1210).

preceded by Bishop Soeiro Anes (1186-1211), Soeiro Viegas is occasionally referred to as Soeiro II.⁸⁶² Although his predecessors, Gilbert (1147-1162), Álvaro (1164-1184) and Soeiro Anes, all defended the rights of the See of Lisbon against conflicting claims made by institutions, including the Military Orders of the Temple and Santiago, and the monasteries of S Vicente de Fora and Santa Cruz de Coimbra, none appear to have come into conflict with the king or with the royal agenda.⁸⁶³ Soeiro too would continue this tradition of harmonious relations between the diocese of Lisbon and the monarch until at least the middle of 1218.

An indication of the high esteem he enjoyed in royal circles during the first part of his tenure is demonstrated in the 1214 will of Queen Urraca where Soeiro is named as a beneficiary and an executor alongside Archbishop of Braga D. Estêvão Soares and also the treasurer of Braga.⁸⁶⁴ Here, not only is Soeiro entrusted with the management of a large sum of money, more than the funds entrusted to the aforementioned ecclesiastics of Braga, but he is also bequeathed 300 *morabatinos*, for his personal use.

Besides his ecclesiastical duties, Soeiro's most notable early activity appears to have been within a select group of royal jurists. For part of 1211 and all of 1212, he was in Rome, an advocate of Afonso II, labouring to secure papal favour and conducting crucial litigation against the king's sisters. This he did in the company of distinguished colleagues, Vicente Hispano, the renowned canonist, future chancellor to Sancho II and later Bishop of Guarda who was, at that time, archdeacon of Lisbon,⁸⁶⁵ Mestre Silvestre Godinho also a canonist and future Archbishop of Braga and the civilist, Mestre Lanfranco of Milan.⁸⁶⁶ Whilst in Rome, Soeiro was consecrated bishop by Innocent III⁸⁶⁷ and was partly responsible for the timely re-issue of the bull *Manifestis Probatum* to Afonso II on 16th April, 1212.⁸⁶⁸

⁸⁶² Confusingly Bishop Soeiro of Évora, contemporary of Soeiro Viegas and fellow leader of the Alcácer expedition, is also referred to as Soeiro II.

⁸⁶³ Maria João Violante Branco, 'Reis, Bispos e Cabidos: a Diocese de Lisboa Durante o Primeiro Século da sua Restauração,' *Lusitana Sacra*, 2^a série, 10 (1998), pp. 55-94, esp., pp. 63-70.

⁸⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 71; ANTT, Mosteiro de Alcobaça, Maço 15, n.º 336 (3); Vilar, *Afonso II* p. 63, note 2, a version of the will is included in António Caetano de Sousa, *Provas da História genealógica da casa real portuguesa*, 6 vols. (Lisboa: Officina Sylviana da Academia Real, 1739; Reprint, Coimbra: Atlântida, 1946-1954), vol.1 at pp. 47-49.

⁸⁶⁵ Rodrigo da Cunha, *Historia Ecclesiastica ... Lisboa*, p. 110; Veloso D. *Afonso II, Relações* p. 128; Bulário, 179, p. 328, *Noverit serenitas* of 24th April 1212; and see Sousa Costa p. 58 note 125.

⁸⁶⁶ Sousa Costa, p. 26, note 64, Letter of Innocent III of 23rd July, 1212; ANTT, Gaveta 16, Março 2, n.15. fl.2v.

⁸⁶⁷ Cunha, *Historia Ecclesiastica ... Lisboa*, p. 110.

⁸⁶⁸ Bulário, N.º. 176, p. 325. Branco, referring to the letter *Noverit Serenitas* of Innocent III addressed to Afonso II of 24th April 1212 requesting the king pay the *census* in arrears owed to the Holy See, notes the following passage: – *Noverit serenitas tua...legium tuum per venerabilem fratrem nostrum [Suerium] episcopum et dilectum filium magistrum Vincentium archidiaconum] Vlixbonenses tibi...concedere celsitudinem regiam (...)*; Bulário, N.º. 179, p. 328; Maria João Branco, *O conceito de soberania régia e a sua relação com a praxis política de Sancho I e Afonso II*, Doctoral Dissertation (*polycopiada*) (Lisbon: Universidade Aberta, 1999) at p 552.

Soeiro's exertions on the king's behalf are gratefully recognised in a charter of 17th April 1217 in which Afonso takes the bishop and his diocese under royal protection. Proclaiming, *Sciatis quia ego sum multum debitor et omnes qui de me descenderint domno Suerio Vlixbonis episcopo et totidem generi suo et eidem ecclesie et canonicis eiusdem...* the king commemorates Soeiro's services both in Rome and in the kingdom in securing Innocent's favourable decision over the *Infantas'* proprietary claims to the strategic castles of Alanquer and Montemor-o-Velho.

Although we have no indication of the trajectory by which Soeiro achieved appointment as a royal advocate, the clear implication is that he had received considerable schooling in the discipline of the Law. In this direction we note his dexterity in the management of a series of juridical disputes during his episcopate which would see him pitched into successive conflicts, sometimes violent, with the bishop of Coimbra, the knights Templar, the monastery of São Vicente de Fora, his own dean Vicente Hispano, and two kings of Portugal. Wherever you look, Soeiro Veigas' legal professionalism finds strong resonance among his peers, both those operating in the royal court and also those in the Roman curia.

Soeiro would return to Rome again to attend the Fourth Lateran Council which took place in November, 1215. The prelate prolonged his stay into the following year probably to assist Vicente Hispano, Silvestre Godinho and Lanfranco of Milan in the procurement of the papal bull of 7th April which, in large part, resolved Afonso's disputes with his sisters Teresa and Sancha, which had by this time dragged on for five years.⁸⁶⁹ Innocent's unexpected death in July, however, revived their pretensions and D. Teresa immediately petitioned the new pope, Honorius III, for apostolic protection for herself, her daughters and her property. The move likely caused Soeiro to remain in Rome, as we are informed by Rodrigo da Cunha, for the remainder of 1216, in order to more effectively defend Afonso's interests.⁸⁷⁰

The first indication of trouble for Soeiro arrives to us in the form of the abovementioned letter of royal protection granted to Soeiro and his diocese in April of 1217. From whom or what Soeiro needed protection is unknown since, disappointingly, the letter did not expand on the circumstances that had led to its production. Sadly, the remainder of the surviving documentation also reveals little that is explicit. What emerges is that, whilst we can be tolerably certain that Soeiro's dealings with the king were sanguine at least until mid-1218, the same cannot be said for the bishop's relations with other parties with interests in his diocese.

⁸⁶⁹ Cunha, *Historia Ecclesiastica ... Lisboa*, p. 115.

⁸⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

In the first place, Soeiro may have needed royal protection from the supporters of the bishop of Coimbra who was in long-standing dispute with Soeiro over the boundaries of lands belonging to the prelate of Coimbra located within the diocese of Lisbon.⁸⁷¹ More ominously, perhaps, was a dispute, the details of which remain unknown, between Soeiro and the Templars leading the bishop of Lisbon to pronounce a sentence of excommunication over the entire Order in Iberia.⁸⁷² On top of these quarrels, Innocent had conducted certain inquiries into alleged irregularities in the bishop's conduct as we learn from the letter sent by the new pope, Honorius III, to Soeiro Viegas on 6th September of 1217 assuring him that certain *inquisitions obtentos* against the bishop were revoked and declaring that the same could not now in any way damage his reputation. Again, we do not know the details, nor do we know if the sudden change in pontiff in mid-July 1216 may have aggravated Soeiro's position in some way.⁸⁷³

In spite of these uncertainties, one thing we can state with some degree of security is that, shortly before the Alcácer do Sal campaign, Bishop Soeiro Viegas had been the target of considerable hostility. In short, Soeiro needed a personal triumph to boost his prestige and improve his standing with certain groups and institutions both inside and outside his diocese, perhaps not least with the pope. In this context, the idea of promoting the conquest of Alcácer, an enterprise with enormous potential for the enhancement of the Portuguese kingdom and the legitimacy of Afonso II, could only have appeared more attractive to the bishop. Satisfyingly, although the documentation is frequently obscure, laconic or even silent, sufficient information emerges to reveal Soeiro's hand in a substantial and ambitious campaign of forward-planning in the assembly of the forces necessary to take Alcácer. It is to the details of this campaign that we must now turn our attention if we are to glimpse important links, hitherto un-observed, between early thirteenth century Portugal and the Northern crusaders in the lands of Goswin of Bossut.

Soeiro and the Tactics of Attraction

In a previous Chapter we discussed, at some length, the evidence for the forward-planning, at European scale, of the conquest of Lisbon in 1147. We must now pick up the threads from the euphoric aftermath of this great Portuguese triumph in order to appreciate how Soeiro's efforts in the years prior to the 1217 conquest of Alcácer represented a crescendo in an

⁸⁷¹ Bulário, N.º. 215, p. 378.

⁸⁷² Branco, 'Reis, Bispos e Cabidos', p. 71; Bulário, N.º. 223, p. 437.

⁸⁷³ Sousa Costa, p. 78, note 160; and cf, Branco, 'Reis, Bispos e Cabidos' p. 72.

important, yet hitherto largely overlooked, Portuguese strategy for attracting Northern Warriors to the Portuguese *Reconquista*.

Instances of the participation, in the Portuguese *Reconquista* in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, of Northern European crusader fleets on their way to Palestine via the Strait of Gibraltar have, in general, been considered chance-events. With the notable exception of the, previously discussed, run up to the conquest of Lisbon in 1147,⁸⁷⁴ virtually all commentators have largely dismissed the events as the result of opportunistic Portuguese efforts to persuade these passing maritime crusaders, mostly greedy for plunder, to join in Portuguese attacks on Iberian-Muslim strongholds.⁸⁷⁵

In contrast, it is a contention of this dissertation that a case can be made for the position, certainly following the outstanding success for the Portuguese of the 1147 conquest of Lisbon brought about principally thanks to the participation of foreign crusaders, that the Portuguese operated a deliberate and identifiable policy in order to attract more of these foreign warriors to the fight on their frontier with al-Andalus. Further, it is proposed that this policy involved the construction and promotion of certain saintly cults as one of its principal tactics and, in particular, the cult of St Vincent (S Vicente) of Zaragoza; a cult which began to develop in Lisbon in the second half of the twelfth century and which was promulgated in tandem with the unfolding of the Portuguese *Reconquista*.

As already mentioned in the Introduction, since at least the early twelfth century, Iberians witnessed the fairly regular passage along their coasts of fleets carrying Northern European crusaders bound for Palestine. The armed pilgrims on board these vessels, from regions including the British Isles, Scandinavia, the Low Countries and North-western Germany, were amenable on occasion to appeals to lend short-term aid to Iberian Christian monarchs in their wars on the Andalusí Muslims; the promise of rich plunder to be gained in the conquest of opulent Muslim strongholds being a principal draw. Whereas renowned Castilian and Aragonese incidents of the phenomenon include the conquests of Almería (1147) and Tortosa (1148), Portuguese historiography highlights the conquests of Lisbon (1147), Silves (1189) and Alcacer do Sal (1217) as the three best documented events. We will now examine the

⁸⁷⁴ See Chapter 2 herein.

⁸⁷⁵ Azevedo, *História de Portugal* vol.4, pp. 47-48; Livermore, 'The 'Conquest of Lisbon' and its author', pp. 1-16; Phillips, 'St Bernard of Clairvaux, the Low Countries...'; Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques* pp. 231-36; O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade* pp. 41-43; Forey, 'The Siege of Lisbon and the Second Crusade', pp. 1-13. Lucas Villegas-Aristizábal, 'Revisiting the Anglo-Norman Crusaders' Failed Attempt to Conquer Lisbon, c. 1142' *Portuguese Studies* Vol. 29, No. 1 (2013), pp. 7-20, Jonathan Wilson, 'Tactics of Attraction: Saints Pilgrims and warriors in the Portuguese Reconquista', *Portuguese Studies*, vol.30 N°2 (2014), pp. 204-21, at p. 204.

evidence that the Portuguese (that is to say, as mentioned in Chapter 1, elements more or less connected to the Portuguese royal court) purposely strove to create a cultural and ideological environment propitious to the realisation of these joint ventures and that, at least after the great triumph at Lisbon in 1147, specific tactics were put into action for attracting passing maritime crusaders to join in the war on the Portuguese-Andalusi frontier. It was a strategy that would be brought to a pinnacle in the machinations of Soeiro of Lisbon during the 3-4 years immediately preceding the 1217 attack on Alcácer do Sal.

The signal and spectacular success of the conquest of Lisbon in 1147 had massively expanded the territory of the fledgling kingdom of Portugal and established the Portuguese southern frontier definitively along the line of the River Tagus. It had been, in many ways, key to the establishment of Portugal as an independent state and one of the only Christian successes of the entire Second Crusade and it was due, in large part, to the participation of northern maritime crusaders. As we have already seen, these hardy warriors supplied much needed extra-manpower; extra naval support; and also, technological and tactical know-how, the northerners being substantially more practiced in siege operations than the Portuguese.⁸⁷⁶

Certainly the effectiveness of northern help in the seizing of Lisbon was clear to King Afonso Henriques who lost no time in appointing bishop of the city one of those very same crusaders, the Englishman Gilbert of Hastings. Afonso promptly sent him back to England to muster troops for a postulated attack on Seville. The attack on Seville never happened, but Gilbert's efforts did produce the arrival of a fleet from England which, with Afonso's forces, launched an early and unsuccessful attack on Alcácer do Sal. In addition, Afonso briskly apportioned lands to northerners who elected to stay in the kingdom, a measure that would secure the occupation and colonisation of newly conquered territories and cement links between Portugal and northern Europe.⁸⁷⁷

However, there appears to have been a more ambitious and long-term scheme put into operation by Afonso Henriques in order to attract warriors to Portugal and, indeed, pilgrims and their lucrative trade. Afonso had only to cast his eyes a little to the north, to Santiago de Compostela in Galicia, to find a shining example of how a powerful patron saint could change one's fortunes. The newly re-established diocese of Lisbon was suffragan to the Metropolitan of Compostela and, of course, the strenuous promotion of the cult of Saint James by

⁸⁷⁶ M. Bennett, 'Military Aspects of the Conquest of Lisbon, 1147' in SCSC pp. 71-89.

⁸⁷⁷ Pedro Picoito, 'O Rei, o Santo e a Cidade: O culto de São Vicente em Lisboa e o Projecto Político de Afonso Henriques', in *São Vicente, diácono e mártir*, dir. by Isabel Alçada Cardoso (Lisbon: Cabido da Sé de Lisboa, 2005), pp. 57-87 at p. 58.

Archbishop Diego Gelmirez who had only recently died in 1140, would have been fresh in the Portuguese psyche. It is certainly interesting that a copy of the book compiled, probably under Gelmirez' direction, promulgating St James and the pilgrimage to Compostela, the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* appeared, during the second half of the twelfth century, in the library of the monastery of Alcobaça,⁸⁷⁸ one of the most important Portuguese royal institutions of the time. The success of the cult of Saint James 'the Moor slayer' is well known and little need be said of it here, save to observe that in almost all of the instances of the passage of the northern fleets along the west coast of Iberia, there is hardly a single one that does not make the stop at Compostela so that respects can be paid at the apostle's shrine. But Saint James was attracting pilgrims and warriors to Galicia where there was no longer any frontier with the Moors. The task which befell Afonso was of course to attract warriors specifically to the Portuguese frontier. True, the fleets might well be forced to stop at Lisbon in any event to take on supplies, indeed until the 1230s it was the last Christian port before the Mediterranean, but it was by no means a foregone conclusion that they could be persuaded to stay and fight, as the disagreements among the crusaders reported at Lisbon and Alcácer demonstrate.⁸⁷⁹ Whilst Portuguese offers of plunder may have been a powerful motivating factor for some, there were many whose motivations were genuinely spiritual and for whom the efficient prosecution and fulfilment of the pilgrimage vow to go to Jerusalem was paramount. Certainly, a little extra sanctity in Lisbon would be useful in convincing doubters of the divinity of the Portuguese struggle.

In 1173, during a period of truce with the Almohads, a Christian search party was sent, probably by local Mozarabs, from Lisbon to the south-western extremity of the Peninsula to retrieve the remains of the fourth-century Christian martyr St Vincent of Zaragoza, who had rested on the Cape that still bears his name, *Cabo de São Vicente*, since he had been translated there from Valência in the 700s. The body was found, parcelled-up, and translated again, accompanied by wondrous ravens and other miraculous events, in a boat to Lisbon where, after being rapturously welcomed by the people and the clergy, it was entombed in a chapel in the Cathedral. Thus was realised an ambition that Afonso Henriques had harboured certainly since some years previous to his conquest of Lisbon when he himself had made a premature and unsuccessful attempt to retrieve the martyr.⁸⁸⁰

⁸⁷⁸ Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Ms Alc.334.

⁸⁷⁹ DEL p. 101-11; Nascimento, 'Poema de Conquista', p. 634; *De Itinere Frisonum* pp. 62-63.

⁸⁸⁰ Aires Augusto Nascimento and Saul António Gomes, *S. Vicente de Lisboa e Seus Milagres Medievais* (Lisbon: Edições Didaskalia, 1988) pp. 30-31. Pedro Picoito has made a persuasive case for the retrieval of St Vincent in 1173 being the initiative, not of Afonso Henriques, but of the disgruntled Mozarabs of the city unhappy about the

In his desire for a patron saint, Afonso was following previous Christian princes of the *Reconquista* who had translated to their northern territories the bodies of important saints from the Islamic south; ample precedent residing in the translation of St Eulogius from Cordoba to Oviedo in 883 by Alfonso III of Asturias, and the translation of St Isidore from Seville to León in 1063 by Fernando the Great. Now like Oviedo in León, Toledo in Castile and of course Compostela in Galicia, Lisbon in Portugal was now to possess its own renowned saintly relics.

The account of Vincent's translation was set in writing shortly after the event by Estêvão, cantor of Lisbon Cathedral, in his *Miracula Sancti Vincentii*. Estêvão is very clear on Vincent's relocation in establishing the status of the city telling us, 'by this act of heavenly grace [Lisbon]...can be considered above the cities in its vicinity.'⁸⁸¹ Estêvão then goes on to enumerate the miracles associated with St Vincent, not forgetting the *Reconquista* since, featured in the miracle stories are Gualdim Pais, Master of the Templars and Gonçalo Viegas, governor of Portuguese Estremadura, future founder of the Military Order of Évora.⁸⁸²

At first blush Vincent seems a strange choice for Portugal's favourite Saint, since he was not-at-all Portuguese. According to his tradition, largely repeated by Estêvão, he had been deacon to the Bishop of Zaragoza and was martyred in 304 by the Roman prefect Dacian. Having been imprisoned in Valência he underwent various grisly tortures and when offered his freedom on condition he burn the Scriptures he refused and was martyred. After his death, ravens protected his corpse from being eaten by wild-animals until his companions arrived to retrieve the body. In the second half of the eighth century his body was rescued from Valência, the city having come under Muslim attack, and translated to Cape St Vincent where a shrine was established which was watched over by ever-present miraculous ravens.⁸⁸³

Why choose the Spanish saint, Vincent, as the patron saint of Lisbon? There were other candidates closer to home. At the time of the 1147 conquest, Lisbon contained a flourishing community of Mozarabs with its own tradition of saints martyred in the city during the time of Dacian, for example, Saints Veríssimus, Máxima and Júlia, among several others.⁸⁸⁴ Yet, there is no evidence that a Vincent cult had existed in the city, at least there appears to have been

suppression of their liturgy in favour of the Roman rite promoted by the conquerors: 'A Trasladação de S. Vicente, Consenso e Conflito na Lisboa do Século XII', *Medievalista online*, ano 4, número 4, 2008.

<http://www2.fcsb.unl.pt/iem/medievalista/MEDIEVALISTA4/medievalista-picoito.htm> [accessed 17 February 2014]

⁸⁸¹ Nascimento and Gomes, pp. 40-41.

⁸⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁸⁸³ For a comprehensive study of the Portuguese cult of St Vincent, see Isabel Rosa Dias, *Culto e Memória Textual de S. Vicente em Portugal (da Idade Média ao século XVI)* Lisbon, revision, 2011 (Faro: Universidade do Algarve, 2003).

⁸⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9; Picoito, 'A Trasladação', p. 1.

no church in his dedication. There was some devotion to Vincent in other parts of twelfth century Portugal, but a survey of the churches consecrated to him shows that his cult was of only very moderate popularity compared to those of St^a Maria, St Salvador, St Martin of Tours or the apostles St James and St Peter. So popularity was clearly not the most important contributing factor.⁸⁸⁵

Rather the appeal of Vincent for the Portuguese seems to have been his popularity north of the Pyrenees and particularly in France where, from the Merovingian period onwards, his cult had enjoyed an impressive prominence as is demonstrated by a substantial number of surviving texts. Among them the *Liber Historiae Francorum*⁸⁸⁶ and the *Vita Droctovei Abbatis*⁸⁸⁷ relating how King Childebert, when besieging Zaragoza in 541, obtained the martyr's stole from the bishop of the city. Returning to Paris, Childebert founded the basilica of St Vincent, later dedicated to Saint-Germain-des-Prés, where the relic was housed. There are also later accounts of expeditions of various French clerics to Spain in search of more relics of the Saint, including those in the ninth century of Usuard, also from Saint-Germain-des-Prés, and the monk Audald of the monastery of Conques, and that of Herman of Laon following the Christian conquest of Zaragoza in 1118.⁸⁸⁸ Reports of centres dedicated to the cult of Vincent in France are numerous. Gregory of Tours mentions several churches founded in the sixth century that were dedicated to him, some containing relics.⁸⁸⁹ Meanwhile, at the liturgical level, accounts of the Passion of Vincent circulated in France from an early period, transmitted in various texts with the poem included in Prudentius' *Peristephanon* being the earliest.⁸⁹⁰

It is probable that knowledge in Portugal of the cult of Vincent north of the Pyrenees received a substantial boost with the increasing settlement of French clerics and knights during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, largely on the back of the Romano-Cluniac reform famously encouraged by Alfonso VI León-Castile. However, in the present context, most interesting is the popularity that Iberian saints enjoyed in Flanders and Belgium. Rainer II of Hainaut, went to Spain in 986 where, having aided the Castilians in their wars with the Muslims, he received in recompense in the city of Oviedo, the relics of St. Leocádia (patron saint of Toledo).

⁸⁸⁵ Dias, pp. 75-92. <http://www.scribd.com/doc/125133247/Culto-e-Memoria-Textual-de-S-Vicente-texto-revisto> [accessed 17 February 2014]

⁸⁸⁶ *Liber Historiae Francorum*, ed. by B. Krusch and W. Levinson, MGH *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* 2 (Hanover 1888) pp. 215-328.

⁸⁸⁷ Gislemarus, *Vita Droctovei abbatis Parisiensis*, ed. by B. Krusch, MGH *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* 3 (Hanover, 1896) pp. 535-43.

⁸⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 82-3; Nascimento and Gomes, p. 9.

⁸⁸⁹ On the popularity of the cult of St Vincent in France and Belgium, see Dias, *Culto e Memória*, pp. 82-5.

⁸⁹⁰ *The Poems of Prudentius*, trans. by M Clement Eagan, in *Fathers of The Church Series*, vol.43 (Washington DC: C.U.A. Press, 1962) p. 146-67.

These were housed in the important Benedictine monastery of Saint-Ghislain in Hainaut which, along with the nearby Abbey of Saint Amand, appears to have maintained relations with St Salvador in Oviedo, both of these Flemish monasteries possessing copies made in their own *scriptoria* of manuscripts from St Salvador, and with the library of Saint-Ghislain containing texts on St Leocádia and several on St Vincent himself.⁸⁹¹

Moving on to the period of the Third Crusade, it is following Hattin in 1187, and the call to the Third Crusade, that we really start to see evidence of the Portuguese truly grasping the nettle. They know by now, full well, that a whole series of well-armed Northern flotillas are going to be passing their coasts imminently, so they pull out all the stops to attract them to join in the fight against the Iberian Saracens. The sticking-point is, there is still a considerable amount of doubt among the crusaders as to the spiritual worthiness of the fight in Iberia compared with the fight in the Holy Land. Evidence for this is abundant in the sources for all three events, particularly at Lisbon and Alcácer where various contingents of crusaders dispute between them whether to accept Portuguese invitations to join campaigns, or whether to abandon operations when sieges drag-on.⁸⁹²

To get around this, the Portuguese strove to imbue their Reconquista with as much divine favour as possible; firstly, by boosting the sanctity of Lisbon and, secondly, by ramming home the notion to crusaders that if they fell in battle in Iberia, a martyr's crown awaited them in heaven. Happily, St Vincent was already in place, and had been generally inflating the holiness of Lisbon and boosting its international profile for well over a decade. We do not know exactly when Estêvão wrote his *Miracula Sancti Vincentii*, but it may well have been in about 1187/1188, when it suddenly became urgent to fix the martyr's connection with the city in writing. Next, to address the sanctity of the war on the Mulsims of Iberia, in the year 1188, one year after Hattin and one year before King Sancho's daring conquest of Silves, an anonymous author penned the *Indiculum Foundationis Monasterii Beati Vincentii Vlixbone* and helpfully included the date of redaction in his text.⁸⁹³ Whilst ostensibly recounting the story of the foundation of the Lisbon monastery of S. Vicente da Fora, a house dedicated to the Saint without ever housing his relics, the *Indiculum* is a text acutely concerned with drawing

⁸⁹¹ Dias, p. 83, note 127.

⁸⁹² DEL, p. 101-111; DIN pp. 591-678 at 627-29; Nascimento, 'Poema de Conquista.. etc', p. 634 lines 87-90, and p. 635 lines 123-26.

⁸⁹³ *Indiculum Foundationis Monasterii Beati Vincentii Vlixbone*, ed. and trans. by Aires A. Nascimento in *A Conquista de Lisboa aos Mouros*, pp. 178-81.

together a number of themes designed to address all the concerns a doubting-crusader might have over the worthiness of the Portuguese war on the Saracens.⁸⁹⁴

In the prologue, the author emphasises the veracity of his text. He tells us that he has taken his account from the direct oral testimony of two veterans of the conquest of Lisbon, one a Portuguese nobleman, the other, significantly, a German named Otto who had chosen to stay in Portugal and entered the royal monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra. Immediately following this short introduction, the *Indiculum* launches straight into its main concern. Within just a few lines, we are left in no doubt, not only of the heroic nature of the German warriors but, crucially, that those who fell in Christian battle at the siege of Lisbon, wear the crown of martyrdom.⁸⁹⁵ To prove this is so, the *Indiculum* recounts the occurrence of miraculous events during the battle for the city. For the most part they take place in the cemetery for German and Flemish dead established by the crusaders; this site shortly afterwards became the location upon which was built the monastery of St Vincent da Fora. The miracles in the cemetery happen at the tomb of a Germanic crusader of Cologne, one Henry who is, we are told, a knight of noble lineage and character, born at Bonn, who dies in battle some days before Lisbon is conquered. First of all, two youths, standing guard at the tomb, both deaf and mute from birth, are healed after having been visited at night by the dead Henry bearing a palm branch. The palm branch of course is highly symbolic, not only of martyrdom but also of pilgrimage; two themes the *Indiculum* is very keen to link. Next, Henry-of-Bonn's squire is killed and, in the chaos of battle, is buried at a location in the cemetery somewhat distant from his master's tomb. Henry appears in dreams to the night watchman and urges him to retrieve the body of his squire and place it in the tomb next to him. This is done, the night watchman, though terrified, proclaiming that in the performance of the arduous act of disinterment and reburial, he miraculously experienced no fatigue whatsoever.⁸⁹⁶

Another miracle happens when communion bread shared out to crusaders at the daily mass, bleeds when it is cut. This is caused by the bread having been made from the stolen flour that a dying crusader had bequeathed to the poor. Within this miracle is the implicit proof that the dying crusader who made the bequest is now a martyr in heaven.⁸⁹⁷

⁸⁹⁴ Although arriving at differing conclusions, the author acknowledges a debt of gratitude to two important treatments of aspects of the *Indiculum*; Stephen Lay, 'Miracles, Martyrs and the Cult of Henry the Crusader in Lisbon', *Portuguese Studies*, vol. 24, No. 1 (2008), 7-31; and Armando Sousa Pereira, 'Guerra e santidade: o cavaleiro-mártir Henrique de Bona e a conquista cristã de Lisboa' in *Lusitania Sacra*, 2ª série, 17 (2005) pp. 15-38.

⁸⁹⁵ Nascimento, *A Conquista de Lisboa*, pp. 178-81; Lay, p. 20, Pereira, 'Guerra e santidade', p. 22.

⁸⁹⁶ *Indiculum*, pp. 184-87

⁸⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 186-87.

These miracles are proclaimed throughout the Christian camp and Henry-of-Bonn is hailed a true martyr of Christ whereupon the Christian forces, filled with divine inspiration, renew their efforts and win the city.

Galvanizing as this tale may be, the *Indiculum* is not content to stop there. Shortly after the conquest, the miracles around Henry's tomb begin again. It is here the *Indiculum* shows its profound pre-occupation with linking the two all-important themes; that of martyrdom in battle in Iberia and that of the Jerusalem Pilgrimage. In this, the *Indiculum* seeks to address directly the major conceptual obstacle that appears to have existed for many crusaders when faced with the prospect of campaigning in Iberia and which arises essentially from the preaching of Urban II and the First Crusade. This obstacle resides in the immensely powerful pull in the popular imagination of the physical city of Jerusalem and the Holy Land, in literal notions of the *imitatio Christi*, and of taking up Christ's cross in the land 'where His feet have stood'.⁸⁹⁸ The crucial point is that because of a very Jerusalem centric interpretation of the crusading vow, for many crusaders, the true Christian fight could not take place anywhere other than Palestine. The device which the *Indiculum* introduces to solve the problem is a heavenly palm tree which miraculously comes into being at Henry-of-Bonn's tomb. We are told:

'It was the case that a palm, which had been brought on the shoulders of pilgrims from Jerusalem according to the custom, having been placed on the tomb at the head of the martyr, shortly thereafter grew green again, rose up out of the ground and grew in height so that it became a tree covered in leaves of fresh green. Now, all those that had illnesses came to that tomb in order to make their supplications and, taking [a leaf] from the palm, they hung it around their neck or, reducing it to a powder, drank it and immediately they were cured of any disease that might be afflicting them.'⁸⁹⁹

The image of the palm tree appears to serve at least three functions. In the first place, it is miraculous and confirms the continuing status of Henry as a martyr. Secondly, the palm branch itself, which is also carried by Henry in his appearance to the two deaf-mutes, is traditionally symbolic of his status as a martyr. This is not peculiar to Henry of course, but here we have his martyrdom doubly confirmed! Thirdly, and most importantly here, is that the palm is symbolic of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Crusaders visiting Jerusalem often brought a palm branch back home with them, as proof they had completed their pilgrimage and fulfilled

⁸⁹⁸ Cf. Purkis' incisive exposition of the 'conceptual problem' facing foreign crusaders in Iberia arising from preponderant emphasis on the Jerusalem pilgrimage in, *Crusading Spirituality*, esp. pp. 125-38.

⁸⁹⁹ Nascimento, *A Conquista de Lisboa aos Mouros*, p. 193.

their vow, from where we get the name 'palmers' often used to describe returning crusaders.⁹⁰⁰ It is here that the notion of the *Iter per Hispaniam*, or 'Route through Spain,' becomes highly relevant.⁹⁰¹ Notably, Archbishop Diego Gelmirez of Santiago de Compostela appears to have been among the first to enunciate the principle at a Council in Compostela: the *Historia Compostellana* records his formulation as follows:

'Just as the soldiers of Christ and faithful sons of the holy Church opened up the way to Jerusalem with much blood, so let us prove ourselves to be soldiers of Christ and, having vanquished his most wicked enemies, the Saracens, let us also, with the help of His grace, open up a way to that same sepulchre of the Lord through the region of Spain, which is shorter and much less laborious.'⁹⁰²

His words have caused some problems since it is difficult to see how the passage through Spain (and then presumably across North Africa and up through Egypt) could be 'shorter' and 'less laborious' than the land passage through eastern Europe and Constantinople. Whether he may have been referring to the sea passage rather than the land journey, or indeed to both passage by land and sea which would be more likely, his overriding aim appears to have been to bring Iberia unequivocally within the ideological ambit of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem.⁹⁰³

The *Iter per Hispaniam* most famously struck a chord with Alfonso I, 'the Battler,' of Aragon-Navarre who was much taken with the Jerusalem centric notion of crusading, more so than his Iberian peers. Following his conquest of Zaragoza in 1118, over the next couple of years he extended his territory well south of the Ebro. Needing to protect his new conquests, he established two military confraternities, that of Belchite and that of Monreal, inspired probably by the Order of the Temple. Both had the stated purpose, either expressly in their Rule or specified in the wording of indulgences granted to them, of opening 'the road to Jerusalem from this region [of Spain]'.⁹⁰⁴ It is notable that the emblem of the confraternity of Belchite appears to have been a palm tree according to a passage from Orderic Vitalis where they are described as the *Fratres de Palmis* or 'Brothers of the Palm.'⁹⁰⁵ Significant here is

⁹⁰⁰ Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, pp. 124-25.

⁹⁰¹ Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, p. 131 *et seq.*

⁹⁰² *Historia Compostellana*, pp. 379-80.

⁹⁰³ Cf. Patrick J. O'Banion, 'What has Iberia to do with Jerusalem? Crusade and the Spanish route to the Holy Land in the twelfth century,' *Journal of Medieval History*, 34:4, pp. 383-95. There is some evidence that the passage over land was perceived by certain contemporaries as an easy option, see TSRB 'Untitled Review,' *The English Historical Review*, vol. 57, No.227 (July 1942) 394-395.

⁹⁰⁴ O'Banion, pp. 388-389. There is a suggestion that the charter of union of the Order of Santiago includes the *Iter per Hispaniam* principle, *ibid.*, p. 392.

⁹⁰⁵ *Ecclesiastical History*, p. 400.

Purkis' analysis of the likely significance of the palm tree for the members of the confraternity of Belchite, given their mandate and given the significance of the palm for the Jerusalem pilgrimage; namely that they perceived the palm tree as an emblem of their mission to carve a path through Spain to the Holy City.⁹⁰⁶ Could it be that we have a similar use of palm tree imagery in the *Indiculum* and in the cult of Henry of Bonn? Was the palm tree of Lisbon, miraculously grown up from a branch from Jerusalem, presented as proof of the sacred fusion of the principles of martyrdom-in-Iberia and the Jerusalem Pilgrimage? Was it used as a powerful and readily-understood motif intended to assuage the doubts of crusaders less interested in plunder and more interested in their crusading vow?

This conceptual problem of the Jerusalem pilgrimage appears to have been well-known to King Sancho I and he knew that, because of it, he would have little chance of involving crusaders in a campaign inland. As outlined in Chapter 1, Sancho's preferred target in 1189 would most likely have been Juromenha, some 200 km east of Lisbon, to push his frontier to the River Guadiana and support Évora, a vulnerable outpost far from the banks of the Tagus. Instead he was forced to focus his efforts in the South, on the important Almohad naval base at Silves, if he were to have any chance of taking advantage of the valuable military support coming his way. With his plans thus revised, his intention appears to have been to try to create a frontier which ran from Silves to Beja and then to Évora – supporting Évora from the south. He then presumably hoped to move on Juromenha at a later stage.⁹⁰⁷ This, of course, did not happen thanks to the terrific Almohad counter-offensive of 1190-91.

Moving forward in time to the run up to the Fifth Crusade and the 1217 conquest of Alcácer do Sal, the principal architect of the conquest was Soeiro Viegas the incumbent Bishop of Lisbon. In spite of a general paucity of documentation, sufficient information does emerge to suggest his involvement in a substantial campaign of forward-planning in the assembly of the forces necessary to take Alcácer. This port-town was a fearsomely well-fortified Almohad stronghold near the open sea on the right bank of the Sado, and very convenient indeed for maritime crusaders anxious to minimise delays to their Jerusalem pilgrimage. In addition, Alcácer was the strategic gateway to the Christian conquest of the Andalusí south.

Yet, aside from the prosecution of the Portuguese fight against the infidel, there were other important reasons why Alcácer would have seemed like a good idea at the time.

⁹⁰⁶ Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, p. 135.

⁹⁰⁷ Herculano, *História de Portugal*, vol.1, pp. 410-28.

As mentioned earlier, in the first place Afonso II needed a military victory, and particularly a victory against the Muslims. He had succeeded to the Portuguese throne in 1211 on the death of his father Sancho I, and appears to have suffered from a life-long physical condition, possibly leprosy, which kept him from direct participation in military endeavours. If prevailing contemporary attitudes generally equated military prowess with royal legitimacy, then the situation in Portugal was acute. Afonso Henriques, Afonso II's grandfather, had in 1179 finally won papal recognition of his kingship almost exclusively thanks to a lifetime of successful campaigns against the Muslims. This kingship was confirmed to Sancho I, in 1190 following his conquest of Silves, in the previous year. Afonso II could show none of these martial qualities and he had signally failed to participate in the great Christian victory at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212. Essentially, a timely military triumph over the Muslims would consolidate Afonso II's power, winning him favour among his nobility and in Rome.

Bishop Soeiro of Lisbon, meanwhile, had his own reasons for wanting a victory. As mentioned above, rising to the episcopal throne in 1211, he was soon to become embroiled in disputes both inside and outside his diocese. On top of these quarrels, Soeiro's relations with Innocent III appear to have been far from rosy, since the pope had conducted certain inquiries into alleged irregularities in the bishop's conduct.⁹⁰⁸ One thing, at least, seems sure-enough; in the early years of his episcopate, Soeiro was the target of considerable hostility.⁹⁰⁹ In short, he needed a personal triumph to improve his standing with several groups and institutions, perhaps not least with the Pope.

Certainly as early as 1213, Soeiro would have seen a great opportunity coming his way when the venture, later known as the Fifth Crusade, was announced.⁹¹⁰ Further the proclamation, also in 1213, of the Fourth Lateran Council, scheduled for two years hence, not only gave Innocent III ample time to make his plans and preparations, but also afforded the very same to Soeiro Viegas who held his own bishopric only thanks to the efforts of Northern crusaders on their way by sea to the East. His anticipation was no-doubt powerfully fuelled by the early successes of Oliver of Paderborn who had been preaching the crusade in the Low Countries. In his letter to the Count of Namur in only June of 1214, Oliver reports that a great number of pilgrims, some 50,000, had enlisted for the Crusade, '8000 equipped with shields or breast plates, 1,000 wearing a cuirass.' He adds, 'Know also that there are disposed so many ships to participate in the expedition of Jesus Christ that I believe just from the province of Cologne will

⁹⁰⁸ Branco, 'Reis, bispos e cabidos', pp. 70-84.

⁹⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁹¹⁰ Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, pp. 15-17.

come more than 300 [ships], perfectly equipped with warriors, weapons, arms, victuals and other warlike accoutrements.⁹¹¹

Of course Oliver would be present at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, along with so many other churchmen; the lengthy two-year period of notice leading up to the council serving to ensure maximum attendance. Indeed, the council which met in November 1215 was the largest assembly of ecclesiastical hierarchy ever convened during the Medieval period.⁹¹² Such unprecedented attendance would have been anticipated by Soeiro who, both through his direct personal relations and through his associates, always remained in close touch with prevailing attitudes in Rome. In view of the dazzling opportunities presented by the Council for the furtherance of his plans, we can have little doubt that he placed it at the very heart of his strategy. We know he attended along with the other Portuguese prelates including leaders of the Alcácer campaign such as the Abbot of Alcobaça, the Bishop of Évora and the Master of the Temple-in-Iberia.⁹¹³ We do not know to whom Soeiro spoke at the council, but we can compile a list of suspects simply by looking at the geography of the lands of origin of the personnel usually making up the northern fleets; we could suppose; the high-clergy of Cologne perhaps including Oliver of Paderborn, and the abbots and priors of the major religious institutions in Lower Saxony and the Low Countries. We know that the Portuguese fight against Islam was high on Soeiro's agenda since it is reported by fellow-attende, the Frisian Abbot Emón, that the bishop went as far as to ask Innocent III directly for permission for expeditionary troops to fight in Portugal; a request that was refused, although there is no evidence this stopped Soeiro canvassing support for his design.⁹¹⁴

Who did Soeiro take along with him from his chapter at Lisbon, given that it was certainly that Portuguese diocese that could be expected to gain significant, and more-or-less immediate, material benefits from the conquest of Alcácer? One likely member of Soeiro's diplomatic team was Cantor of Lisbon, Fernando Peres. He was of a wealthy family, well educated in law, probably at Bologna, and a high profile operator in royal and ecclesiastical politics.⁹¹⁵ But, beside his general *curriculum vitae*, two further points support his presence at the Fourth Lateran Council. Firstly he, like Soeiro, disappears from the diocesan documentation during the period of the council. Secondly, there arises at this time another account of the translation of St Vincent to Lisbon, intriguingly, from the library of the monastery of Saint-Ghislain in

⁹¹¹ Oliver of Paderborn, *Schriften*, pp. 285-6.

⁹¹² Powell, *Anatomy*, pp. 33-50.

⁹¹³ Denis Jean Achille Luchaire, 'Un document retrouvé,' in *Journal des Savants*, Bd. 3 (1905), S. pp. 557-568.

⁹¹⁴ *De Intere Frisonum*, p. 63.

⁹¹⁵ Maria José Azevedo Santos, *Vida e Morte de um Mosteiro Cisterciense* (Lisboa: Edições Colibri, 1998), pp. 55-63.

Hainaut in Belgium. The so-called *Relatio de Translatione Sancti Vincentii Martyris*,⁹¹⁶ conventionally dated to the early thirteenth century, relates a version of the story in large-part from the oral testimony, according to the prologue, of a certain 'archdeacon' of the Cathedral of Lisbon, one Fernando who is described as 'a venerable man both through divine religion and lineage.'

Written probably by a monk of Saint-Ghislain, one immediately striking feature of the *Relatio* is that it is abundant in details concerning the Portuguese historical context of the translation of St Vincent to Lisbon, including; the approximate date of the translation; that Afonso Henriques was king at the time; that Pope Alexander III had granted him the title of king; that the crusaders of northern Europe had laboured in the conquest of Lisbon, and that the tomb of St Vincent in the Cathedral of Lisbon had been endowed with rich ornamental decoration on royal orders.⁹¹⁷ At this point, the text makes explicit reference to Princess Matilda, daughter of Afonso Henriques who in 1184 had married Philip of Alsace, Count of Flanders and who, following Philip's death at the siege of Acre in 1191, had stayed in Flanders. The *Relatio* recounts how, on the closing of the tomb of St Vincent with ugly iron grills in order to protect it from attackers, Afonso Henriques and his daughter Matilda ordered that the bars be covered with silver and gold and precious stones. This contrasts sharply with the texts making up the Portuguese tradition of the translation of St Vincent, which attribute the adornment of the bars exclusively to Afonso Henriques. It would appear then that the monk-author of Saint-Ghislain is lauding the memory of Matilda Countess of Flanders. But, if this reference is to be considered a Portuguese tactic of attracting northerners by highlighting the links between the Low Countries and Portugal, why does Cantor Fernando not similarly invoke the other Portuguese royal with Flemish connections of more recent memory, Matilda's nephew Prince Fernando, younger brother of King Afonso II?

Prince Fernando had, by marriage in 1212, become Count of Flanders, however his essentially-disastrous rule saw war between Flanders and France, his defeat at the Battle of Bouvines and his subsequent imprisonment by Philip Augustus in 1214. All this appears to have tarnished Portuguese reputation in Flanders.⁹¹⁸ Indeed, there appears to have been a certain prejudice and suspicion on the part of Northerners towards the Iberian Christian kingdoms, probably on account of their large minorities of Jews and Muslims; communities renowned in the North for

⁹¹⁶Brussels: Biblioteca Real da Bélgica, MS Códice II. 981, fols. 100v-104r.

⁹¹⁷ See Dias, *Culto e Memória*, Apêndice IV pp. 207-220 for reproduction of Latin text and Portuguese translation.

⁹¹⁸ Azevedo, *História de Portugal* vol.5, pp. 122-26; Lay, *Reconquest Kings* pp. 213-14.

their occult knowledge, which cast doubt on the *orthodoxy* of their more-or-less tolerant Christian overlords.

Indicative of the attitude is William the Breton's comment included in his account of the Battle of Bouvines;

'It has become common knowledge that the old Countess [Matilda] of Flanders, aunt of Count Fernando of Spain...had wished to know the outcome of the battle. She cast her fortune according to the custom of the Spaniards who readily use this art and received...truthful answers...but with a double meaning in accordance with the Devil's habit of always deceiving in the end those who serve him.'⁹¹⁹

Fernando's failure and defeat can only have encouraged this attitude. However, if Fernando's memory was best left un-celebrated, the appeal to the memory of his aunt, a long-time resident of Flanders, was apparently still worthwhile. And, if her Christianity was in doubt, here we have her Christian orthodoxy re-instated in the *Relatio* through the explicit record of her active participation in the translation of St Vincent. Of course, we may suppose that Fernando Peres spoke of St Vincent and his translation to Lisbon in similar terms to other religious besides the anonymous monk-author of Saint-Ghislain. Probably the reason for our finding a written record of Fernando's mission in that particular monastery is that Saint-Ghislain already had an interest in the cult of St Vincent and thus it would have been more pressing in that institution, as opposed to others with lesser links to the cult, to fix Fernando's message in textual form as a valuable addition to the collection of Vincentiana already present in the monastery.

Further evidence of these Portuguese tactics of attraction emerge in a passage from the contemporary chronicle of the aforementioned Abbot Emón, of the Frisian Premonstratensian house of Floridus Hortus, the very same text that informs us of Soeiro's request at the Lateran Council to Innocent III for crusader aid in Portugal along the way. Far from being deterred by Innocent's refusal, there is evidence that Soeiro may have redoubled his efforts, especially where the Frisians were concerned; it is a matter for speculation whether a certain Frisian reluctance to participate in his plan had emerged during the Council. Abbot Emón, in the Chronicle of his Abbey,⁹²⁰ reproduces the report of an unnamed member of his household who

⁹¹⁹ William the Breton, 'Gesta Philippi Augusti', *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton: historiens de Philippe-Auguste*, ed. by H. F. Delaborde, 2 vols (Paris: Societe de l'histoire de France, 1883-1885), vol.1, 202, pp. 295-96; *The Legend of Bouvines: War, Religion and Culture in the Middle Ages*, by Georges Duby, translated by Catherine Tihanyi (University of California Press, 1990); cf. Lay, *Reconquest Kings*, p. 213.

⁹²⁰ *Cronica Floridi Horti*, Groningen: Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 116.

had sailed with the Frisian squadron that arrived to Lisbon in 1217. The Frisians refused to take part in the conquest of Alcácer, splitting off from the rest of the fleet and carrying on their voyage to Palestine. Nevertheless, the report, edited by Röhricht as the *De Itinere Frisonum*,⁹²¹ contains an account of the state of the tomb of the martyr Henry of Bonn in Lisbon in 1217;

'To the east, outside the city, is found the venerable monastery where presently is seen the lofty palm tree which grows from the tomb of the martyr-of-Christ, Popteto Uluinga, a chief of the Christian soldiery, who, having changed his name to that of Henry, ended his life in Christ in this same place seventy years ago, along with his squire; and who, now canonised by divine revelation, enjoys temporal and eternal glory'.⁹²²

Several notable points arise from this passage. In the first place, according to the *Indiculum* written in 1188 which is the earliest mention of the miraculous palm tree, the tree has already disappeared, either removed to another location, or destroyed because so many pilgrims took pieces of it for the cure of their ailments.⁹²³ Now, miraculously enough, in 1217 it is suddenly back for all to see. Does this represent special preparations in Lisbon in 1217 for the boosting of Henry's cult which might include the convenient re-appearance of the palm tree? Also we note that the Frisian source relates that Henry was originally called Popteto Uluinga. Where does this information come from? The tradition of Henry, first reported in the *Indiculum*, appears to be an entirely Portuguese phenomenon, but now we have this added detail. Could it be that this information was communicated to the author of the Frisian report through an oral tradition when he arrived to Lisbon, or could it have been imparted to him earlier, say at the Fourth Lateran Council? We do not know, of course. However, in the *Gesta Frisiorum*, a later chronicle of Frisian deeds dating to the mid-fourteenth century, we learn that among the Frisians at Lisbon in 1217 was one Popteto, 'a man of mature age and admirable piety' from Wirdum.⁹²⁴ Two places are named Wirdum in the north-eastern Netherlands. So now Henry/Popteto is not German at all, but Frisian! Sure enough, in the *Gesta*, Popteto valiantly leads his troops into battle, exhorting them to Christian martyrdom. But when the victory is won and Lisbon is rescued, Popteto is killed by a Saracen sniper's arrow, whereupon he himself enters heaven a martyr. Above his tomb in Lisbon, a beautiful and miraculous palm-tree appears, which the Lisboans perceive as a great wonder. The *Gesta*, although from the fourteenth century, appears to be inspired by other legends regarding Henry/Popteto whose

⁹²¹ *De Itinere Frisonum*, pp. 59-70.

⁹²² *Ibid*, p. 62.

⁹²³ Nascimento, *A Conquista de Lisboa aos Mouros*, pp. 192-193.

⁹²⁴ *Oude Friesche kronijken. Uitgegeven door net Friesch Genootschap* ed. by E. Epkema and J.W. de Crane (Leeuwarden: G.T.N. Suringar, 1853) pp. 283-306.

provenance is difficult to divine and we can only imagine how much may be owed to oral traditions that were circulated in Lisbon in 1217.⁹²⁵

Certainly the palm motif seems to have been important to Bishop Soeiro. He died in 1233 and his sarcophagus is found in a cloister-chapel, in Lisbon Cathedral. As we saw in Chapter 1, the epitaph on his tomb indicates that it was for his conquest of Alcácer that he wished to be remembered, or for which he was remembered; 'Lord Suerius Bishop of Lisbon lies here who, during the reign of Afonso II, took Alcácer do Sal from the Moors in 1217.'⁹²⁶ Of the three carved symbols, all of roughly equal size and prominence, on the otherwise fairly plain stone lid of the sarcophagus, we have already discussed the crusader cross, and we can be reasonably confident that the crozier motif is there to indicate Soeiro's episcopal status. It is now, however, that we come to understand the presence of the third motif, an unmistakable palm-tree.

If we can say that there are, broadly, three principal participant peoples making up the contingents of maritime Northern crusaders in the Portuguese *Reconquista*, that is, the Lower Rhinelanders, the Flemings, and the Frisians, then the Portuguese use similar tactics of attraction on all of them; the Lower Rhinelanders are given Henry of Bonn, the Frisians are given Popteto Uluinga, and the Flemings, in the library of Saint-Ghislain, receive their own special version of the translation of St Vincent to Lisbon. At the same time, appeal is made to each and every crusader, regardless of nationality, in the image of the miraculous palm tree.

Yet there exists a notable absence in this scheme of attraction. Did not the Anglo-Normans, a leading element in the momentous conquest of Lisbon, merit their own bespoke saintly allure in Portugal over and above the generic appeal of the palm tree? Indeed, they were not left out. Portuguese efforts in this direction were amply served in a spectacular way in 1170 when four knights loyal to Henry II of England entered Canterbury Cathedral on the night of 29th December and murdered Archbishop Thomas Becket at the high altar. By February 1173, Anglo-Norman Becket had officially become St Thomas with an already powerful and prospering cult. Indeed, evidence for the early promotion of the cult of St Thomas in Portugal is strong, including the very earliest known copy of the *Liber miraculorum beati Thome*, compiled by Benedict of Peterborough, being found among the manuscripts of Alcobaça copied from an earlier exemplar in the library of the important Portuguese Benedictine

⁹²⁵ Cf, Alemparte, *Arribas de Normandos*, pp. 158-9.

⁹²⁶ [Domnus Suarius Ulixbo] / NEN[sis e]PISCO[pus Hic] / JACET;-QUI REGNANTE / ALFONSO 2º A MAURIS / ALCASSARUM SALIS / ERIPUIT; NA[no] DE; [1217]; Barroca, *Epigrafia* vol. 2 book 1, pp. 745-746.

monastery of S. Mamede de Lorvão,⁹²⁷ and the dedication to St Thomas of the rotunda chapel of the Templar fortress at Tomar shortly after the saint's canonisation.⁹²⁸

Further Evidence for Forward Planning in the Conquest of Alcácer.

In addition to Soeiro's activities at the Lateran Council there are several other indicators of forward planning for the conquest of Alcácer do Sal which it is appropriate to mention here.

In view of the Frisians' ultimate refusal to participate at Alcácer, it is notable that it is only the *De Itinere Frisonum* that reports the preaching of the Abbot of Alcobaça, mentioned briefly in Chapter 1. The circumstances of the abbot's address suggest that his words were directed to an overwhelmingly Frisian audience during the sojourn of the Frisian contingent, from 3rd-11th July, in the port of Salir do Porto, one of the Cistercian ports in the *couto* of Alcobaça, to where the mariners had arrived to take on supplies. The crusaders met the Abbot at a nearby grange where he spoke to them of the condition of various locations in the kingdom, of the 'difficulties of its ports' and recounted to them a miraculous story involving the king of Morocco which foretold the imminent eclipse of his kingdom.⁹²⁹

Whilst the Frisians probably knew Salir do Porto was located in lands controlled by the monastery of Alcobaça, their arrival to the Cistercian port does not appear to have been planned since they had previously attempted to re-supply at Porto some 250km further north, where their attempts to enter the harbour had been thwarted by stormy weather. Nevertheless, however impromptu the Frisian visit, the Abbot of Alcobaça would have known the chances were high of crusaders putting into Cistercian controlled ports in Portuguese Extremadura and it is to suppose that appropriate welcoming measures would have been put in place, including the preparation of suitable sermons of persuasion. Certainly his oration, containing miraculous and prophetic elements, is typical of the preaching style of the period and, *inter alia*, conjures certain parallels with the preaching of Oliver of Paderborn.⁹³⁰ Sadly, we can do no more than speculate as to whether the Abbot was in fact using this preaching opportunity to address a specifically Frisian resistance to Iberian campaigning of which he had prior knowledge, perhaps from the Lateran Council.

⁹²⁷ Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, MS Alc. CCXC/143; On the early cult of St Thomas in Portugal see Anne J. Duggan, 'Aspects of Anglo-Portuguese Relations in the Twelfth Century. Manuscripts, Relics, Decretals and the Cult of St Thomas Becket at Lorvão, Alcobaça and Tomar.' in *Thomas Becket: Friends, Networks, Text and Cult*, ed. by Duggan, A. J. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007) Ch. X, pp. 1-19.

⁹²⁸ On the Portuguese Cult of St Thomas and attempts to attract Anglo-Norman warriors to the Portuguese-Andalusian frontier see Wilson, 'Tactics of Attraction,' pp. 218-20.

⁹²⁹ *De Itinere Frisonum* p. 61.

⁹³⁰ Cf. Alemparte, *Arribadas*, p. 149-150.

Contrasting the Frisian attitudes, the Rhinelanders and Flemings were, perhaps characteristically, far more amenable to the proposal. Indeed if the *Carmen* can be said to represent, if only partially, the Flemish point of view, some voyagers may have even contemplated their futures as permanent residents in Portugal since Goswin, describing the approach of the fleet to Portuguese shores, describes the kingdom as *terra vivenda*⁹³¹ ('the land about to be lived in'); resonance with the fact of crusader settlement in Portugal immediately following the 1147 Lisbon conquest being difficult to resist.

At the very least, an expectation of the winter months being spent in some European haven before undertaking the final leg of the voyage to Palestine in spring of 1218, is supported by the date of departure of the fleets from Vlardinghen on 29th May 1217; in other words, relatively late in the sailing season. If it had been the intention to complete the voyage without a yuletide interval, which still would have been just possible before the onset of seasonally inclement weather, the fleet would have arrived in the East far ahead of the land forces. This was apparently well-known at the time, even in Portugal, with Soeiro himself reminding the crusaders at Lisbon that 'owed to the tardiness of the kings and princes who had undertaken the road by land, they would not arrive [in the Holy Land] in that year.'⁹³² Even the Frisian dissenters chose to winter in Italy.

Meanwhile, as the northerners made their way steadily southward along Europe's Atlantic seaboard, preparations in Portugal for the Alcácer expedition appear to have been well underway. When the fleet finally gathered on about the 15th July in the port of Lisbon,⁹³³ the crusaders would have stepped ashore to find Lisbon teeming with activity. Whilst there is explicit reference to expeditionary preparations in the *De Itinere Navali* and several indications of the same in the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, the contemporary sources for Alcácer are silent on the issue. However, the *Crónica de Portugal de 1419* specifies that the Portuguese force comprised 20,000 soldiers of foot and some horsemen from the regions of Lisbon and Évora.⁹³⁴ In accordance with the recruiting practises of the period, an army of these dimensions would have required the bringing together of several discrete brigades including the knights of the orders of the Hospital, Temple and Santiago, and villain knights and foot-soldiers from the

⁹³¹ *Carmen*, line 34.

⁹³² *De Itinere Frisonum*, p62.

⁹³³ The sources are fairly consistent on the date of the crusaders' arrival to Lisbon; the *De Itinere Frisonum* gives the 14th July as the date of arrival of the Frisians, whilst the *Rhenanorum* gives 15th July and the *Chronica Regia Coloniensis* gives 11th July.

⁹³⁴ *Crónica de Portugal de 1419*, p. 107. No doubt a reference to the villain knights (*cavaleiros-vilãos*) of the urban militias of Lisbon, Santarém and Évora; José Mattoso, *Identificação de um País* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1985) vol.1, pp. 347-60; Powers, *Society Organized for War*, pp. 112-35.

frontiers who would normally be called upon to participate in campaigns taking place in their localities.⁹³⁵

António Brandão, keen to promote Afonso II's direct involvement in the Alcácer enterprise praises the terrific speed with which this army was mustered,⁹³⁶ an achievement he attributes to the dynamism of the king. According to Brandão, Afonso was in Coimbra in mid July when the crusader fleet appeared in Lisbon port. Receiving news of the arrival in a dispatch sent from Lisbon by Bishop Soeiro, Afonso immediately leapt into action, ordering his warrior chieftains to rally their forces for a major campaign. Yet, as Vilar has shown, the proposition finds no support in the sources.⁹³⁷ Rather, an analysis of Afonso's itinerary compiled from the documents of his chancellery shows that, following three months in the south of the kingdom where he is attested in Lisbon and Alcobaça, the king was in Coimbra only briefly at the beginning of July of 1217. Certainly by 12th July, a few days before the arrival of the crusaders, we find the king in Terra de Santa Maria and thereafter in Guimarães, some 75 km to the north, from at least 11th August until the end of the first week of September.⁹³⁸ From this we must conclude that there can have been no timely communication between Soeiro in Lisbon and his king, who was at least 300 km and a good six-days' ride away somewhere between Terra de Santa Maria and Guimarães, in the days immediately following the arrival of the fleet to Lisbon in mid July. On top of this, even if the figures given in the *Crónica de 1419* are exaggerated, it is almost impossible that any suitably sized army could have been assembled and equipped in the short space of time between the arrival of the Northerners to Lisbon and the beginning of the Siege of Alcácer in the first days of August.⁹³⁹ Rather, as under King Sancho in 1189, the assembly of the Portuguese army would have begun well before-hand and the sights greeting the crusaders at Lisbon in the summer of 1217 would have been those of vigorous military preparations.

Although in this particular instance we must reject the details of Brandão's account, we may entertain the general spirit of his version of events in as much as he seeks to emphasise the active participation of the monarch in the Alcácer enterprise. Indeed, at odds with the position of several later commentators, including Herculano, who have considered the king of Portugal to have been entirely aloof from the operation,⁹⁴⁰ there is evidence, albeit

⁹³⁵ Mário Barroca 'Da Reconquista a D. Dinis', in *Nova História Militar de Portugal* (Lisboa, 2003) vol.1 pp. 21-159 at pp. 79-80.

⁹³⁶ Brandão, *Monarchia Lusitana*, Part IV (Lisboa, 1974) p. 90.

⁹³⁷ Vilar, *Afonso II*, p. 137.

⁹³⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 261-262.

⁹³⁹ *Ibid*.

⁹⁴⁰ Herculano, *História de Portugal*, vol.2, pp. 272-273.

circumstantial, of Afonso having given his blessing to the project. In the first place his itinerary places him in the south at a time when it is almost certain that campaign preparations were underway. He can hardly have failed to have been aware of them. Further, during his stay at Lisbon in April, the king issued documents in favour of the leaders of the enterprise. To Soeiro of Lisbon he granted the letter of protection mentioned earlier.⁹⁴¹ In addition, he made further donations to D. Pedro, Abbot of Alcobaça, and to Bishop Soeiro of Évora.⁹⁴² Each of these recipients is identified as a leader of the campaign in a letter sent by the victors to the pope immediately following the conquest of Alcácer.⁹⁴³ It appears therefore that Afonso, in the knowledge that he could not be present in person in the enterprise, was determined to encourage those entrusted with the task of spearheading the operation in his absence. That the leadership comprised exclusively clerics is a curious feature of the army which has never been satisfactorily explained, although we must acknowledge they were amply supported, if not by prominent members of the Portuguese nobility, by the military orders of the Temple, led by Master Pedro Alvites, the Hospital led by Prior Mendo Gonçalves, and by the Santiagans of Palmela led by their commander Martim Barregão. That Master Pedro commanded the Templars throughout Hispania and not just those in Portugal, further augments the list of international elements involved in the forward planning of the Alcácer campaign.

Part II

Soeiro Viegas, Commissioner of the *Carmen*

Victory at Alcácer, the crowning glory of Soeiro's years of effort, brought spectacular benefits to Afonso II and his kingdom. To Soeiro himself, however, it brought very little. He emerged from the expedition out of pocket, refused a share in the spoils, and to his diocese was denied the addition of the newly captured port-town and its fertile region. The *Carmen* is unequivocal; shameful injustice has been done to the Bishop of Lisbon who must now stoically await his rewards in heaven. Nevertheless, those responsible for the unfair treatment of the Bishop are unspecified, the king of Portugal is mentioned not at all, and the reader is left with only a general impression of selfishness on the part of the Christian soldiery which might easily be attributed to the foreigners. In contrast, the poem leaves us in no doubt that this miraculous victory over the Saracens has been achieved, principally through the inspiration

⁹⁴¹ Sousa Costa, note 134.

⁹⁴² ANTT, Mosteiro de Alcobaça, 2^o inc., mç 4, doc.1229; ANTT, Reg. Afonso II, fl.37.

⁹⁴³ *Monumenta Henricina*, N^o.25, pp. 45-48.

and leadership of Bishop Soeiro. Thus vague in its criticism, but direct in its celebration, the *Carmen* offered to the prelate broad propagandist possibilities, being more or less applicable wherever his profile needed a little amplification. Plainly, from the content and tone of the piece and from the fact of Soeiro being the dedicatee, we are drawn to the seemingly inevitable conclusion that the work was commissioned by Soeiro, or one of his supporters, in order to speak to his advantage. Even if the *Carmen* was produced too late to alter the dispositions made at the close of the Alcácer campaign and even if, as put forward in Chapter 1 herein, a principal (perhaps 'the') purpose of the *Carmen* was to urge Soeiro's appointment as papal legate on a hoped-for International Portuguese crusade, later uses of the work in promoting responses favourable to the prelate are powerfully suggested by the fact that Soeiro's episcopal career was strongly marked by almost continual turmoil.

During a tenure that lasted more than two decades, Soeiro was frequently involved in serious and sometimes violent disputes generating multiple rounds of litigation entailing the appointment of papal investigators and judges-delegate, and prompting the issue of several summonses commanding the Bishop to appear in Rome, either personally or through his representatives. These disputes variously involved his dean, his king, a fellow bishop and parties and institutions inside and outside his diocese including the pope himself. That the *Carmen* does not allude, even obliquely, to these dramatic and remarkable events directly concerning arguably its principal character, goes some way to suggesting it was composed before they occurred and, therefore, very soon after the surrender of Alcácer. Or, plausibly, it may be argued that the poem came into being during the first documented dispute to involve the Bishop following the conquest which, within a year, saw Soeiro in violent confrontation with his dean who was in turn supported by the king. That the prelate's difficulties with the monarchy did not end with the death of Afonso in March of 1223 but, following a brief respite, revived again under Sancho II, makes the likelihood of an extended use of the *Carmen* even more compelling and it can readily be seen that the work would have retained a practical utility throughout Soeiro's several disputations the last of which only appears to have abated, if at all, shortly before his death in the early 1230s.

We will here explore Soeiro's possible reasons for dissatisfaction immediately following his success at Alcácer before outlining his subsequent tribulations into which, it may readily be imagined, he may have introduced the *Carmen* to enhance his reputation and further his ends.

Alcácer: the immediate aftermath.

Beyond the augmentation of his kingdom and the elimination of a dangerous Saracen fortress, the wider advantages brought to Afonso II by the triumph of Alcácer were of a high order indeed. They began accruing to him almost as soon as letters reporting the victory arrived to Rome, sent to the pope by the leaders of the Christian forces.

The first fruit came in with the New Year festivities, and it was momentous. On 4th January the bull *Licet Venerabilis* was published delivering the pontifical decision on the old question of the Primacy of the Spains.⁹⁴⁴ This was the culmination of the latest phase of a dispute that had dragged-on since the end of the eleventh century between Braga, Toledo and Santiago de Compostela.⁹⁴⁵ The most recent sparring had been between the Archbishop of Braga, D Estêvão Soares da Silva, and the Archbishop of Toledo, Rodrigo Ximenez da Rada. Although the Primacy of the Spains had been confirmed to Toledo by a papal bull in March 1210, Braga had characteristically refused to respect the order and, almost certainly, Estêvão Soares had taken up the question personally with the Pope at the first opportunity following his succession to the archiepiscopacy during his visit to Rome to receive the pallium in 1213. The details of the dispute have been well rehearsed in the literature and it will suffice here to highlight only the outcome. Following the vigorous efforts of Estêvão of Braga the pope, in *Licet Venerabilis*, disposed of the question by imposing silence upon it. With the subject closed to further debate, both archbishops retained the title and prerogatives of primate and, importantly, the Church of Braga was, for all practical purposes, liberated from subjugation to the Church of Toledo. Although the decision pertained to ecclesiastical governance, the moratorium had obvious ramifications at the political level, enhancing and strengthening Portugal's independence and bolstering the hitherto often-beleaguered position of Afonso II. Honorius' decision cannot fail to have been influenced by the recently arrived news of Alcácer.

But *Licet Venerabilis* was only the first of a series of bulls issued in a whirl of activity by the papal chancellery in early January, at the first opportunity following the intensive Christmas liturgical program in Rome. All of them displayed a strong preference for the autonomy of Portugal, both ecclesiastically and politically. Next, and still before replying to the letters sent by the victors of Alcácer, as early as 8th January 1218, Honorius ordered the execution and enforcement of judgments obtained against Afonso's sisters under his predecessor, Innocent

⁹⁴⁴ Mansilla, vol.2, N^o.118, p. 93.

⁹⁴⁵ Veloso, *D. Afonso II, Relações*, p. 141. On the general background of the dispute see Erdmann, *O Papado e Portugal*.

III.⁹⁴⁶ These were splendid results, of course, but the real pearl of papal approbation would come on 11th January when the pontiff re-issued to Afonso the *Manifestis Probatum*.⁹⁴⁷ This was a clangorous endorsement of Afonso's kingship which rang loud in the ears of his subjects, not long ago divided in civil war, and fulminated in Leon, Castile and wider Christendom. As mentioned earlier, although the *Manifestis Probatum* had been previously re-issued to Afonso in 1212, the military accolades so prominent in previous versions, the first issued in 1179 to his grandfather, the second to his father in 1190, had been glaringly absent due to the king's notable lack of achievements on the battlefield. Now, in the text of 1218, they were restored. It was a powerful and welcome assertion both of Afonso's regal legitimacy and of the sovereignty of his kingdom.

With a hard-won victory to his credit and great bounties flowing to his king as a consequence, we may easily imagine Bishop Soeiro, in the first weeks of 1218, a picture of satisfaction as he anticipated the just and due rewards that he felt sure were soon to be his recompense, not least the addition to his diocesan pastures of the rich and fertile lands formerly controlled by the newly conquered town, along with the profits to be harvested from a flourishing maritime trade flowing through Alcácer port. But if Soeiro was rewarded at all, there is no record of it. On the contrary, in August of 1218, Afonso granted the government of Alcácer and its region not to Soeiro's adjacent diocese of Lisbon but to the military Order of Santiago and issued a charter to its inhabitants.⁹⁴⁸ To further dismay the Bishop, the king was soon to show himself a supporter of his adversaries.

If the *Carmen* had not already been brought into being, then events in the central months of 1218 would certainly have called for its creation. Beginning from around the time of the transference of Alcácer to the Santiagans, two things become increasingly apparent in the sources; a marked change in Afonso's previously benign attitudes toward the Church and a marked down-turn in Soeiro's fortunes. These virtually simultaneous and dramatic reversals in trends, which almost certainly bore a direct relationship to each other, traced their immediate origins to Alcácer. A new self confidence, brought to Afonso by the recent success against the Muslims of al-Andalus and, on the back of it, successes in Rome, especially the *Licet Venerabilis* and the re-issued *Manifestis Probatum*, coincided with a concomitant increase in the prestige and power accruing to the Portuguese clergy who had largely been responsible for bringing about those very same triumphs. In the resulting power struggle, Soeiro found himself among

⁹⁴⁶ Sousa Costa, note 82.

⁹⁴⁷ *Monumenta Henricina*, vo.1, N^o.27, pp. 50-51.

⁹⁴⁸ ANTT, Reg. Afonso II, fls. 81v-82r. This measure was probably intended to keep Alcácer loyal to the king and not in the control of the Church represented by Soeiro.

the first propelled into the fray as a prominent contender in a nationwide conflict that saw Portuguese ecclesiastical power pitched starkly and violently against Portuguese royal power.⁹⁴⁹ It was a fight for hegemony that would grow progressively more serious and would continue long after the death of Afonso II, not coming to be settled until the substitution by papal decree of his heir Sancho II for his younger sibling Afonso III, in 1247/48, following notorious and lengthy periods of chaos and civil war.

From the very beginning of the conflict, two broadly opposing groups within the Portuguese Church are identifiable. One group, many of whom show evidence of juridical training, comprised clerics who formed an important part of Afonso's close circle of advisors. These men appear to have shaped Afonso's vigorous centralist policies designed to achieve unequivocal hegemony for the crown. The group included Mestre Vicente Hispano dean of Lisbon, Mestre Paio cantor of Porto and Mestre Silvestre Godinho archdeacon of Braga, alongside several others, many of whom are identified in a set of royal grants made in 1218 on Good Friday. These grants, the persons named therein and their frequently obscure relationships *inter-se*, with the king and with the various Portuguese dioceses, have been the subject of considerable study most notably by Sousa Costa and Branco.⁹⁵⁰ The other party, of whom the Archbishop of Braga and the bishops of Coimbra, Porto and Lisbon emerge as the most prominent members, consisted of clerics who supported the supremacy of the Church and ecclesiastical freedom from royal control.

Dispute between Soeiro Viegas and Vicente Hispano.

Some of the first skirmishes in this contest of Portuguese Church and State appear to have arisen from problems in Lisbon which surfaced whilst Soeiro was away at the siege of Alácer in the summer and autumn of 1217. Soeiro had left his diocese in the charge of his dean, Master Vicente Hispano, referred to above as a member of the king's advisory circle and an important member of the royal legal team in Rome.⁹⁵¹ According to Soeiro's complaints to the pope, during the bishop's absence Master Vicente had acted in a way that was prejudicial to the bishops rights and prerogatives.⁹⁵² Because of this, and apparently at the insistence of at least

⁹⁴⁹ Here we may imagine the boost for the clergy in this contest if Soeiro had succeeded in being appointed Papal Legate in an International Portuguese crusade (see Chapter 1 herein).

⁹⁵⁰ Sousa Costa, pp. 48-49, 67-73, 396-7, 146-52, 509; Branco, *O conceito de soberania régia...*etc, p. 505-59. See also, José Mattoso, *Identificação de um País*, vol.1 p. 106; and Vilar *Afonso II* pp. 205-14.

⁹⁵¹ Sousa Costa, note 160.

⁹⁵² These complaints are related in the letters of Honorius III dated 25th October 1218 and addressed to the Abbot and the Prior of Alcobaça *et al*; Sousa Costa, note 157.

a part of the Chapter of Lisbon, Soeiro dismissed Vicente from the deanship and replaced him. Vicente, however, who enjoyed the support of King Afonso, would not go quietly.

The root causes of the dispute between the two Lisbon clerics have remained obscure, but they probably predate 1217. One likelihood is that Vicente was keen to occupy the episcopal throne of Lisbon himself and had strong ideas on how the diocese should be organised and governed. With his superior away at war, Vicente, who had been left in charge, could not resist the temptation to introduce changes and reforms. His ambitions in Lisbon would go some way to explaining Vicente's future behaviour with relation to his nomination as Bishop of Guarda/Idanha a Velha. Having been nominated by the canons of Guarda in the first months of 1226,⁹⁵³ Vicente delayed giving his consent to the election for a full ten years, in spite of repeated papal admonishments he take up the position. Various theories have been put forward to explain this astonishingly lengthy delay, including his reluctance to relinquish his post as chancellor to Sancho II⁹⁵⁴ an office he had occupied since at least 1226,⁹⁵⁵ and the obvious fact that the impoverished, depopulated, vulnerable-to-attack, frontier bishopric of Guarda/Idanha a Velha, was hardly an attractive prospect for a man of the culture and calibre of Vicente Hispano, used to the high-society and politicking of the royal and papal courts and the rarefied scholarly circles of Bologna.⁹⁵⁶ Of course, the busy, cosmopolitan, wealthy and up-and-coming see of Lisbon, was a very different prospect. Indeed, Vicente may have had reason to believe the Lisbon episcopacy was almost his since, although already bishop-elect of Guarda, he was nominated as bishop of Lisbon by the chapter of that diocese in early 1233, immediately following the death of Soeiro Viegas. It was only after this candidacy had been thwarted that Vicente finally relinquished his position as royal chancellor and officially took up his charge as Bishop of Guarda in 1236.⁹⁵⁷

As previously mentioned, in the dispute between the two clerics of Lisbon, Afonso II threw his support behind Vicente Hispano. At first blush this seems surprising given the Lisbon prelate's recent triumph at Alcácer which had brought the king such important benefits in addition to the considerable extension of the territory of his kingdom. Nevertheless, in line with Afonso's emerging policy of reining-in the power of the Church, it is probable Afonso II feared the growing influence and power of Bishop Soeiro brought on by his leadership in the Alcácer campaign. This would help to explain Afonso's granting of the region of Alcácer to the

⁹⁵³ Sousa Costa, p. 158

⁹⁵⁴ Herculano, *História de Portugal*, vol 2, p. 274-75, but see the rebuttal of Herculano's position in Sousa Costa, at p. 139 *et seq.*

⁹⁵⁵ Fernandes, *Sancho II*, p. 276.

⁹⁵⁶ Cf, Fernandes, *Sancho II*, p. 153.

⁹⁵⁷ Sousa Costa, p. 213.

Order of Santiago. Afonso II may also have been wary of Soeiro's increased personal prestige. The bishop of Lisbon was now not only a great military champion, but he had also invested his own money in the enterprise, something that undoubtedly would have gained him a popular sympathy and further inflated his reputation. Because the Portuguese ecclesiastical bodies, including the Chapter of Lisbon had not yet complied with the *vicesima*, the monetary contribution stipulated in the acts of the Fourth Lateran Council for the maintenance and support of the war against the Muslims, Soeiro Viegas had contributed his own personal money and resources.⁹⁵⁸ Support for this proposition is found in the letter sent to Honorius III by Soeiro Viegas, the bishop of Évora (also named Soeiro), the Master of the Temple, the prior of the Hospital and the Commander of Santiago communicating the news of the Victory at Alcácer and at the same time requesting the authorisation of the application of the *vicesima* in the fight against the Muslims of al-Andalus.⁹⁵⁹ All-in-all it appears that the increase in the Bishop's prestige may well have contributed to an arrogance and haughtiness of attitude which the king would have found not only offensive, but a challenge to his authority which required urgent redress.

Importantly, the challenge to the king was not only from Soeiro personally, but also from the institution he represented, the Church. Early indications that Afonso II was concerned to limit the power of the Church were beginning to emerge even before Alcácer as events in Coimbra during 1217 demonstrate. Here, a certain canon of the Cathedral, one Domingos Eanes had become involved in a dispute with the powerful dean of Coimbra, Master Julião Juliães, a highly influential advisor to King Afonso and son of the late Chancellor Julião Pais who had been a truly monumental figure intimately allied to the Portuguese kings whose lengthy career as grand orchestrator of the royal chancellery had spanned the reigns of Afonso Henriques, Sancho I and, until his death in office in 1215, the first years of the reign of Afonso II.⁹⁶⁰ Domingos Eanes, having reached impasse in his contest with so potent an adversary, appealed to the Roman curia. The first papal document to deal with the dispute is the bull dated 18 September 1217 addressed to the bishop, cantor and a certain Master Egas, all three of Coimbra, instructing them to call dean Master Julião to appear before the Roman curia, either in person or through his representative, in the first week of Lent of 1218.⁹⁶¹ However, in

⁹⁵⁸ *Carmen*, 14 lines 5-12.

⁹⁵⁹ *Monumenta Henricina*, N^o.25, pp. 45-48.

⁹⁶⁰ On Julião Pais see, *inter alia*, Branco, 'The King's Counsellors' two faces' esp. pp. 524-28.

⁹⁶¹ Pressutti, vol.2., N^o792, p. 135, *Dilectus filius*; Veloso, *D. Afonso II, Relações*, p. 130, and reproduced as document 10 in the Appendix at p. 91, from which it is apparent that the dispute had begun some considerable time before hand and certainly before the beginning of the Alcácer campaign. Although Master Julião's unnamed opponent participated in the Alcácer campaign, it is thought that the dispute was unrelated to it. But, cf. Azevedo *História de Portugal* vol.5, p. 103.

complete disregard of the papal communication, and of an order of excommunication pronounced upon him by the Bishop of Coimbra, Master Julião occupied the revenues of plaintiff Eane's prebend.⁹⁶² It appears that Master Julião, a great favourite of Afonso II, had been acting with royal support. Indeed, such audacious behaviour in the face of an episcopal excommunication, can scarcely have been contemplated without it. Support for this proposition is found through Master Julião's proximity to the king being explicitly confirmed some years later when he is named in a bull of 1222, alongside Master Vicente dean of Lisbon and Master Paio cantor of Porto, as one of the individuals ordered by the pope to be removed from the company of the King, on account of his exercising a pernicious influence over the king in his dealings with the church (see below).⁹⁶³

Rome's early awareness of Afonso's changing attitudes towards the Church during the dispute between Master Julião and the canon Domingos Eanes is reflected in a bull issued from the Lateran on 13th July 1218 in which Honorius addresses specifically foreign clerics, the school master of Zamora and the archdeacon of Toro, instructing them to oblige Master Julião to make compensation for the damages caused to Domingos Eanes.⁹⁶⁴ This demonstrates a clear papal intention to appoint impartial judges-delegate from abroad, rather than appoint Portuguese delegates as he had in the previous year, for fear that Portuguese delegates might be tempted to side with the king.

Certainly, if Soeiro had cause for grievance with the king for his treatment after Alcácer, he would find further cause for discontent in Afonso's support of Vicente Hispano. The dispute between Soeiro and Vicente did not break out immediately on Soeiro's return from the expedition. Rather there seems to have been a period of peaceful relations between the two men during the early part of 1218. If this was a period of cold war, there is nothing explicit to suggest this in the documentation.⁹⁶⁵ All appears to be cordial on 12th March when Soeiro Viegas affirms, along with all the other bishops of the kingdom, the donation by Afonso II of a property in Montemor to one Master Vicente, a canon of Évora.⁹⁶⁶ Likewise on Good Friday 1218, relations appear to be amicable when Afonso grants the tithes of the royal revenues of the diocese of Lisbon to Bishop Soeiro Viegas and the church of Lisbon, *...pro amore magistri*

⁹⁶² Honorius III's account of Eanes complaints is contained in AV Reg Vet, 9 f.157, N°653; and see Branco, *Poder Real*, p. 534. Other papal documentation relating to the case is to be found in Mansilla, N° 180, p. 143 and N°303, pp. 227-28.

⁹⁶³ *Novertis nos*, Sousa Costa, n.209

⁹⁶⁴ *Cum olim*, Mansilla, N° 180, p. 143.

⁹⁶⁵ Cf, Veloso, *D. Afonso II, Relações*, p. 131.

⁹⁶⁶ Sousa Costa, note 144.

*Vicentii decani Ulixboñ...*⁹⁶⁷ Further, Soeiro not only affirms all the other Good Friday grants of tithes, but also continues in regular attendance attesting royal documentation during the months of May and August.⁹⁶⁸

It is not until the 25th October, 1218, that we learn the substance of Soeiro's complaints against Vicente as outlined by Honorius III in the apostolic letter of that date, *Nolumus preteritarum*.⁹⁶⁹ In it we discover, amongst other things, that Soeiro, sometime after returning from Alcácer, has dismissed Vicente. Given the cordial relations that appear to have subsisted between the two men up to the donation of the tithes of the royal revenues on Good Friday of that same year, the dismissal must have taken place sometime after that, with 25th October obviously providing the *terminus ad quem*. Whilst the *Nolumus preteritarum* does not specify the actions perpetrated by Vicente that Soeiro had found so offensive it, nevertheless, provides a fascinating, if one-sided, report of some of the curious events taking place during those central months of 1218.

In the *Nolumus*, the pope instructs the Abbot and the Prior of Alcobaça and the Cantor of Coimbra to investigate the veracity of Soeiro's accusations against Vicente, which he then goes on to detail. Whilst the bishop was absent at the siege of Alcácer do Sal, Master Vicente usurped the Bishop's rights and, after obtaining the government of souls as dean, was the cause of damage to the bishop, both with respect to the deanship as well as to other churches. Because of this and at the insistences of the Chapter, the bishop had deprived him of the deanship and appointed another in his place. Availing himself of royal support, Master Vicente had proceeded to occupy the property of the deanship and other properties, both his and those belonging to the other canons, in spite of a complaint to the pope already being underway. The dean had further forged letters of summons purportedly from the Archbishop of Compostela. In obedience to these letters, Soeiro had ordered to appear in Évora in his name, the newly appointed dean, who Master Vicente's nephews had savagely wounded. In answer to another subpoena, Soeiro's sub-deacon, Gonçalo Martins now appeared in Évora. However, a similar subterfuge was in operation, and although the sub-deacon had taken the precaution of carrying with him letters of apostolic protection, they availed him nothing, since Vicente's men and nephews made threats against his life.⁹⁷⁰

⁹⁶⁷ Ibid, note 153.

⁹⁶⁸ Ibid, p75; Veloso, *ibid*.

⁹⁶⁹ Ibid, note 157; *Nolumus persecutionum venerabilis fratris nostrj...*; Potthast, citing Manrique, lists the incipit in the truncated form, *Persequotionum venerabilis fratris*, 5911; cf. Veloso, *Afonso II Relações*, pp. 131 and 158.

⁹⁷⁰ Sousa Costa, p. 76.

Alas, we do not know the outcome of the investigation into these events, nor can we assess their veracity since the account contained in the *Nolumus preteritarum* would certainly have been based on a text supplied by Soeiro Viegas himself and therefore likely to be biased. However, in spite of the violent nature of the allegations made against Vicente, we note with considerable surprise that, by 23rd May 1220, everything appears to have returned to normal in the diocese of Lisbon, since in a rescript issued on this day, the pope refers to Master Vicente as dean of Lisbon.⁹⁷¹ The rescript is addressed to the Bishop and Cantor of Lamego and the Abbot of Salzeda, and orders them to ensure the observance of a settlement recently brokered by Master Vicente between certain clerics of the chapel of S. João, an institution belonging to the monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra, and the Prior and the canons of the monastery.⁹⁷² Master Vicente's dismissal, therefore, appears to have been ephemeral.

Of course this mysterious turn of events gives rise to a number of questions. If Soeiro had been so convinced that the merits of the case were on his side, why did he not make appeal to Rome over Vicente's reinstatement? If he did, there is no record of it.⁹⁷³ Was Soeiro over egging the pudding? Even the famously anti-clerical Alexander Herculano, who usually takes every opportunity to vilify Vicente, was forced to admit, 'the expelled dean was restored either because the charges against him were not well founded or, because the influence of the king had naturally more force than the spite of the bishop.'⁹⁷⁴ Sousa Costa, on the other hand, ever keen to take Vicente's part and to expose the errors in Herculano's reasoning, wonders whether the dispute between the Lisbon clerics may have had something to do with the *inquisitiones obtentas* against Soeiro under Innocent III; the very same which Honorius III annulled in letters of the 6th September 1217, proclaiming that they could no longer in any way damage the reputation of the Bishop (above). Wanting to cast doubt on the reliability of Soeiro's allegations against his dean, Sousa Costa underlines the notion that the *inquisitiones* had presumably been aimed at discovering some wrongdoing on behalf of the Lisbon Prelate. Whilst there is certainly room for speculation that the dean made further discoveries of the Bishop's misfeasance whilst the Bishop was absent from his diocese at Alcacer, an occurrence that may well have incurred Soeiro's 'spite' in the months following his return, Sousa Costa seeks to draw our attention to examples of the Bishop's behaviour which, although occurring some time afterwards, nevertheless indicate there may have been an aspect to Soeiro's

⁹⁷¹The rescript, *Johannis Nunonis...*, Veloso, *Afonso II Relações*, p. 132.

⁹⁷² Veloso, *ibid.* Indeed, Vicente is referred to as dean of Lisbon by Afonso II in March 1220 in a donation made to him by the king of property in Guarda; ANTT, *Gaveta 3 Maço 1*, n.10.

⁹⁷³Cf, Sousa Costa, p. 78.

⁹⁷⁴ Herculano, *História de Portugal*, vol.2, p. 210.

character that was unscrupulous and that he could have been perfectly willing to make false allegations in order to serve his ends.

One such matter involved the superiors of the Dominicans and the Franciscans and the Prior of the Order of Santiago in the diocese of Lisbon who were ordered by Honorius III, on 29th March 1222,⁹⁷⁵ to take preventative measures against an abuse being practiced by the Bishop and prelates of the city of Lisbon and the diocese, whereby the dying were being compelled to bequeath a third of their property, or a specific (*vel certum*) part of it, to the churches. Those who refused were being denied the sacraments. However, Sousa Costa overlooks the fact that, what on the face of it appears as rank extortion, was not in contravention of canon law and that Soeiro and his colleagues were not so unusual in operating in this manner. In fact they were following an old tradition whereby they claimed the so called *portio canonica*. This had been codified in Ireland before the papal legate at the Synod of Cashel on 6th November 1171.⁹⁷⁶ According to this practice, the dying individual was to make a will in the presence of his confessor dividing his estate into three portions, one part for the children, one for the spouse and one part for the funeral rights. This legislation was in force during the thirteenth century and confirmed at several synods, notably the Synod of Tolouse in 1229 where canon 16 stipulated that disobedient testators would be denied burial in sacred ground and their will would be declared void.⁹⁷⁷ In the light of this, the most that can be said against Soeiro is that, if the pope was compelled to intervene to restrict the practice, the Bishop and the clerics under his command were taking the practise to an unconscionable extreme.

More serious, however, appear to be the accusations levelled at Bishop Soeiro by Honorius III on 18th December 1225 in the apostolic letter, *Venerabilis frater*.⁹⁷⁸ Although this papal missive displays a bias similar to that mentioned above with relation to the *Nulumus preteritarum* since it is based on information supplied by the aggrieved party, what emerges, at the very least, is the picture of a prelate incessantly enmeshed in altercation. Here, Honorius addresses the Abbot of Espina, the archdeacon of Carrión in the diocese of Palência and G. Perez, a canon of Palência, requesting that they rectify actions taken by Soeiro and his men against Master João Raolis, the Pope's chaplain in Rome. The letter sets out that Soeiro has attacked members of the Chaplain's family who were responsible for looking after the property and the rights that the Chaplain possessed in some Portuguese churches, whilst the

⁹⁷⁵ The bull, *Ex parte universitatis*, Sousa Costa, note 165; Veloso, *D. Afonso II, Relações*, p. 132.

⁹⁷⁶ Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed and trans. by A.B. Scott and F.X. Martin (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1978) Ch.35, pp. 98-101.

⁹⁷⁷ Veloso, *D. Afonso II, Relações*, p. 132.

⁹⁷⁸ Sousa Costa, note 163.

Chaplain was away serving the pope in Rome. Since some of these churches were within the diocese of Lisbon, Soeiro had made certain demands upon them which were alleged by the plaintiffs to be unreasonable and abusive.

Honorius opens the letter by lamenting that, although Soeiro in past times of difficulty had enjoyed papal support, he now appears to have forgotten this and has acted ungratefully and disrespectfully towards the Church of Rome. The pope continues that, many times, he has heard people marvelling at Soeiro's audacity in his daring to persecute the papal Chaplain through attacking clerics belonging to his family and their possessions. Further, Soeiro has threatened violence on one Symeon, the papal agent who had brought letters of summons to the Bishop. As a result, Symeon had been forced to take refuge with the Abbot of Alcobaça. In spite of the Abbot and the *Infantas*, Sancha and Branca (aunts of the then reigning King Sancho II), having made efforts to obtain safe passage for Symeon, the Bishop had remained intransigent.

With regard to the churches of Joao Raolis, Soeiro had, on his own whim, demanded nine *areos* over and above the one *areo* that was owed to him from the church of Lourinhã, whilst at the church of S. Pedro in Torres Vedreas, Soeiro had confiscated a chalice and, 'instead of asking 150 or at the most 200 soldos, had demanded 300.' Before arriving to another of Raolis' churches, Soeiro sent an emissary ahead to demand of Raolis' brother, who was also the proctor of the church, that supper be laid out for him and that a lavish dinner be prepared for him on the next day, claiming that the church was his and that he was entitled to these services whenever he desired. When the proctor failed to prepare the feast, Soeiro excommunicated him along with all those responsible for tending Raolis' fields and vineyards, in spite of the Chaplain already having referred the case to the pope. Soeiro is reported to have said to the proctor:

'You will see how much the inquiry obtained against me will benefit you and your brother, [the inquiry] erroneously supposing to be fact that which has not yet been established.'⁹⁷⁹

In addition, Soeiro forbade the clerics of that church from recognising Raolis' brother as their proctor. In doing this, Soeiro had sought to prevent Raolis from entailing another church because, Soeiro alleged, Raolis had fraudulently obtained the apostolic exemption relating to the plurality of benefices. Because of Soeiro's attitude, the rectors of Raolis' neighbouring churches refused to pay the tithes over to him, whilst Soeiro threatened to excommunicate

⁹⁷⁹ ...*videbitis quantum inquisitio contra me obtenta proderit vestro fratri et vobis, cum nondum impetrata fuisset sed eam sibi conscius extimaverat emanasse*; Sousa Costa, p. 80-84, note 162 at p. 82.

any proctor who tried to collect the tithes on the Chaplain's behalf. On top of this, Soeiro had forbidden all clerics who were supporters of Raolis from communicating with him, under pain of ecclesiastical sanction and deprivation of office and property and, also, in a separate dispute between Raolis and another cleric, which had already been referred to Rome, Soeiro had intervened in the case to Raolis' detriment. Meanwhile, the chapter of Lisbon, on Soeiro's orders, had confiscated the revenues of Raolis' prebend in the diocese on the grounds that he was not entitled to them because, in discharging his duties as Papal Chaplain in Rome, he was not personally serving the church of Lisbon. Furthermore, the complaint continued, Soeiro had exceeded his mandate in publishing new constitutions and statutes that ran against the established customs of the church of Lisbon and contrary to the privilege granted to Raolis, simply to cause the Papal Chaplain expense.

The reliability of these events however is impossible for us to assess and, impressive as this long list of complaints appears, it is ultimately inconclusive in so far as it undermines the veracity of Soeiro's accusations levelled against Vicente in 1218. As for the part played by Afonso II in the dispute, we know only that he supported Vicente, without having any information as to the nature of that support beyond a letter of royal protection issued to the dean of Lisbon in 1220.⁹⁸⁰ We may suppose that Vicente, a favoured royal counsellor, would have benefited to some degree from Afonso's new aggressive policy towards the Portuguese Church, although the position adopted by Herculano, who attributed this change in royal attitude wholly to the inspiration and machinations of Vicente in the royal court, must be rejected in the light of more recent scholarship.

Nevertheless, the dispute between the two Lisbon clerics occurred almost simultaneously with the outbreak of Afonso's disputes with the Archbishop of Braga, Estêvão Soares and Bishop Pedro Soares of Coimbra and it is the contours of these conflicts that must be briefly traversed in order to better appreciate the atmosphere in which Bishop Soeiro, even after the quarrel with his dean was apparently resolved, came under the lash of Afonso's policies towards his churchmen.

⁹⁸⁰ *Cabido da Se de Lousada, Apontamentos dos Brandoes, Livro dos Bens Proprios dos reis e das Rainhas - Documentos para a historia da cidade de Lisboa* (Lisboa, Câmara Municipal de Lisboa: 1954) p. 182; Vilar, *Afonso II*, p. 218.

Afonso II's Dispute with Bishop Pedro Soares of Coimbra

Pedro Soares had risen to the episcopal throne of Coimbra in 1193 under the reign of Afonso's father Sancho I, which was a period when conflict between Portuguese Church and state had been more or less continuous. Bishop Pedro's relationship with the monarchy was particularly stormy. The monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra, with its multiple royal grants of exemptions and privileges, was a frequent source of conflict, as was, to a lesser extent, the convent of Lorvão also located in the diocese of Coimbra which, from 1206, came under the influence of *Infanta* Teresa, daughter of King Sancho, who had married and subsequently been separated from Alfonso IX of León, by order of the pope. With the accession of Innocent III to the papacy in 1198 and the consequent renewed emphasis in Rome on the assertion of the universal church, several Portuguese prelates availed themselves of this new and powerful impulse toward ecclesiastical supremacy and sought direct support from the pope in their struggles against Sancho's centralising policies. Pedro Soares was one of the first to do so and, having taken his complaints against the royal monastery of Santa Cruz before the Roman Curia, from the early thirteenth century, he became one of the most active judges-delegate on the Peninsula, being particularly favoured in cases where papal policy needed to be urged upon reluctant temporal lords. It may be recalled that Pedro had famously lambasted Sancho for, *inter alia*, confiscating church properties and revenues, causing clerics to appear before secular courts and obliging them to take part in military ventures. His actions to curb what he saw as these royal excesses resulted in his imprisonment by Sancho, his subsequent escape, his flight to Rome and an acerbic exchange between Sancho and Innocent.⁹⁸¹

That Pedro Soares was a leading figure in the defence of the rights and liberties of the church is clear from a series of no less than 34 bulls issued to him by Innocent III between 1198 and 1216, all dealing with subjects related to the Bishop's struggle to retain temporal power over his diocese.⁹⁸² Following Sancho's dramatic deathbed surrender to the demands of the Church and Afonso II's promulgation of legislation favouring and protecting the Portuguese Church, relations between Pedro Soares and Afonso II appear to have been largely cordial. Certainly, in spite of his never being part of the king's close circle of advisors, Pedro Soares was sufficiently highly regarded by the king to be included as one of his executors in his wills of 1214 and 1218. However, things were not to remain so cordial and, the crescendo appears to have come when Afonso II, echoing the actions of his father Sancho I, imprisoned Pedro Soares in his episcopal

⁹⁸¹ See Chapter 1 herein.

⁹⁸² For a list of these bulls see Veloso, *D. Afonso II, Afonso II, Relações*, p. 134, note 58, and pp. 159-160.

palace, sometime between 1218 and 1220 (the precise dates of the incarceration are unclear in the sources).

The trigger for the dispute between the king and the Bishop of Coimbra remains unknown, since not a single document condescends to this detail, however, some writers have suggested the cause may have been the protection afforded by Bishop Pedro to the Dominicans recently arrived to Portugal and in particular to their prior, Soeiro Gomes.⁹⁸³ This is no more than speculation, however.

What does seem certain is that the conflict between Afonso II and Bishop Pedro Soares was symptomatic of the general clash between the Portuguese king, seeking to strengthen his authority and centralise his administration, and his Church which was striving to protect its liberty and the immunity of its possessions.⁹⁸⁴ Following his release, Pedro Soares remained bishop of his diocese although, in the period immediately following his experience of confinement, he made a dramatic shift from champion of ecclesiastical liberties to staunch supporter of Afonso II; so much so, in fact, that the pope was to berate the Bishop, in a bull in December of 1220, for not supporting the archbishop of Braga in the latter's struggles with the king.⁹⁸⁵ Following this pressure from Rome, Bishop Pedro may well have shifted back to the ecclesiastical faction since, like the rest of the Portuguese bishops, he is not referred to in Afonso's last will of 1221.

Afonso II's Dispute with the Archbishop Estêvão Soares of Braga

The dispute between Afonso II and the Archbishop of Braga was altogether more serious and more prolonged than that with the Bishop of Coimbra. This contest, frequently violent, would endure from 1219 until after the death of Afonso II in March of 1223, only finally coming to be resolved in a settlement compacted between Sancho II and the prelate in the following June. As mentioned above, Archbishop Estêvão Soares da Silva of Braga had energetically driven the great question of the Primacy of the Spains to a satisfactory conclusion for the kingdom of Portugal through maintaining and reinforcing Braga's ecclesiastical independence and, at the same time, reinforcing political independence and the legitimacy of Afonso II.⁹⁸⁶ However in 1219, Afonso departed dramatically from the ecclesiastical policy he had followed during the early part of his reign by reneging on the laws he himself had enacted in 1211 and on the

⁹⁸³ See Vilar, *D. Afonso II*, p. 222.

⁹⁸⁴ Cf, Veloso, *D. Afonso II, Relações*, p. 133.

⁹⁸⁵ Sousa Coast, note 202, pp. 100-101.

⁹⁸⁶ Although dioceses including Lisbon would still be suffragans of the Metropolitan of Santiago de Compostela.

donations he had made. In the bull *Quod solitae salutationis* addressed to Afonso II dated 22nd December 1220, one of a series of bulls in similar terms addressed to others of the same date, Honorius III described in detail the wrongs Afonso had perpetrated against the clergy.⁹⁸⁷ He had imposed heavy tax assessments and other inflated charges on the cathedral and the churches, on the monasteries, hospitals and houses of the Order of the Temple and other religious places, as well as on clerics and he had arbitrarily revoked donations that he had previously made to churches and ecclesiastical personnel.

In the face of these royal encroachments on the privileges of the Church, Estêvão Soares, sought to reprimand the king. This he did in public at an ecclesiastical assembly in Braga to which he had summoned his suffragans and other clerics. Here, the Archbishop admonished the king to make amends for his recent deeds by abrogating the taxes and re-issuing the donations that he had revoked. However, the Archbishop did not confine his criticisms of the king to his policy regarding the Church and he extended his attack to touch upon the king's private life, exhorting the king to abandon his predilection for adultery and to return to the marriage bed. In so doing, the Archbishop appears to have overstepped the limits of discretion and prudence.

Once again, the main source for the dispute is the papal documentation generated by the archbishop's complaints to Rome. Thus, from 21-23 December 1220, the papal chancellery appears to have done little else but issue documents related to the conflict. From the aforementioned *Quod Solitae Salutationis*, we learn that, on the king's orders, the men and soldiers of the *concelhos* of Coimbra, like 'minions of Satan,'⁹⁸⁸ destroyed the ancestral houses of the Archbishop in Coimbra whilst men of the *concelho* of Guimarães, a *concelho* that had been in lengthy dispute with the archbishop early in his episcopacy, took charge of occupying the granaries and other properties of the archbishop in the diocese of Braga. The archbishop immediately pronounced a sentence of excommunication on the invaders, but the king continued unrepentant and ordered the destruction and burning of D. Estêvão Soares trees and vineyards. Since the excommunication had had no effect on the king, the pope ended his missive with the dire threat that, if he did not retrace his steps and make amends for the wrongs committed, the pope would absolve Afonso's subjects and vassals of their oaths of loyalty to him and expose his kingdom to invasion and occupation by other kings and princes. In the bull, the pope referred to the fact that it had been a year since the king had remained

⁹⁸⁷ Sousa Costa, note 198, pp. 94-96.

⁹⁸⁸ *Ibid*, note 198, p. 95.

inured to the episcopal excommunication, which would indicate that these attacks on the Archbishop of Braga had taken place during the course of 1219.

With his ecclesiastical sanctions affording him little protection, Archbishop Estêvão Soares was forced to flee to León where he first took refuge in the town of Ervededo where the diocese of Braga retained the *couto*, a donation which had been confirmed to the Archbishop of Braga by Alfonso IX in June of 1219.⁹⁸⁹ However, Afonso II's agents pursued him there and wrought destruction on the town in 1220. The incident led to the invasion of northern Portugal by Afonso II's half-brother, the bastard son of Sancho I, Martim Sanches who was the lieutenant of Límia, within whose lands Ervededo was located, and who had been affronted by the invasion of his territory. According to the *Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro*,⁹⁹⁰ which contains the most detailed reports of the event, the incursion of Martim Sanches was ostensibly merely punitive, in so far as it was not aimed at seizing Portuguese domains but rather at seeking redress for damage done. Indeed, according to the *Livro*, Martim Sanches had twice requested Afonso II make redress for his agents' actions but had been unable to elicit a response from the monarch. However there were ominous overtones. Along the Portuguese northern frontier, the civil war of 1211-12 was still a vivid memory and the spectre of a new alliance between Afonso II's enemies and Alfonso IX was ever present. The confirmation of the donation of the *couto* of Ervededo made by Alfonso IX to the Archbishop of Braga in June of 1219, probably at a time when Estêvão was already in open conflict with Afonso II, could hardly have been seen by the Portuguese king as anything other than a beacon indicating a covert alliance between the archbishop and the king of León. Whilst Martim Sanches cannot be included in the group of Portuguese nobles who transferred their loyalties to the King of León at the time of Afonso II's accession, or shortly thereafter, the fact of his younger brother, Pedro Sanches, having been a participant in the invasions of 1211-12 and now occupied the office of *mordomo-mor* to Alfonso IX, suggests that Martim would have been perceived by Afonso II as emblematic of a powerful faction who had already taken up arms against him and threatened to oust him from his throne.

Ultimately, the expedition of Martim Sanches was fleeting. Having gathered soldiers from his lands at Toronho, Límia and Baronceli, he led them to Ponte de Lima where he found Afonso II with his assembled army. Here, Martim asked the king to withdraw from the affair since, according to the *Livro de Linhagens*, he did not want to confront his king, his half-brother, in battle, wanting merely to deal with those who had offended him. Afonso II, advised by his

⁹⁸⁹ Veloso., *D. Afonso II, Relações*, pp. 142-43.

⁹⁹⁰ *Livros de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro*, p. 296 et seq.

counsellors, duly removed himself to the Castle of Gaia, on the left bank of the Douro. From this point, the description rendered by the author of the *Livro*, who is keen to praise the military prowess on display, gives the whole expedition the air of a tournament and, in the engagements that ensued between elements of the Portuguese chivalry and Martim's forces, there were no deaths and those taken prisoner were released a short time afterwards. In spite of the brave deeds of the Portuguese knights, strongly eulogised in the *Livro*, Martim Sanches emerged victorious following three battles, one at Várzea, one near Braga and one outside the walls of Guimarães, behind which the Portuguese had taken refuge. After a day spent parading outside Guimarães, as was the military custom, Martim Sanches returned to Galicia carrying off great spoils.⁹⁹¹

In this same year of 1220, probably sometime after May, Estêvão Soares fled to Rome, bringing his complaints against the Portuguese king before Honorius III.⁹⁹² In his absence, Afonso II began his famous nationwide plan of Inquiries into Church privileges and property holdings in the diocese of Braga, even using former enemies of the archbishop as inquisitors.⁹⁹³ Meanwhile, in Rome during the days before Christmas, there was great activity as the pope struggled to resolve the crisis, issuing a number of decrees designed to bring the Portuguese king to order, including the *Quod slite salutationis* in which the pope, *inter alia*, threatened to expose his kingdom to invasion if he did not make amends for the damage caused and that he would order the bishops of Palência, Astorga and Tui to formally pronounce his excommunication and place an interdict over the kingdom of Portugal.⁹⁹⁴ The same bull, *mutatis mutandis*, was sent, on even date, to the said bishops with the appropriate instructions.⁹⁹⁵ Also on this day, the pope wrote to Alfonso IX instructing him to support and protect the Archbishop of Braga in his plight.⁹⁹⁶

On 23rd December, the papal chancellery issued fully five bulls on the subject. The *Ad nostrum novertis* addressed the bishops of Astorga, Tui and Ourense, stating that the pope had been informed that Afonso II was oppressing the churches, clerics, religious and men of the churches, obliging them to appear before his courts without respect for the judicial order, and compelling them, both as petitioner and as judge, to answer in his presence or before his judges. Honorius exhorted the clerics addressed to use their influence to prevail upon Afonso

⁹⁹¹ *Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro*, p. 296 et seq. and see Azevedo, *História de Portugal*, vol.5 pp. 107-10.

⁹⁹² Veloso, *D. Afonso II, Relações*, p. 147. Sousa Costa's argument that the Archbishop did not go to Rome until 1221 must be rejected.

⁹⁹³ PMH *Inquisitiones*, p. 60 and p. 206; Veloso, *Ibid.*

⁹⁹⁴ Sousa Costa, note 198, p. 92.

⁹⁹⁵ *Ibid*, note 199, p. 96.

⁹⁹⁶ *Ibid*, note 201, p. 100.

to cease the practice and, if necessary, to resort to ecclesiastical censure if the king refused to comply.⁹⁹⁷ In the *Gravibus nobis*,⁹⁹⁸ addressed to the bishops of Astorga and Tui and the dean of Tui, the pope ordered them to take precautionary measures against the abuse of the king causing ecclesiastics to be judged in civil courts and compelling them to perform roles offensive to ecclesiastical liberty, such as tending the royal packs-of-hounds, especially when 'the Emperor of the Romans' (i.e., Frederick II) had established by general law (*generali lege sancierit*) the immunity of the clergy, who could only be brought before ecclesiastical courts. In the *Sua Nobis*,⁹⁹⁹ addressed to the same clerics, Honorius specified that he had received reports from the Archbishop of Braga that the king of Portugal had previously granted privileges to the Church of Braga, such as the right of chancellery and the minting of coin with an exemption for the personnel of the Church of Braga, their possessions and the *couto* of Braga from royal taxation. Afonso had now despoiled the Archbishop of these rights against all justice, in disrespect of the papal legates and even in the face of ecclesiastical sanction. In the *Cum pro eo*,¹⁰⁰⁰ again addressed to these clerics, the pope ordered them not to allow the king of Portugal and his accomplices to persecute the Archbishop and the Church of Braga, who were driven by hatred against the Archbishop who had excommunicated them and placed the land under interdict and, to this end, they were authorised to use ecclesiastical sanctions if necessary. In a fifth and final bull issued on this day,¹⁰⁰¹ Honorius addressed Bishop Pedro Soares of Coimbra who, possibly still deranged following his imprisonment by Afonso II, had failed to support the Archbishop. Honorius reprimanded Bishop Pedro for this back-sliding and advised him to side with the Archbishop or the pope would confirm the sentence of excommunication that the Archbishop had already pronounced upon him.

Following a pause for the Christmas celebrations, on 4th January 1221 the pope issued the bull *Cum nonnunquam mores* addressed to Afonso II warning him of the disastrous advice of his *alferes- mor*, Pedro Anes and his chancellor Gonçalo Mendes who, not as good counsellors but rather as 'deceivers or frogs who dwell in the royal sanctuaries',¹⁰⁰² tried to corrupt him, suggesting to him wicked and illicit things causing him to persecute the Church which he had the obligation to protect and, worse, inducing him to compel the Archbishop of Braga to live in exile from his church, when the king should be honouring him as a good man of honesty and learning. Honorius instructed Afonso to remove these pernicious counsellors and to choose

⁹⁹⁷ Ibid, note 203, pp. 101-102.

⁹⁹⁸ Ibid, 205, pp. 103.

⁹⁹⁹ Ibid, note 204, pp. 102-103.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Ibid, note 206, pp. 103-104.

¹⁰⁰¹ Ibid, note 202.

¹⁰⁰² *vel potius seductores, velut rane in penetralibus regis habitantes...*; Sousa Costa, note 207 p. 104.

others who were truly trustworthy and honest. If the king did not obey, Honorius warned him that the appointed judges delegate, i.e., the bishops of Astorga and Palência and Tui, had been ordered to place his kingdom under interdict. At the same time, the pope wrote to the aforementioned prelates, instructing them accordingly.¹⁰⁰³ Indeed, the three bishops came to Portugal to execute the pontifical mandate, and since Afonso steadfastly refused to mend his ways, or make reparations to the Church, they formally pronounced the excommunication of the king and his counsellors and placed the entire kingdom under interdict.¹⁰⁰⁴

Still the king appears to have continued inflexible and the papal documentation reveals that during the course of 1221, Afonso did not confine his persecutions to the Church of Braga. The monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra also felt the pressure of royal interference, as did the churches of Porto as is evidenced by bulls issued during the month of March.¹⁰⁰⁵ Then there appears to be a break in the litigation until December of the same year. Teresa Veloso has opined that this is because Archbishop Estêvão, seeking to establish an accord with the king, had returned to Rome.¹⁰⁰⁶ To support her argument, she indicates the absence of the archbishop's attestation of royal documents from June 1221 until 15th of August 1222. The pope returns to address the Portuguese question only on 13th December, when in the bull *Significatum est nobis*, he orders the Bishop of Orense and the Cistercian Abbot of Osseira to persuade Afonso II to pay the testamentary bequests made by his Queen Urraca, who had died in November of 1220.¹⁰⁰⁷ In this document, Veloso detects a softening of the papal position in relation to Afonso through the incipit, *...karissimus in Christo filio noster A[fonsus]...* . Such greeting had been notably absent in previous bulls issued in anger and exasperation. If this is correct, then Veloso attributes this changing of tone to the presence of Archbishop Estêvão in Rome, whose mission at this point would have been principally a quest for a settlement with the king rather than another moment of complaint. The efforts of the Archbishop in this direction appear to yield their first fruits on 16th June 1222 in the bull *Ut Rex Portugalensis*, addressed to the Archbishop of Braga himself, in which Honorius grants to him the authority to absolve the king of the ecclesiastical censures to which he has been subject.¹⁰⁰⁸

¹⁰⁰³ Veloso, *D. Afonso II, Relações...etc.*, p. 149.

¹⁰⁰⁴ This is reported in the bull addressed to Afonso II of 16th June 1222, *Et si venerabilii*; Veloso, *Afonso II, Relações*, p. 149-50; Sousa Costa, note 208.

¹⁰⁰⁵ The bulls *Et si ecclesiarum* and *Dilecti fillii* respectively exhort the high clergy of Braga and of Viseu to protect the monastery of Santa Cruz from royal interference; Veloso, *D. Afonso II, Relações...etc.*, p. 149.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Veloso, *D. Afonso II, Relações*, pp. 149-50.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Sousa Costa, note 214; Veloso, *D. Afonso II, Relações...etc.*, note 209, p. 174.

¹⁰⁰⁸ *Ibid*, note 210, p. 108.

On the same day, the pope curtly addressed Afonso II, in the bull *Et si venerabili*,¹⁰⁰⁹ scolding him for his wrongs, neglecting papal warnings and flagrantly ignoring the interdict pronounced over his kingdom. Honorius continues admonishing him to cease his persecution of the Church and to make reparation to the Archbishop of Braga who has long been forced to continue in exile from his own diocese. Condescending to details, the pope specifies that the king must give satisfaction for the wrongs he has committed, both before and after his excommunication, against the churches, whether cathedrals or not, monasteries, hospitals, houses of the Order of the Temple and other religious houses and clergy. Once again, the pope includes the threat of absolving the king's subjects of their oaths of loyalty to him and exposing the kingdom to occupation by other kings and princes. To make sure that the king received the bull, by another bull of even date, the *Noveritis nos*,¹⁰¹⁰ addressed to the abbots of Osseira and Celanova and to the Prior of Celanova, the pope orders the said prelates 'not fearing the face of man more than the face of God'¹⁰¹¹ to personally deliver the *Et si venerabili* into the king's hands. In addition to exhorting the prelates to encourage the king to repair the damage he has caused, the pope orders that those people, both members of the clergy and of the military and anyone else communicating with the excommunicated king, thus 'cherishing him in his error',¹⁰¹² should remove themselves from the king's company within the time period set out by the judges-delegate prelates on pain of excommunication. The Pope adds that, especially, the deans Master Vicente of Lisbon and Master Julião of Coimbra and Paio the Cantor of Porto and other clerics, should remove themselves from the king within the time limit on pain of being suspended from office. Some commentators have been tempted to confuse these reference to Masters Vicente, Julião and Cantor Paio with the earlier bull of Honorius mentioned above, *Cum nonnunquam mores*, in which Honorius urges the king do dispense with malignant counsellors who are blamed for perpetuating the king's programme of persecution of the Church and thus to tar the clerics named here, especially Master Vicente, with the same brush.¹⁰¹³ However, the better view is put forward by Sousa Costa who perceives in the presence of Master Vicente with the king, a great mediating and conciliatory force. Thus, in this instance, the pope is already hopeful of a settlement of the issue and is merely encouraging a strict enforcement of the ecclesiastical sanction where the

¹⁰⁰⁹ Ibid, note 208.

¹⁰¹⁰ Ibid, note 209.

¹⁰¹¹ Cf, Branco, 'The King's Counsellors' Two Faces'.

¹⁰¹² ...*eum foverint in errore...*, Sousa Costa, *ibid*.

¹⁰¹³ Herculano considered Master Vicente the instigator and director of the King's policy against the Church; see generally, Herculano, *História de Portugal*, vol 2.

excommunicate, Afonso II, is not in fact communicated with, in the hope of increasing pressure on the king and speeding up the process of resolution.¹⁰¹⁴

This interpretation is supported by the issue, on 15th August 1222, at a time before the two bulls *Noveritis nos* and *Et si venerabili* had arrived at their addressees, of a deed of gift of an endowment executed in favour of Master Vicente by Afonso II in which, among the several reasons for the donation stated in the document, including Vicente's service to the king in the disputes with his sisters, the monarch expressly sets out that the gift is made: *pro multo servitio quod nobis fecistis in pacto quod habuimus cum domino Stephano Bracharensi archiepiscopo*.¹⁰¹⁵

This deed of gift, executed in Santarém, the city where Afonso II would now remain until his death in the following March, is remarkable for its list of witnesses. It is attested by all of the Portuguese bishops, including Archbishop Estêvão of Braga, all the superiors of the principal religious orders in the kingdom including the Abbots of Alcobaça, São João de Tarouca and Santo Tirso, the Prior of Santa Cruz de Coimbra, the masters of the Orders of the Temple, and of Évora, the Commander of the Order of Santiago at Alcácer do Sal and the Prior of the Hospital. Also in attendance were the Archbishop of Compostela and the Bishop of Tui. But it was not only high-ecclesiastical dignitaries that were present, also attested are numerous more humble members of the royal administration and household.¹⁰¹⁶ The magnitude and calibre of this gathering, ranging from metropolitans to humble notaries, is a clear indication that something of great importance was taking place, since a mere gift to a cleric for services rendered would hardly merit such a distinguished and lengthy attestation.¹⁰¹⁷

Afonso II must have known death was imminent. His health was almost certainly in rapid deterioration at this time and, whilst we have no explicit evidence for this, we may conclude that the king's condition was such that he was no longer able to sign his name. Near the foot of the document, in place of his subscription, we read *...duo iudices in loco domini Regis, test...* Aware that his heir, Sancho (II) was still a minor, that he himself was excommunicated and with an interdict lying over his kingdom, Afonso was anxious to normalise the situation as quickly as possible in order that his son could succeed to the throne in the most favourable circumstances to ensure the survival of the Portuguese kingdom. A settlement of his disputes with the clergy was now virtually forced upon him. Thus, it would appear that an agreement

¹⁰¹⁴ Sousa Costa, p. 109.

¹⁰¹⁵ Ibid, note 193, pp. 89-90 (note 211) pp. 109-110.

¹⁰¹⁶ Cf, Vilar, Afonso II, p. 238; See Sousa Costa at p. 90 for a complete list of confirmants, following ANTT, *Livro dos Forais de Santa Cruz*, fl.70, and Brandão, *Monarchia Lusitana* (1974), part IV, pp. 110-111.

¹⁰¹⁷ Sousa Costa, pp. 111-110; and Cf., Vilar, *D Afonso II*, p. 238.

between the king and Archbishop Estêvão was being negotiated and was nearing settlement. This would perhaps explain the presence of the *praetors* of Coimbra and Guimarães who had undertaken some of the attacks on the Archbishop. Yet the agreement between the Archbishop and the monarchy was not brought about until June 1223 under Sancho II, some three months after Afonso II's death. It would appear that Afonso's health deteriorated to such an extent that further negotiation had become impossible. The only document issued by the king after August 1222 that has survived is a letter-patent from November of that year, which bears no witnesses or confirmants and it would appear that Afonso had effectively ceased to rule, for all practical purposes. He died, still excommunicate, on 25th March the following year.

Dispute Between Soeiro Viegas and Afonso II

Soeiro Viegas appears to have been in Rome at the time of the king's death. Not only do we find his attestation on a papal document issued on 12th April 1223¹⁰¹⁸ just a little over two weeks following Afonso's demise but also, from an apostolic letter sent to Sancho II on 16 January 1224,¹⁰¹⁹ we learn from Honorius that Bishop Soeiro had arrived to Rome following the dispute with the Archbishop of Braga, but before the death of Afonso II, in other words at the end of 1222 or the beginning of 1223. The purpose of the visit of the Bishop of Lisbon was to lay before Honorius personally his own complaints against Afonso II.

In his letter to Sancho II, Honorius particularised Soeiro's many grievances. King Afonso had forbidden the Bishop of Lisbon, under threat of exile, from building monasteries, churches and chapels and had even gone as far as to order Jews and Muslims to destroy some of these buildings, among which were a number constructed by order of the Holy See. In addition, against the stipulations of the Fourth Lateran Council, the king had preferred Jews over Christians for appointment to royal offices and, because Bishop Soeiro, in accordance with the decisions of the same Council, had obliged the Jews of his diocese to wear distinctive symbols and prohibited Christians from trading with Jews under pain of excommunication, the king had refused the Bishop the tithes of the royal revenues, deprived him of the *terças da igreja* (portion of royal revenue flowing to the church) and had forced the Christians to go on trading with the Jews. Furthermore, under threat of pecuniary fine, the king had prevented the faithful from attending the divine offices, from giving gifts to churches constructed by the Bishop, from trading with clerics and from working on church properties. The king not only

¹⁰¹⁸ Ibid, note 216.

¹⁰¹⁹ Ibid, note 218.

flagrantly communicated with those excommunicated by the Bishop, but encouraged them to remain excommunicated, even prohibiting the inhabitants of Santarém, under pain of the heaviest penalties, from seeking absolution. Infringing ecclesiastical immunities and reneging on his own grants, Afonso had demanded tribute from clerics and obliged them to serve in the army whilst, under the pretext of a constitution promulgated by Afonso Henriques imposing prison on women found with clerics, royal officials had frequently attacked the houses of clerics at night in order to rob them of their goods and at the same time had planted certain women in their houses in order to justify the assault and defame the clergy. Beyond this, the king was usurping the right of patronage (*padroado*) in churches of which he was not a patron either by construction or by endowment (*dote*). In this respect, it had been the custom under Afonso Henriques and Sancho I that an archdeacon, when dealing with vacant churches, would hand them over in *comenda* to determined clerics until they could be provided with suitable rectors. Afonso now refused the archdeacon this right and, instead, when he received news of the vacancy of a church, he immediately had it occupied and guarded by laymen in order to then present to the Bishop strange and useless people (*estraneas et inutiles*). If the Bishop did not ordain them (*nisi Episcopus ipse admitteret ad easdem ipsas faciebat*), the churches remained in the control of laymen who appropriated the church profits along with the subtraction of tithes and other rights, to the discontentment of parishioners who saw foreigners being preferred to their children and family members. As for prelates who cited ecclesiastical privilege in their defence, the king despoiled them of their goods, expelled them from the kingdom and otherwise oppressed them.¹⁰²⁰

Since there is no mention of any dispute with the dean of Lisbon, Master Vicente, in relation to these events, there is nothing that permits us to conclude that these attacks on the Bishop of Lisbon and his Church at the hands of Afonso II and his men, had anything to do with it. Rather, the concurrent suffering of the prelates of Braga and Coimbra suggest these confrontations were part of the wider royal policy aimed at reining-in and ring-fencing the powers of the diocesan clergy. Furthermore, since Soeiro Veigas was present to attest the August 1222 donation, mentioned earlier, of King Afonso to Master Vicente, we may observe that this not only indicates some measure of amicable, or at least tolerable, relations between the two Lisboan clerics, but also suggests that the Bishop of Lisbon may have been encouraged to go to Rome at this time on his own behalf, in the light of the growing atmosphere of reconciliation brought on by the king's worsening illness and his increasing amenability to

¹⁰²⁰ Ibid, note 218, pp. 113-14.

settlement and by the likely prospect of a reconciliation agreement between the monarch and the Archbishop of Braga being forthcoming in the near future.

Indeed, the approximation of the King and the Archbishop of Braga is attributed by Rodrigo da Cunha to the influence of Soeiro Viegas. Perhaps in the final stages of Afonso's reign Soeiro and Vicente Hispano once again worked together, as they had done in Rome so many years before, to bring settlement to the embattled king.¹⁰²¹ Certainly there is a legend that Soeiro had absolved the king, before he died, of the censures pronounced against him brought on by his persistent persecution of the Archbishop of Braga.¹⁰²² Whilst this seems unlikely, Rodrigo da Cunha's report that Bishop Soeiro presided over the funeral rites of Afonso II, accompanying the body to its final resting place in the monastery of Alcobaça, which was of course located within his diocese of Lisbon, cannot be discounted. Afonso had died excommunicate and therefore could not be buried immediately. Eventually, however, the negotiations that were probably curtailed by the death of the monarch in March were finally concluded under his son and successor Sancho II. In the agreement finally achieved, in June 1223 at Coimbra, the monarchy capitulated to almost all of Archbishop Estêvão's claims, in return for which the Archbishop raised the sentences of excommunication and interdict *inter alia* enabling Afonso's body to receive burial on consecrated ground.¹⁰²³ By this time, Soeiro Viegas would have had time to return from Rome in order to conduct the obsequies.

Dispute between Soeiro Viegas and Sancho II

The young king Sancho paid little attention to the fulfilment of the terms of the settlement and new disputes quickly broke out with the Church with Soeiro Viegas being among the first clergymen to appear at loggerheads with the new monarch. As early as the beginning of 1224, relations between the king and the Bishop of Lisbon had deteriorated to such a point that Soeiro was already to be found living in exile.¹⁰²⁴ It appears that Soeiro had fled first to León

¹⁰²¹ Cunha, *História eclesiástica da Igreja de Lisboa*, Ch. XXVI, fol.120v.

¹⁰²² Cf, Veloso, *Afonso II Relações*, p. 177, note 237.

¹⁰²³ There appears to be little significance in the absence of Soeiro Viegas's name in the list of those attesting the document containing the terms of the Agreement since the names of the other Bishops also do not appear; the only diocesan prelate listed being the signatory Archbishop Estêvão himself; Sousa Costa., note 203, pp. 124-128. For a concise summary of the terms of the agreement concluded between Sancho II and Archbishop Estêvão, see Veloso, *Afonso II Relações*, pp. 151-53.

¹⁰²⁴ AV, *Regesta Vaticana*, 12, fol.140, ep. 189; In the letter dated 16th January, 1224, Honorius addressed the Archbishop of Compostela and his suffragans instructing them to aid the Bishop of Lisbon who had been forced into exile for defending ecclesiastical liberties; Sousa Costa, p. 129.

where he had requested protection from Alfonso IX, for which Honorius thanked the Leonese King in a letter of 12th January.¹⁰²⁵

Clearly things had gone very badly for Soeiro and it appears he had been forced to flee for his life, since we learn from another papal letter dated 15th January, of the murder of Soeiro's own nephew and mordomo.¹⁰²⁶

Following a period of intense activity in mid-January in the Roman chancellery, things in Lisbon seemed to have settled somewhat in relation to ecclesiastical liberties and the king. Although the troubles had forced Soeiro to depart from his diocese by the end of 1223, this exile appears to have been of short duration since he appears to be once again in his diocese by the end of 1224.¹⁰²⁷ In general, relations between the Church and the monarch appear to have ameliorated considerably since, later the same year, on 22nd October, Honorius acknowledged Master Vicente's appointment as chancellor to Sancho II, entreating the dean of Lisbon to discharge the post with faithfulness and to the glory of God and of the monarch.¹⁰²⁸ Further, in a letter of even date addressed to King Sancho himself, the pope grants him apostolic protection for his person and for his kingdom in recognition of the king's tender years and the fact of his kingdom being continually threatened by those enemies of the faith, the Moors of al-Andalus.¹⁰²⁹

Whilst the papal documentation does not return to the question of ecclesiastical liberties in Lisbon until 1231, there was little respite for the Church in other areas of the kingdom. By the end of 1226 Sancho was in open conflict with Bishop Martinho Rodrigues of Porto. The reports of the dispute reported in the papal documentation show Martinho's complaints against Sancho to be almost identical, even in their wording, to the complaints raised by Soeiro against Afonso II previously.

Meanwhile, back in Lisbon, things were hardly peaceful and, whilst Soeiro may not have been in direct dispute with his king during the central years of the 1220s, he made up for it by involving himself in other disputes. One we have already described involved Soeiro's alleged wrongs committed against the rights and relatives of Master Joao Raolis, the Papal Chaplain. When, during this conflict, Honorius complained that the ungrateful Soeiro had clearly forgotten the papal support previously dispensed to him when in difficulty, the Pope was

¹⁰²⁵ Sousa Costa, note 231.

¹⁰²⁶ *Ibid*, note 235.

¹⁰²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 134-135.

¹⁰²⁸ *Ibid*, note 245.

¹⁰²⁹ *Ibid*, note 247.

almost certainly referring to his exhaustive efforts on the Soeiro's behalf at the beginning of 1224. This papal reprimand, contained in a letter of 18th December 1225, was followed shortly afterwards by apostolic letters of 3rd February 1226 concerning a further matter of diocesan domestic discord in which Soeiro was in dispute with the monastery of S. Vicente de Fora over the revenues of a church donated to the monastery.¹⁰³⁰ Soeiro was now summoned to appear in Rome within four months, either in person or through his representatives, to hear the decision of the curia over the settlement reached in the contest through the mediation of Pelagius (Pelagio Galvini), Cardinal Bishop of Albano.¹⁰³¹ It appears that Soeiro responded to this summons in person, leaving Lisbon in time to reach the curia within the four-month time limit. Indeed, Soeiro disappears from the diocesan documentation at a corresponding time, the last records of his presence dating to early 1226. According to Rodrigo da Cunha there are no further appearances of Bishop Soeiro in the documentation of the Cathedral of Lisbon.¹⁰³² Following this, all documents fall silent as to his whereabouts until 1231, when a document of Gregory IX specifically refers to him being in Rome.¹⁰³³

It is in the bull *Venerabilis frater*, issued on 7th October 1231, that Gregory IX, following some years of silence on the issue, addressed the conflict between Soeiro and Sancho II and, at the same time, dealt with the wrongs committed against Soeiro by Afonso II for which Sancho had made no redress. According to the bull, Soeiro has personally appeared before the pope to petition for the right to receive the tithes of the royal revenues in his diocese of which he had been despoiled by Afonso II and of which his son Sancho was preventing him from taking pacific possession.¹⁰³⁴ The Bishop also asked the pope to order the restoration to him of moneys of which he had been despoiled by Afonso II and which Sancho II retained, plus the amounts that Sancho himself had taken from him which he calculated amounted to 43,000 *aureos*. On top of this the Bishop requested the payment over to him of the sum of 500 *aureos* representing bequests made to the church of Lisbon by Sancho II's predecessors which had not been honoured. Additionally, the Bishop asked that the pope order the vacant churches of his diocese to be restored to him along with all the moneys received by the clerics and laymen who had taken possession of those churches due to royal intervention. The pope further set out Afonso II's wrongs, several of which have already been mentioned; the oppression of the clergy, the taking over of churches by the king's men, the violent occupation of clerical houses and property. Afonso II had left 40,000 *aureos* in his will for the reparation of the damage he

¹⁰³⁰ Ibid, note 296e, p. 176.

¹⁰³¹ Ibid, note 248.

¹⁰³² Rodrigo da Cunha, *História eclesiástica da Igreja de Lisboa*, Part II, fol.120v.

¹⁰³³ Sousa Costa, notes 296h and 296i.

¹⁰³⁴ Ibid, notes 296h and 296i.

had caused to the clergy of his kingdom and the Bishop of Lisbon was claiming the full amount of what was due to him on this count, as well as a sum representing the amount that had been taken from him by Sancho II. The pope exhorted his delegates to admonish Sancho II for the wrongs he had committed against the churches and clergy of Lisbon and to make full reparation to them of what he owed them. If the king and his followers failed to obey these orders, the Pope's delegates were empowered by the bull to resort to ecclesiastical censures.¹⁰³⁵

Some two weeks later, on 20th October 1231, Gregory issued the bull, *Ex Speciali*, addressed to the Bishop and Dean of Lugo and the Bishop of Astorga appointing them his commissioners.¹⁰³⁶ In it, the pope repeated the complaints made by Soeiro against Afonso II (previously reported in the letters of 16th January 1224 sent to Sancho II by Honorius III) including the fraudulent planting of women in the houses of ecclesiastics in order to despoil and defame those same clerics through the abusive application of legislation enacted by Afonso Henriques. Further, when clerics, summoned before civil courts in cases concerning church property, made appeal to the principle of *foro* – i.e., that the civil court forum had no jurisdiction to hear the case – the judges immediately gave judgment for the opponent, placing him in possession of the litigated property, the practice therefore coercing clerics to appear in civil courts. In addition to these abuses, the king was maintaining relations with excommunicated persons, preferring Jews to Christians in public offices in contravention of the stipulations of the Fourth Lateran Council, compelling ecclesiastics to serve in the army and to maintain royal packs of hunting-hounds and falcons, and to serve in the watch towers which they were, occasionally, even forced to build.

The pope ordered his commissioners to personally meet with Sancho II in order to persuade him to prevent his officers from acts of defamation and despoliation of the clergy by breaking into their houses; that the judgment of the clergy was a matter exclusively for the church and beyond the king's jurisdiction, that he must desist from occupying the properties of the Cathedral and other churches of Lisbon and that he must avoid excommunicated persons. In addition, the papal commissioners carried the special duty of ensuring adherence to the stipulation of the Lateran Council which prohibited giving Jews authority over Christians in public offices. Further, Sancho was to respect the canonical and civil laws concerning the clergy who could not be despoiled of their possessions if they appeared before his judges and he was to cease the abuses of making the clergy take part in the army, of maintaining hunting-

¹⁰³⁵ Ibid, 296j, p. 180.

¹⁰³⁶ Ibid, note 291 (Cf, note 218).

hounds, or serving in watch towers, or of obliging them to observe his statutes or those of the *concelhos*. The commissioners were additionally to procure assurances from the king that Bishop Soeiro, in his person and in his property, would be free from danger. If their admonishments went unheeded, then the commissioners were empowered to use ecclesiastical censures. In fact, further according to the *Ex Speciali*, Sancho had already supplied a letter guaranteeing Soeiro's safety, having apparently been forced into it by threats of ecclesiastical sanctions issued by the Bishop of Orense, under the authority of a bull emitted by Honorius III on 16 January 1224.¹⁰³⁷

The absence of documents concerning the dispute between the Bishop of Lisbon and Sancho II in the five years preceding the bulls of 1231 tends to support the notion that Soeiro spent his final years in Rome, during which time he appears to have continued to defend his episcopal rights and those of the diocese of Lisbon in addition to assisting with the compilation of the canonisation file of St Anthony of Lisbon/Padua.¹⁰³⁸ Presumably taking some assurance from Sancho's promise of safety, Soeiro returned to Portugal to be attested on 22nd March 1232 in the *foral* of Crato.¹⁰³⁹ Strangely, Rodrigo da Cunha's transcription of the Calendar of Lisbon Cathedral records Soeiro's death on 29th January 1232.¹⁰⁴⁰ This, however, may be put down to a scribal error, the correct date being 1233, since it was early in this year that Vicente Hispano was put forward by the Lisbon chapter as Soeiro's successor, the first candidate to be so announced in the election fiasco that was to follow.¹⁰⁴¹

With Soeiro's death concluding our exploration of the possible scenarios into which the *Carmen* may have been deployed by its commissioner, we will in the next Chapter examine the work from the perspective of its likely author, GOSUINUS.

¹⁰³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 195.

¹⁰³⁸ *Vita Sancti Antonii*, PMH, p. 116.

¹⁰³⁹ Sousa Costa, note 317.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Rodrigo da Cunha, *História eclesiástica da Igreja de Lisboa*, Part II, fol.229v. For a discussion of the problems surrounding the date of Soeiro's death, including an insecure tradition that, at the end of his life, he became a Dominican in Santarém, see Branco, 'Reis, Bispos e Cabidos', pp. 83-84.

¹⁰⁴¹ Sousa Costa, p. 241.



Fig.11, Tomb of Bishop Soeiro Viegas (SUERIUS) with details inset showing motifs: crusader cross, palm-tree, bishop's crosier; Cloister, Lisbon Cathedral.



Fig. 12, Lisbon Cathedral.

Chapter 4

In Search of the Author GOSUINUS

Introduction

This chapter will seek to set out the case for GOSUINUS author of the *Carmen*, being Goswin of Bossut, priest, Cistercian monk and sometime cantor of Villers Abbey in thirteenth century Brabant.

Boaventura

GOSUINUS is an unusual name which appears to have led Fr. Fortunato de São Boaventura,¹⁰⁴² a Cistercian monk and historian writing in 1827, to suggest that the author may have been Goswin of Bossut. Goswin is known to have flourished, at least between the years 1231 and 1238, as a monk in the Cistercian abbey of Villers in Brabant, in what is today Belgium. Boaventura set out his reasons for advancing Goswin's authorship in a short chapter dedicated to the *Carmen* included in his lengthy, three-volume, Latin *Commentariorum* on the manuscripts comprising the *fundo* of his own abbey of Alcobaça.¹⁰⁴³

Having first made some codicological observations,¹⁰⁴⁴ Boaventura began his analysis of the origins of the *Carmen* by noting that up to the time of his writing in the late 1820s, the author of the *Carmen* had been generally considered to be one 'Suerius Gosuinus'; an assertion made by, among others, the prolific scholar Diogo Barbosa Machado (1682-1772) who declared the author was Portuguese and a citizen of Lisbon. Boaventura disagreed. Considering the acrostic device in the *Carmen*, especially the fact that in spelling out SUERIUS the poem uses far more lines than in spelling out GOSUINUS, the former taking up 166 lines and the latter only 54, along with the accepted facts of the circumstances of the conquest of Alcácer, which entailed Bishop Soeiro of Lisbon enlisting the aid of Frankish crusaders for the execution of the

¹⁰⁴² b. Alcobaça 1777, d. Rome 1844, Archbishop of Évora.

¹⁰⁴³ Fr Fernando de São Boaventura, Fortunato de São Boaventura, *Commentariorum de Alcobacensi mstorum bibliotheca...*etc. (Coimbra: Typographia Academico-regia, 1887), Vol. III, Ch IX, pp. 525-28.

¹⁰⁴⁴ *Inter alia*, Boaventura notes that the *Carmen* is to be found at the end of Codex 207 (Alc.415, being the modern classmark), and that the text is not, in his opinion, copied in the hand of the principal scribe of Codex 207, which is Fr Ferdinandus Monk of Alcobaça, but is in the hand of some 'junior' or subordinate scribe, which Boaventura dates to the fourteenth century. Indeed Fr. Ferdinandus' colophon is present at the end of the text on the last page (fl.146v.) before the beginning of the last quire of the Codex, which is, of course, the 'addendum' containing the *Scalabis* and the *Carmen*, which is indeed apparently in a different hand from the rest of the volume.

operation, Boaventura concluded that the two names SUERIUS and GOSUINUS were not intended to be read together as one. Rather, the SUERIUS of the acrostic referred to Soeiro Bishop of Lisbon, who is the dedicatee of the poem; GOSUINUS therefore indicated its author. Boaventura then went on briefly to consider the attributes of this author as revealed through the work. First he observed that the author spoke as one who had come with the fleet in so far as he demonstrated a clear sense of 'us' being the Frankish arrivals and 'them' being the Portuguese, or other peoples encountered. Boaventura gives the following examples:

line 209. *Hic ducibus nostris sua concessitque, deditque.*

line 215. *Est hic Ulixbonae praesul, qui tot bona nostris
Contulit,...etc.*

Next, Boaventura highlighted the title of the *Carmen* as given in the Manuscript, *Quomodo capta fuit Alcacer a Francis*, and opined that it is clearly the Franks who are being celebrated, as opposed to any of the Portuguese contingents that participated in the episode. Further, he stated his belief that the text contained certain French idiomatic elements which for him indicated the author was a French speaker. Also Boaventura explained that, since he had examined over a thousand documents in various Portuguese Cistercian archives and in several municipal and family archives and singly failed to find any mention of the name Gosuinus, he was driven to conclude that it was not a Portuguese name. These aspects, along with the presence of certain 'exotic' words, impelled him strongly (*vehemens*) to suspect that the GOSUINUS of the acrostic was in fact Goswin of Bossut, cantor of the Cistercian Monastery of Villers in Brabant and author of the *Vita* of one Arnulf, a lay brother of Villers, a work known to Boaventura.¹⁰⁴⁵ It was in a poem appended to that *Vita*, which Boaventura asserted was also by Goswin, that he found a resonance of style with the *Carmen*, particularly through the use of the aforementioned exotic words which, in the case of the poem appended to the *Vita* were, in his opinion, of Greek and Hebrew origin.¹⁰⁴⁶ Sadly, Boaventura did not condescend to detailing this exotic vocabulary, nor did he specify the French idiomatic traces he had detected. Instead, Boaventura reserved this analysis for a future work which, as far as we know, he never produced.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Goswin de Bossut, *Vita Arnulfi*, ed. by D. Paperbroek, *Acta Sanctorum* (Antwerp, 1709) June, VII, pp. 606-31; (Paris, 1867), pp. 558-79.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Boaventura gave the following examples *eudochiam* and *aginistae* which occur at lines 17 and 20 of, *De Conervatione et obitu illius; Acta Sanctorum*, p. 579; cf, Maria Teresa Lopes Pereira, 'Memória Cruzadística do Feito da Tomada de Alcácer (1217) (Com base no Carmen de Gosuino)', *2º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães - Actas do Congresso*, vol 2 (Guimarães: Câmara Municipal de Guimarães – Universidade do Minho, 1996) pp. 321-357, at p. 325.

Beyond Boaventura

Today, we are indeed in a privileged position to continue the investigation bequeathed to us so long ago by this eminent Cistercian historian. During the nearly two centuries that have elapsed since Boaventura first aired his suspicion of a link between GOSUINUS and Goswin of Bossut, a good deal has been unearthed, not only concerning the Cistercians of Brabant, but also concerning the origins of Portugal. Since Boaventura's day, another two *Lives* have come to light attributable to the authorship of the same Goswin; the *Life of Ida the Compassionate of Nivelles* and the *Life of Abundus, monk of Villers*.¹⁰⁴⁷

Even so, not a great deal is known about the person and life of Goswin himself. In accordance with the conventions of his time, Goswin's work gives no indication as to his own name; he is identified only because, sometime shortly after his death, the following *incipit* was added, by an unknown scribe, to the Villers manuscript of the *Vita Arnulphi*:¹⁰⁴⁸

'Here begins the preface to the life of the servant of God, Arnulf, a lay-brother of Villers, written by a religious man of blessed memory, Gosuinus, formerly a monk and cantor of that very same [Abbey].'

Through similarity of style, he was in 1909 identified also as the author of the *Life of Abundus*, and in 1947, as the author of *Ida of Nivelles*.¹⁰⁴⁹ In the 1990s, Martinus Cawley subjected all three texts to computer analysis and revealed many more similarities of style and expression, reinforcing the identification of Goswin as their common author.

¹⁰⁴⁷ All three *Lives* have now been the subject of critical editions, a survey of these being included in Martinus Cawley's 2003 publication, *Send Me God*, containing Goswin's *Lives* in English translation, along with no less than two introductions; one by Barbara Newman and one by Cawley himself. Cawley's translations are also helpfully accompanied by extensive notes, including geographical references to the Villers area, statutes and decisions of Chapters General, scriptural references and cross-references between the *Lives*; Cawley, Martinus, O.C.S.O., *Send Me God: The Lives of Ida the Compassionate of Nivelles, Nun of La Ramée, Arnulf, Lay Brother of Villers, and Abundus, Monk of Villers* (Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts; 6) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003); References herein are to the paperback edition (Pennsylvania: Brepols, 2006).

¹⁰⁴⁸ *Incipit prefacio in vita famuli Dei fratris Arnulfi conversi Vilarensis edita a pie memorie viro religioso nonno Gosuino quondam monacho et cantore eiusdem loci*; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek. Theol. Lat. Qu. 1951 I (f. 1-40); Thomas Falmagne, *Un Texte en Contexte, Les Flores Paradisi et le Milieu culturel de Villers-en-Brabant Dans La Première moitié du 13e Siècle* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001) pp. 64-65, and 520.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Édouard de Moreau and René Maere, *L'Abbaye de Villers-en-Brabant au XIIe et XIIIe siècles, études d'histoire religieuse et économique* (Brusses, 1909) pp. xxx-xxxii; Simone Roisin, *L'Hagiographie cistercienne dans le diocèse de Liège au XIIIe siècle* (Louvain: Bibliothèque de l'Université, 1947) pp. 55-58; Cawley, *Send Me God*, pp. 6-7.

As for Goswin hailing from Bossut, there is no reason to reject the report of an oral tradition to this effect preserved at Villers and mentioned in the *Acta Sanctorum*.¹⁰⁵⁰ If we accept this, we may reasonably speculate that Goswin's Bossut could have been a predecessor to what is today the French-speaking village known as Bossut-Gottechain, some twenty kilometres to the north east of the abbey of Villers.¹⁰⁵¹ An area crossed by two principal rivers, the Scheldt to the north and the Meuse to the south, Villers and its region is well served by a matrix of tributaries and, already by the beginning of the thirteenth century, networks of river transport were well established, as were roads, serving a densely populated land rich in agriculture. Testament to the early and prolific urban growth in the area is one of the first appearances' of the word 'burgess' (Latin *burgensis*) denoting a person enjoying juridical status as a full member of a chartered urban community, in a charter of 1066 from the town of Huy, only forty-or-so kilometres from Villers and hometown of the monk Abundus whose *Vita* was penned by Goswin.¹⁰⁵² Although the abbey itself was suitably located in its own Cistercian 'desert', being at some distance from the inhabited world, it was nevertheless on the bank of the Dijle, which ensured fresh water, close to a quarry for ease of access to stone for building and near an intersection of road and river for ease of communication with the outside.¹⁰⁵³

Whilst ecclesiastically Villers belonged to the diocese of Liège, Goswin's secular lords would have been the dukes of Brabant. Indeed, a handful of charters from twelfth and thirteenth-century Liège and Brabant include the names of members of a certain family 'de Bossut' among the ducal entourage. These various individuals, thought to belong to the same family,¹⁰⁵⁴ who are referred to in the twelfth century as *ministeriales* (members of the ducal household enjoying high social status whilst remaining technically unfree) appear to have experienced a change of status in the thirteenth century when the *ministerialis* label generally fell into disuse. For example, in a charter issued in 1152 by Henry II, bishop of Liège to the Cistercian abbey of Aulne, in Hainaut, one Alexander de Bossut is mentioned as an 'eminently honest man' and *ministerialis* of Godfrey III, Count of Louvain.¹⁰⁵⁵ However, in a charter issued in 1220 by Henry I of Brabant in favour of the Benedictine Abbey of St Nicasius of Rheims, one

¹⁰⁵⁰ *Acta Sanctorum* (Antwerp, 1643-1770; Brussels, 1780-1786, 1845-1883, and 1894-; Tongerlo, 1794; Paris, 1875-1887) June, VII, pp. 606-31 at 607E; Cawley, *ibid*.

¹⁰⁵¹ There is also a town, Boussu, south of Saint-Ghislain, a Walloon municipality located in the Belgian province of Hainaut, about 50 miles to the southwest of Villers.

¹⁰⁵² Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe, Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950-1350* (London, 1994) p. 177.

¹⁰⁵³ Thomas Coomans, *L'Abbaye de Villers-en-Brabant. Construction, configuration et signification d'une abbaye cistercienne gothique* (Brecht: Editions Racine, 2000) p. 42.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Godfried Croenen, personal communication to the author.

¹⁰⁵⁵ ...*honesti homines ministeriales ducis Godefridi Arnulfus de Filforh et Alexander de Bossut...*; copy in the cartulary of the abbey of Aulne, Mons, Archives de l'Etat, Cartulaires, 1, fol.316r. (transcription provided by G. Croenen).

Henry de Bossut appears with the title of *miles*,¹⁰⁵⁶ whilst in a separate charter granted by Duke Henry to the Abbey of Florival in Brabant,¹⁰⁵⁷ another Alexander de Bossut appears as *dominus*.¹⁰⁵⁸

The practical effects of this apparent movement up the social order from high-status but unfree, to high-status *and* free, or indeed to noble status, in thirteenth century Brabant, is still a matter of debate, consideration of which would take us far from our remit.¹⁰⁵⁹ For present purposes, it is sufficient for us to observe that if, as seems likely, Goswin de Bossut cantor of Villers was a scion of this family, he would have come from a moderately or substantially wealthy background. Indeed, one Goswin de Bossut, coinciding with the *floruit* established for Goswin cantor of Villers, is to be found in a charter of 1236 executed by Bishop John of Liège in favour of Aulne Abbey, where the de Bossut family also appear linked to the families of Bonlez (*Bonler*) and Chaumont (*Chamont*),¹⁰⁶⁰ a family mentioned as both free and noble in the twelfth century sources.

Then, as today, the Brabant region was divided by a language frontier, with a version of Dutch being spoken in the north and a version of French being spoken in the south. Bossut and Villers fell on the French speaking side of the divide, in harmony with Boaventura's identification of French elements in the *Carmen*.

Cawley calculates Goswin's date of birth to fall somewhere around 1200, and suggests, from various references in the *Lives* and Goswin's manifest scholarly learning, that he may have received part of his education in Paris. Certainly, his office as cantor would have required of him a high degree of literacy and also musical skill. The cantor was one of the most important positions in the abbey, after the abbot and the prior, entailing various administrative responsibilities in addition to the direction and instruction of the monastic choir, supervision of the correct performance of the liturgy, upkeep of service books ensuring they were re-copied

¹⁰⁵⁶ J. Cossé-Durlin, *Cartulaire de Saint Nicaise de Reims* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1991), p. 438, no.355.

¹⁰⁵⁷ A nunnery first mentioned as Cistercian in 1237; John Frederic Hinnebusch, *The Historia Occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry* (Fribourg, 1972) p. 263.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Anderlecht, Archives de l'Etat, *Archives ecclésiastiques du Brabant*, no. 6985ter.

¹⁰⁵⁹ For a treatment of the issues see P. Bonenfant and G. Despy, 'La noblesse en Brabant aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles', *Le Moyen Âge*, 64 (1958), 27-66.

¹⁰⁶⁰ *Iohannes, Dei gratia Leodiensis episcopus, universis presentem paginam inspecturis in Domino salutem. Universitati vestre notum facimus quod nos donationes decime de terris sartalibus in territorio de Gotenchien quas iam dudum fecerunt Arnulphus de Filfort, Alexander de Bossut, Erpho et Gervasius, fratres de Chamont, per manum venerabilis predecessoris nostri Henrici, quondam Ledicensis episcopi, ecclesie de Alna, Cysterkiensis ordinis, eas etiam donationes quas post modum eidem ecclesie fecerunt in eadem decima de eisdem terris sartalibus Renerus, clericus, de Bossut, et fratres eius Gossuinus et Henricus, necnon et Fastradus de Bonler, tam de terris quas dicta ecclesie acquirere posset quam de illis quas iam adquisierat, ratas omnino et acceptas habemus.* Mons, Archives de l'Etat, Cartulaires, 1, fol.318v (transcription provided by G. Croenen).

as needed, and the selection of suitable readings for the refectory. *Ex officio* Goswin would have been a composer of music and three of his works have survived, two liturgical offices, or *historiae*, and one *pium dictamen*. The *historiae*, one in honour of Marie of Oignies, and another in celebration of Arnulf Cornibout, a lay brother of Villers, the same Arnulf being the subject of Goswin's *Vita Arnulfi*, have survived in a manuscript now preserved in the Brussels Royal Library that is very likely autograph.¹⁰⁶¹ The *pium dictamen*, also composed for Arnulf, is preserved in the *Familien-Fidei-Kommiss-Bibliothek* in Vienna¹⁰⁶²

Literary Tradition at Villers

Goswin was active during what Édouard de Moreau described as *la belle époque* of Villers which marked the spiritual and temporal zenith of the Abbey.¹⁰⁶³ This 'Golden Age,' according to Moreau, was concurrent with the incumbencies of six Abbots whose tenures spanned the years between 1197 and 1248. Goswin's known works, however, were all executed under the tenure of William of Brussels, sometimes referred to as William de Dongelberg, or Dongelbert (1221-1236).¹⁰⁶⁴ Although the library at Villers was well-stocked with the theological works usually found in thirteenth century Cistercian houses,¹⁰⁶⁵ original literary production at the Abbey during the relevant period was remarkable in-so-far as it offered up none of the exegetes, collections of sermons and liturgical works produced in houses belonging to the Order in previous decades. Rather it was almost entirely narrative. In the first place there are two compilations; the *Chronica Villariensis Monasterii*, the Chronicle of the Abbey presenting short entries listing the abbots of Villers in chronological order, and the *Gesta Sanctorum Villariensium*, which presents more lengthy and detailed biographies of members of the congregation noted for their piety, irrespective of their rank.¹⁰⁶⁶ However, identifiable as standing apart from these two works, there is a substantial corpus of *Vitae*, three of which are also included in the *Gesta*.

¹⁰⁶¹ Ms. II 1658; and see Pieter Mannaerts, 'An exception to the Rule? The Thirteenth-Century Cistercian *Historia* for Mary of Oignies', *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 2010, Vol 2, Part 2, pp. 233-269 at pp. 233-236.

¹⁰⁶² preserved in ms 7909 der Familien-Fidei-Kommiss-Bibliothek Wien, now A-Wn sn 12831, Persoons nr 114, p. 78; see AH 33, nr. 45.

¹⁰⁶³ Moreau and Maier, *L'Abbaye de Villers...etc.*, p. 40 *et seq*; Falmagne, *Un Texte en Contexte*, pp. 27-34.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Martinus Cawley, 'Four Abbots of the Golden Age of Villers,' *Cistercian Studies Quarterly*, 27 / (1992), pp. 299-327, p. 302. and *Send Me God*, p. 3.

¹⁰⁶⁵ For an unparalleled survey of the contents of Villers's library and literary production in the Abbey up to 1250, see Falmagne, *Un Texte*, Annexe 2, 'Le Scriptorium de Villers Catalogue Raisonné des Manuscrits,' pp. 425-539.

¹⁰⁶⁶ The complete text of the *Chronica Villariensis monasterii* appears ed. by G Waitz in MGH *Scriptores*, vol 25 at pp. 192-219, along with extracts from the *Gesta Sanctorum Villariensium* at pp. 220-35, however, the complete texts of both works are included in the earlier but highly serviceable edition included in *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, 3:1267-1310, ed. By E. Martène et U. Durand (Paris, 1717) reprinted in facsimile (New York: Burt Franklin, 1968).

These *Vitae* are remarkable because they mark a departure from earlier Cistercian tradition where the subject of a *Vita* was usually a man who had demonstrated feats of outstanding leadership, enterprise and endeavour, usually in the face of great hardship during the foundation of a monastic community, or some other high-ranking member of the Order, often an abbot destined for sainthood. The *Vitae* produced at Villers, on the contrary, are almost exclusively concerned with persons of relatively low-standing and, also remarkably, with the lives of women. In these aspects, the *Vitae* of Villers represent a substantial portion of an identifiable literary trend prevalent in the southern Low Countries¹⁰⁶⁷ in the early thirteenth century which, Barbara Newman describes as ‘a canon probably unique in the annals of hagiography.’ Indeed, with at least eight *Vitae* attributable to Villers out of a total of twenty-four southern Netherlandish Lives, the Abbey appears to have more-or-less led the field in the production of hagiographical literature in the region.¹⁰⁶⁸

Poetic Tradition of Villers

Given the nature of the *Carmen* what is of more significance for us herein is yet another extraordinary feature of literary life at Villers; the importance afforded to poetry. Whilst there was no express Cistercian ban on poetry, the Order was uneasy with it. Bernard’s secretary, Nicholas of Clairvaux, writing to a prospective monk says that, even if he received poems from a friend, he would be forbidden from reading them, ‘For here we do not accept anything written in verse.’¹⁰⁶⁹ In 1199, the Chapter General issued a statute banning rhythmical poetry (*rythmos*) and decreeing that monks who produced it were to be sent to other houses, only being allowed to return with the permission of the Chapter General.¹⁰⁷⁰ However, in spite of the broad wording of the prohibition, it almost certainly applied only to a particular type of rhymed poetry. Indeed, the statue appears to have been provoked principally by the controversial works of Hélinant de Froidmont and Bertran de Born who produced poems in 1193-1197 and 1197/1198, respectively. These works were seen by the Order as destabilising

¹⁰⁶⁷ Here I gratefully adopt the terminology used by Newman and her reasons for it as given in her ‘Preface’ in Cawley’s *Send Me God* at p. xxx.

¹⁰⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. xxx-xxxii, indeed only four of the Lives, with the exception of those contained in the *Chronica* of Villers treat of higher ranking ecclesiastics; Manaerts, *op.cit.*, p. 244; c.f. Cawley, *Send Me God.*, p. 4., who describes the genre as ‘part of a greater Villers corpus.’ Newman helpfully lists her ‘Canon of Thirteenth-Century Southern Netherlandish Saints Lives’, *Send Me God*, pp. xviii-xlix.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Epistola XV (before 1151), PL. 196, 1610, B-C; Birger Munk Olsen, ‘The Cistercians and Classical Culture’, Paper read at the conference *The Mind of the Middle Ages*, Centre for European Medieval Studies, Copenhagen University, 1 Sept. 1983, English text revised by Brian Patrick McGuire.

¹⁰⁷⁰ *Monachi qui rythmos fecerint, ad domos alias mittantur non redituri nisi per generale capitulum*; Canivez, *Statuta*, I, p. 232.

and dangerous probably due, on the one hand to Hélinant's vehement criticism of the clerical hierarchy and, on the other to Bertran's secular ribaldry.¹⁰⁷¹

Even so, it is clear that poetry and poetical texts in general caused discomfort and elicited a mixture of responses in Cistercian houses. Yterus of Waschey, a monk of Clairvaux who, at the end of the twelfth century, himself produced a poem of some 215 verses on the duties of monastic life in terms akin to the most severe pronouncements of St Bernard, leaves a recommendation that 'to weep is befitting of a monk, not to fabricate meter!'¹⁰⁷² Unsurprisingly, perhaps, not everyone took him at his word and, at around the same time, an unknown English Cistercian wrote the series of rhythmical verses known as the *Jubilus rhythmicus de nomine Jesu*.¹⁰⁷³ Further, Gunther of Pairis Abbey, at Orbe in Alsace, who had produced poetical works before entering the Order, included short verse passages at the end of each chapter of his prose history of the Fourth Crusade, *Historia Constantinopolitana* and, famously, Conrad of Eberbach prefaced his *Exordium Magnum* (1221) with a verse prologue. What is unusual about the Cistercians of Villers, however, is their confident, unabashed and enthusiastic embrace of verse form.

Both the *Chronica* and the *Gesta* are replete with versified entries. In the former, we note that almost the entirety of the entry for Abbot Nicholas (1237-1240)¹⁰⁷⁴ consists of verse. First we are treated to a full 53-line rhyming poem expressing his religiosity and said to have been written by Nicholas himself at the end of his terminal illness (*in extrema infirmitate*).¹⁰⁷⁵ Following this, the entry continues with the words, 'After the death of this true shepherd this epitaph was produced' whereupon there follows a lengthy elegy in 30 lines of rhyming verse.¹⁰⁷⁶ The *Chronica* also report the poetical talents of Abbot Arnulf of Louvain (1240-1248), who, having retired from the abbacy, obtained for himself a *scriptorium (quod est in auditorio prioris)* where, during hours spent waiting to hear confessions, he whiled away the time by

¹⁰⁷¹ William D. Paden, Jr., 'De monachis rithmos facientibus: Hélinant de Froidmont, Bertran de Born, and the Cistercian General chapter of 1199', *Speculum*, vol.55, No 4 (Oct., 1980), pp. 669-85. The statue was included in the Codification of 1202, but was omitted from those of 1220, 1237 and 1257; *La codification cistercienne de 1202 et son évolution ultérieure*, ed. by Bernard Lucet (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1964), X.26, p. 126 and *Les codifications cisterciennes de 1237 et de 1257*, ed by Bernard Lucet (Paris: Centre national de la Recherche scientifique, 1977). Whilst Bertran was generally offensive to Cistercian sensibilities through his frivolity and worldliness, Hélinant's indignation at corruption within the clergy and in particular the accumulation of wealth, however canonical, came at a sensitive time when the Waldensian heresy was very much on the rise. Worryingly for the Chapter General, his vernacular *Vers de la Mort* was being recited in public; Paden, p. 680.

¹⁰⁷² Olsen, p. 81; P. Edmond Mikkers, 'Robert de Molesme' in *Spiritualité cistercienne. Histoire et doctrine* Coll. 'Bibliothèque de spiritualité' (Paris: Beauchesne, 1998) at p. 450 note 8; Jean Leclercq, 'Les divertissements poétiques d'Itier de Vassy,' *Analecta Cisterciensia* 12 (1956), 296-304 – *Flere decet monachum, non fabricare metrum*.

¹⁰⁷³ F.J.E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1953) pp. 329-30.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Sometimes referred to as Nicholas de Sombreffe.

¹⁰⁷⁵ MGH *Scriptores*, vol.25, p. 204, para 22; Martène et Durand, III, 1285-88

¹⁰⁷⁶ MGH *Scriptores*, vol.25, p. 205.

converting Raymond of Penafort's great manual of canon law for confessors, *Summa de casibus poenitentiae*, into Latin verse.¹⁰⁷⁷ Furthermore, there are many inclusions in both the *Chronica* and in the *Gesta* of versified epitaphs,¹⁰⁷⁸ not forgetting to mention those attached to Goswin's *Lives*, which, whether composed by him or not, were the produce of the same cultural milieu.

Additionally, the *Gesta* contains the lengthy *Vita Franconis*, written in the form of a ballad, entirely in regular rhyming Latin quatrains, concerning the monk Francon of Arquennes (Arquenne, or Arkenna), a former knight and castellan of Montenaken who, with his twin sons, went on the Fifth Crusade before joining the Villers community.¹⁰⁷⁹ Typically, the author of the work is not revealed in the surviving manuscripts and has hitherto remained anonymous. We shall have more to say on the identity of the mystery author of the *Vita Franconis*, a little later.

Other ballads survive in the *Gesta* but in an abbreviated form, which Cawley plausibly suggests is because the compiler became careless in his summarising, 'with the result that line after line of his unformatted prose remains in rhythm and rhyme.'¹⁰⁸⁰ To add to the abovementioned examples, Cawley has identified a further poetic form found in at least two *Lives*, James de Vitry's *Vita Mariae Oigniacensis* and the anonymous *Vita Idae Lovaniensis*,¹⁰⁸¹ which although not produced in Villers, are more or less linked to the Abbey. This form he terms 'the devout jingle,' a short piece in Latin or Romance forming part of the prayer repertoire of less lettered members of a particular community. Further examples of the form are to be found in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus Miraculorum*.¹⁰⁸²

Goswin of Bossut and Gosuinus of Alcácer

Whilst Boaventura's lead has shown some promise in terms of Goswin's chronology, literary environment, and perhaps even style, we are yet to arrive at GOSUINUS author of the *Carmen*.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 208. Cawley, *Four Abbots*, p. 321, and *Send Me God*, p. 5. Martène and Durand, III, 1292. On Arnulf's versification of the *Summa*, its Ms and transmission, see Falgmagne, *Un Texte.*, at p. 68 and p. 394 *et seq.*

¹⁰⁷⁸ Abbot Conrad, MGH *Scriptores*, vol.25, p. 199, Martène and Durand, III, 1276; Abbot William, MGH Ibid, p. 204, Martène and Durand, III, 1285; and four epitaphs at MGH Ibid pp. 216-217, Martène and Durand, III, 1303.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Francon d'Arkenna, Berend Wispelwey, compiler, *Biographical Index of the Middle Ages* (Hawthorne, Walter de Gruyter, 2008), p. 389, 'Francon [Franco] d'Arquennes (fl. 1220)'; *Le Folklore Brabançon*, 1985, p. 298; C.f. Cawley, *Send Me God.*, p. 6; The Complete text of the poem is included in Martène and Durand III, 1333-1339, it is also to be found in *Acta Sanctorum*, 12-13 December, p. 32; also C.f., *Compte rendu des séances de la Commission royale d'histoire..etc'* (Tome X 11 Janvier-5 Avril, 1845) at p. 266 *et seq.* where an extract appears under the title, 'De Nonno Francone de Arkenna monacho, prius milite probatissimo. Rithmice.'

¹⁰⁸⁰ Cawley, *Send Me God*, p. 6; see for example Martène and Durand III, 1322 A.

¹⁰⁸¹ *Ida the Eager of Louvain, Medieval Cistercian Nun*, trans. Martinus Cawley (Lafayette, Guadalupe, 2000).

examples are *Oig* 98; *Lov* I. 10d, II.6b II. 13a-14a,

¹⁰⁸² DM 7.38.

Clearly, a convincing fusion of the two identities requires a far more specific, if not a unique, connection. Initially, that link appears to be provided in the opening lines of the *Carmen*;

Idleness of the mind despoils the peace of the flesh
And the river that is without movement stinks the more quickly.
Unless they have been tended either houses or plough land grows decrepit
Neglected, the thorn bush becomes stepmother to its roses.¹⁰⁸³

and in the reflection of those lines in the prologue of Goswin's *Life of Abundus*;

Idleness is inimical to the soul. Plough land once neglected, and not harvested again and again produces only fern-weed fit for the fire.¹⁰⁸⁴

Both texts make more or less clear reference to the *Rule of Benedict* (RB 48.1) 'Idleness is the enemy of the soul,' immediately followed by a reference to a line from one of Horace's Satires in *Satirae* Book I, III, at lines 37-37: *...namque neglectis urenda filix innascitur agris* - 'If you once neglect a field bracken appears which eventually has to be burnt out.'¹⁰⁸⁵

Whilst further textual similarities may remain to be discovered, let us for now pass on and observe another common feature. Both the *Carmen* and the *Lives* make little or no mention of proper names. Instructive in this respect is the passage from Goswin's 'The *Life of Ida of Nivelles*' at Ch.16.¹⁰⁸⁶

If any should ask why, both here and elsewhere, the names of persons included in our narrative are kept under seal of silence, let them know this has been done deliberately. For if the names were widely published in the ears of many, the

¹⁰⁸³ *Segnicies mentis, bona corporis ocia carpunt,
Et citius motu qui caret amnis olet
Culta nisi fuerint, vel tecta, vel arua, senescent,
Fit neglecta suis spina noverca rosis.*
-*Carmen* lines 1-4.

¹⁰⁸⁴ *Quum ociositas inimical este anime ac neglectis urenda filix innascitur arvis, si non frequenti cultura araturo renouentur...* Msgrn A. M. Frenken, 'De Vita Van Abundus Van Hoei,' *Cîteaux*, 10 (1959), pp. 5-33., at p. 11. Goswin, *Life of Abundus*, Eng., trans. by Cawley, *Send Me God*, p. 209.

¹⁰⁸⁵ *The Satires of Horace*, ed. By Arthru Palmer (New York, 1968), p. 12. The complete sentence is as follows:
....Denique te ipsum

*Concute, num, qua tibi vitiorum inseverit olim
Natura aut etiam consuetudo mala; namque
Neglectis urenda filix innascitur agris.*

The translation given by Niall Rudd in *Horace Satires and Epistles, Persius Satires* (London, 2005) at p. 12 is as follows:

'...So give yourself a shaking
In case the seeds of wickedness have already been planted in you
By nature or by some bad habit. If you once neglect a field
Bracken appears which eventually has to be burnt out.'

¹⁰⁸⁶ Cawley, *Send Me God*, p. 54..

persons, if still alive, might either be put to shame by the vituperation of their evil, or else unsuitably uplifted by the praises of their good.

A similar desire to maintain anonymity is manifested by Caesarius of Heisterbach, Goswin's contemporary, who in the prologue to the *Dialogus Miraculorum*, says '...I have introduced in the manner of a dialogue, two persons, to wit, a novice who asks questions, and a monk who gives the answers; because, when the name of the author is withheld the tongue of the detractor finds nothing to feed upon...' ¹⁰⁸⁷ More will be said below about Heisterbach and its many connections to Villers and, in particular, the likely closeness of the relationship between Caesarius and Goswin.

Goswin's policy of anonymity, for which Goswin himself apologises explicitly no less than three times in the Lives (*Niv.* 163, *Arn* II 18b and *Ab*, 9D), and the similarity of these same apologies was an important indication that Goswin was the author of all three Lives. ¹⁰⁸⁸ The only proper name explicitly mentioned in the *Carmen* occurs within the couplet at lines 15-16:

*At tu, queso, fave, cui carmina nostra laborant,
Cui petre Petri cimba regenda datur.*

The other names appearing in the *Carmen* are hidden by artifice. These are the two names, SUERIUS and GOSUINUS, only decipherable in the acrostic device. Could it be that this is the result of a compromise struck between an author's desire to adhere to his Cistercian convention of anonymity and his commissioner's desire for publicity? Use of such a device is uncommon yet, significantly, we have an example of its occurrence in the *Dialogus Miraculorum*, a work produced in a Cistercian Abbey not far from Villers and definitely within its friendship network. Here we must revisit the quotation from Caesarius' prologue given above. This time we will quote the whole sentence:

Now that I might arrange my examples the more effectively, I have introduced, in the manner of a dialogue, two persons, to wit, a novice who asks questions, and a monk who gives the answers; because, when the name of the author is withheld, the tongue of the detractor finds nothing to feed upon; *nevertheless, if any desire to know his name let him put together the initial letters of the twelve books.* ¹⁰⁸⁹

¹⁰⁸⁷ Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on the Miracles*, Eng. trans. by Henry von Essen Scott and C.C. Swinton Bland (London, 1929) vol.1 p. 2.

¹⁰⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 6. and see also p. 35, *Nive*, note 18.

¹⁰⁸⁹ *The Dialogue on the Miracles*, vol. 1, p. 2. The emphasis is mine.

As in the *Carmen*, the reader is encouraged to decipher the acrostic by an explicit instruction contained in the text. When the initial letters of the twelve books of Caesarius' *Dialogus* are duly assembled, they spell the words CESARII MVNVS, which can be rendered in English as 'the function of Caesarius,' which may indeed be a reference to his occupying the office of novicemaster at Heisterbach and would certainly be appropriate given the nature of the work.¹⁰⁹⁰

A Previous Commissioner?

Whilst Bishop Soeiro may have been the ultimate commissioner of the work, the author of the *Carmen* appears to declare a previous commissioner or addressee;

The verses which you now hold in your hands, somebody else partly held in theirs before.

He who inspired me will erase the verse in the end.

Do not be amazed: I wrote for the one whose grace

Was well known to me, and I was not known to you.¹⁰⁹¹

Here, although the meaning is multi-layered and, in part, may be taken to refer to God, we must consider the possibility that GOSUINUS, if Goswin, might be referring to his abbot, who at the time of the voyage to Alcácer would have been Walter of Utrecht (1214-1221).

Walter of Utrecht, Abbot of Villers

Born sometime before 1160 to an upper-echelon family of Utrecht,¹⁰⁹² Walter, whose high birth was matched by a suitable education which included secular learning, was renowned for his knowledge of the *quadrivium*. Indeed, for some time he had been a teacher in the town before joining the Cistercian Abbey of Vaucelles, Clairvaux's thirteenth daughter-house founded in 1132 by Saint Bernard. In addition to the various passages contained in the *Chronica* concerning Abbot Walter, Caesarius of Heisterbach appears to have personally known him rather well and he appears with an impressive frequency in the *Dialogus*, including as the narrator (almost raconteur) of several lengthy *exempla* which Caesarius has him deliver in direct-speech. He was also known to the Dominican, Thomas of Cantimpré who, whilst admiring him for his great education, marvelled at how a man as intellectually blessed as

¹⁰⁹⁰ Goswin also uses the term *munus* (Frenken, *Vita Abundi*, p. 12) which Cawley translates as 'contribution' in The Life of Abundus in *Send Me God*, at p. 210. Cawley comments *ibid* at note 6, 'In the Bible, *munus* means 'gift', but usually with traces of the classical meaning: 'office, function, service'. See Deut. 2.29, Eccus. 50.21, Dan. 16-17.'

¹⁰⁹¹ *Carmen*, lines 227-230.

¹⁰⁹² Cawley, *Four Abbots*, p. 314.

Walter could at the same time be so humble.¹⁰⁹³ Caesarius, on the other hand, remarks upon his 'holy amiability', *sua sancta jocunditate*, which Cawley, not unreasonably, interprets as his sense of humour, examples of which can be found in the *Dialogus* and in the *Chronica*.¹⁰⁹⁴ Walter was also periodically subject to mystic experiences as the several *exempla* in the *Dialogus* indicate, including two in which he personally receives the 'gift of tears'.¹⁰⁹⁵ Such episodes find easy parallels in the experiences of the protagonists featuring in Goswin's three *Vitae*, Ida, Arnulf and Abundus. Cawley even wonders if Abundus may have been the young monk who, in one *exemplum*, sends the heavenly tears to Walter.¹⁰⁹⁶

That certain thematic links are readily identifiable between Abbot Walter, as depicted in the *Dialogus*, and the known works of Goswin cantor of Villers, is hardly extra-ordinary since we may suppose them to be instances of a shared spirituality prevalent during the same historical period in two nearby Cistercian houses that maintained close links with one another. Of course, what concerns us here is the identification of possible connections between Abbot Walter and the original version of the *Carmen* that is now lost to us. Was Walter of Utrecht the intended recipient of the work? To put the question another way - is Walter the 'somebody else' who partly held the verses in his hands before Bishop Soeiro Viegas of Lisbon? It is a plausible proposition.¹⁰⁹⁷ Certainly Walter was an exponent of the Villers poetic tradition since we can point to the survival of at least one of his poems in the *Chronica*. Since the *Chronica* is at best a laconic work, who knows how many more of Walter's poems were available to the compiler of the Villers chronicles, for which he could not find the space (or the inclination) to include? If Walter's evident amenability to poetry is accepted, since he was not only a poet himself but presided over a house where poetic talents were nurtured, we may imagine that he would not have been displeased to receive a well-crafted versified account, in a correct classical form appealing to Walter's renowned scholarly bent, of the overseas progress of one of his protégée monks. Further, there is ample reason to suspect that Walter of Utrecht may have had a special interest in progress overseas.

Walter was a traveller. In the *Dialogus Miraculorum* we learn of a former student of Walter, one Otto of Xanten, who having been miraculously cured of an ailment, took the cross in gratitude and shortly thereafter visited Walter whilst he was still at Vaucelles. Curiously Otto, in recounting the story of his cure to his former novicemaster, exclaims 'would that you had

¹⁰⁹³ Ibid, p. 314, Thomas of Cantimpré, *Bonum Universale de Apibus*, 2.26.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Cawley, *Four Abbots*, p. 315; examples of Walter's *sancta jocunditate* can be found in DM at 2.XIX and also in MGM, *Scriptores*, vol. 25, p. 200, para. 10.

¹⁰⁹⁵ DM, 2.XX and 2.XXI.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Cawley, *Four Abbots*, p. 318.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Would there have been an acrostic W.A.L.T.E.R.U.S. ?

not been here [in Vaucelles] that we might have crossed the sea together!¹⁰⁹⁸ The implication being that Walter was so known for his keenness to go on crusade that, had he been present with Otto at the time of his cure, he would have been sure to have used it as an excuse to take the cross.

Although when appointed to the abbacy he was no longer a young man, at the time being described as of poor-eyesight due to his advancing years, he frequently undertook lengthy journeys and even died whilst travelling.¹⁰⁹⁹ Indeed, until the end, he appears to have remained highly active and presumably in good health, and certainly fit enough in 1217 for Henry I Duke of Brabant to invite him to join his crusade expedition to the East.¹¹⁰⁰ Henry was recruited for the Fifth Crusade during the legation of Robert Courçon,¹¹⁰¹ however, having taken the vow, he failed to depart.¹¹⁰² The Cistercian Chapter General to which Henry had made his request for Abbot Walter to accompany him had been presided over by Walter's former pupil Conrad, who had also preceded Walter as Abbot of Villers before being promoted to Clairvaux and then to Cîteaux, soon thereafter to be appointed Cardinal Bishop of Porto. Perhaps in affectionate deference to his former novicemaster, Conrad left the decision up to Walter.¹¹⁰³ Although he did not depart for the Fifth Crusade, perhaps simply because the proposed expedition of Henry I failed to take place, Walter had been active in promoting the venture. We learn, again from Caesarius, that Abbot Walter was an active preacher for the Fifth Crusade, was concerned with the encouragement and support of his fellow crusade preachers, and that he took an active interest in the foreign affairs of his region, later attending the important Diet of Frankfurt in April 1220.¹¹⁰⁴

Whilst Walter was known for his willingness to travel,¹¹⁰⁵ let us pause for a moment to consider in a little more depth, the possible reasons that led Duke Henry to go to the trouble of making a formal request to the Cistercian Chapter General that the aging Abbot Walter, who was probably in his sixties at the time, accompany his proposed expedition to the Holy Land. As Abbot of a large and thriving Cistercian house, Walter was already heavily burdened with responsibilities of all kinds, spiritual as well as necessary temporal, administrative duties, to

¹⁰⁹⁸ DM, 7.XXII.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Cawley, 'Four Abbots', p. 316; MGH, *Scriptores* vol.25, p. 200, para. 10.

¹¹⁰⁰ Canivez, 1217:73, and *c.f.*, Cawley, *Four Abbots*, p. 314.

¹¹⁰¹ Powel, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, pp. 34-35, and 39; Letter of Pope Honorius III, August 7, 1216, Pressutti, 1:4,14.

¹¹⁰² Powel, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 228; Röhrich, Reinhold, *Studien zur Geschichte des Fünften Kreuzzuges*, p. 95;

Röhrich, *Testimonia minora...*, p. 344, Röhrich, *Beiträge zure Geschichte der Creuzzüge*, vol II, p. 369.

¹¹⁰³ *Petitio ducis Brabantiae de abbate de Villari secum ducendo ad partes transmarinas admittitur, ita quod voluntati dicti abbatis relinquatur utrum cum ipso volverit transfretare.* Canivez, *Statuta*, vol. 1, p. 482, 1217, para.73.

¹¹⁰⁴ DM, 3, XIV;

¹¹⁰⁵ Cawley, *Four Abbots*, p. 314.

say nothing of his active promotion and support of several women's houses in the region, notably La Ramée. Certainly there would have been other clerics available who, being far-less encumbered with domestic chores, were more available to travel abroad and who could equally well have served the Duke's spiritual needs. Did the attraction of Abbot Walter lie in the fact that Henry and Walter were both veterans and old comrades-in-arms of a previous crusade?

Henry I of Brabant had been one of the leaders of the crusade launched in 1197 by Emperor Henry VI.¹¹⁰⁶ Having made his preparations for the expedition at the Diet of Gelnhausen, Duke Henry's expedition was one of the first to depart in spring of 1197.¹¹⁰⁷ His fleet followed the familiar western passage along the European Atlantic coasts and through the Strait of Gibraltar.¹¹⁰⁸ It stopped at least once in southwestern Iberia; Roger of Hoveden reporting a passing attack on Muslim held Silves.¹¹⁰⁹ Had Walter, a young monk priest, accompanied that expedition, perhaps as the priest serving on Henry's ship? If so, Walter would not only have had previous crusading experience, but he would also have been familiar with Iberia, perhaps even with the newly Christian city of Lisbon and, within its diocese, with the great new Cistercian foundation at Alcobaça which, like his own Abbey of Villers, was a daughter house founded directly from Clairvaux under Abbot St Bernard. Once again, until further documentation comes to light, we may only speculate.

Comfortably enough, however, we can at least imagine that Abbot Walter, whilst feeling that his responsibilities and his age compelled him to stay at home this time, may have sent some of his ordained monks to serve the Fifth Crusaders as pastors. Among them, perhaps, was one Goswin, for he was almost certainly a priest, as we shall see below.

Nevertheless, persuasive as these evidential strands may seem, and for the moment setting poetical epitaphs and appendices aside, it must be observed that there is a substantial difference in style between the relatively straight-forward *Vitae* of Goswin of Bossut and GOSUINUS' *Carmen*, a frequently obscure work, filled with complicated allegory. Significant is that, at the time of writing his *Lives*, Goswin's literary master was no longer the poet-mystic-intellectual Walter of Utrecht but William of Brussels (1221-1238). It was Abbot William who requested Goswin write the *Life of Ida*, and it was also probably William who later asked him

¹¹⁰⁶Crusader Duke Henry had always preferred Villers and he was buried there. See Cawley, 'Four Abbots', p. 321. Gobert of Aspremont mentioned at p. 323.

¹¹⁰⁷Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, vol.III, p. 91; *Annales Marbacenses*, in MGH *Scriptores*, vol. 17, p. 167.

¹¹⁰⁸On this expedition, see Graham Loud, 'The German Crusade of 1197-1198', *Crusades*, vol.13, N°1, 1 June, 2014, pp. 143-71.

¹¹⁰⁹*Chronica*, ed. by Stubbs, IV, p. 26.

to write the *Life of Arnulf*. Tellingly, perhaps, Abbot William appears to have insisted that Goswin simplify his style. In this respect, Goswin makes the following frank admission, laced with characteristic Cistercian humility, in the prologue of the *Life of Ida*:

...As Jerome put it to Bishop Heliodorus scant imagination will not hold up under grandiose materials; rather will it succumb in the very act of venturing upon a task beyond its strength. Yet this is just what has happened to me. I confess it, and I do not blush. I have undertaken to write the Life of Christ's virgin, Ida, undistinguished though I am by any oratorical fluency and unaware of any imaginative subtlety adequately equipping me to couch it in fitting words. What largely excuses me is an order from my abbot, obliging me to set out the Life in a fairly simple style. In doing this, I have relied, not on my own limited imagination, but on that almighty Lord who opens the dumb mouth and makes infant tongues fluent of speech.¹¹¹⁰

Evidently, Goswin himself preferred a more sophisticated approach, and he had a reputation for it. In that case we may expect to see something of his personal literary stylistic tastes emerging to a larger degree in his authorship of a work undertaken, not as a commission from his abbot, but on his own initiative, the *Vita* of his close friend, the deeply Marian monk Abundus of Huy; a work for which Goswin had first to obtain the cooperation of Abundus himself, who was still living at the time, indeed the *Vita* contains no account of his death, and also the permission of his Abbot William: '...my idea has been to get my lord abbot's permission and briefly set down in writing the life of Brother Abundus, a monk of ours.'¹¹¹¹ That the same comparative clarity of style is as present in the *Vita Abundi*, as it is in the Lives of *Ida* and *Arnulf* does not necessarily indicate that the stylistically divergent *Carmen* is by a different author. The most plausible explanation for this lies in Goswin's probable motivation for writing the *Vita Abundi*. Rather than seeking to use this *Vita* as a vehicle for showcasing his literary tastes and skills, Goswin may well have been dissatisfied with the view of his world as depicted through the *Vitae* previously commissioned from him. Certainly there is the sensation that Goswin is at best ambivalent regarding the extremes of Arnulf's self-inflicted torments, whereas in the Life of *Ida*, Cawley has suggested the author may have been less than comfortable with 'certain gaps in Ida's liturgical life.'¹¹¹² In order to redress the balance and do

¹¹¹⁰ *Ida* Prol.a and Prol.b Cawley, *Send Me God*, p. 29.

¹¹¹¹ *Life of Abundus*, Prologue b, Cawley, *Send Me God*, p. 209.

¹¹¹² Cawley, *Four Abbots*, p. 301.

justice to his view of the world he inhabited and evidently loved, he wrote the *Vita* of a fellow choir monk whose experience of Cistercian life was closer and more 'true' to his own.

It was, then, during Goswin's early and more complicated phase that Goswin/GOSUINUS composed the *Carmen*. Moreover, he composed the first version of the *Carmen* not for Abbot William, but for Abbot Walter, a man of perhaps substantially different literary tastes and for a purpose different from that which his later *Vitae* (particularly *Ida* and *Arnulf*) were intended to fulfil. Apparently Abbot William, although eminently disposed to mysticism, was also occupied with more mundane matters such as settling some of the monks of Villers into a suitably austere regime and it is in this context that the commissioning of the *Vita* of the brutally ascetic Arnulf can be understood.¹¹¹³ The *Vita* of *Ida*, on the other hand, appears to have been part of William's continuation of the policy so strong at Villers, namely the support of beguines and other *mulieres religiosae*, with the focus on *Ida*'s Eucharistic ecstasies undoubtedly designed to serve the ongoing battle against heresy. Whilst these *Vitae* were arguably aimed at the edification of choir monks and to be used as materials for preaching, the original *Carmen* was designed to fulfil an entirely different function, under a different abbot, under entirely different circumstances; namely it purposed to report-back to a superior, Abbot Walter, the events of an overseas adventure in a literary style that would be personally pleasing to him.

Goswin the priest

We speculated over the possibility of Goswin being somehow Walter's envoy on the Fifth Crusade and, in-so-doing, the matter of his ordination as a priest was briefly postulated. Let us now examine the evidence for this quality in Goswin, since it carries important implications for his identity as the author of the *Carmen*.

Throughout the three *Vitae*, but especially in the Lives of *Ida* and of *Arnulf*, Goswin is forthright in his condemnation of misbehaving priests. This is a sure indication that he also had been ordained and was, thus, speaking primarily to his peers.¹¹¹⁴ This sacramental dignity is of great significance when it comes to placing Goswin on board a ship carrying crusaders since, being a priest, he could fulfil the important role of ship's pastor, as perhaps his Abbot Walter had done some twenty years before. The presence of such an officer on board crusader ships appears to have been standard among Northern crusader fleets. The *Crónica de Portugal de 1419* in giving account of the 1189 conquest of Silves informs us that 36 priests had accompanied the

¹¹¹³ *Ibid*, p. 320.

¹¹¹⁴ Cawley, *Send Me God*, p. 7, p. 16.

crusader fleet which, taken with information included in the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* that each ship carried one priest, lends considerable weight to the figure of 36 crusader vessels provided by the author of the *De Itinere Navali*.¹¹¹⁵ As for Abbot Walter requesting information from Goswin concerning the progress of the expedition, the history of the crusades throws up multiple examples of superiors requesting reports from subordinates, including accounts of western Iberian exploits such as, almost certainly, the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* in its original underlying version and very probably the *De Itinere Navali*.¹¹¹⁶ Let us further note the example of the very clear precedent that is provided in a version of the 'Lisbon Letter', previously mentioned in this study.¹¹¹⁷ In the version written by the monk, Duodechin of Lahnstein to the Abbot of Disibodenberg, the letter is sent recounting news of 'the naval expedition which was carried out to Lisbon...since your authority earnestly requested it.'¹¹¹⁸

Besides Abbot Walter's involvement in crusade preaching, Villers appears to have had further links to the Crusades, especially through two anonymous *Lives* of the Abbey being concerned with monks who had formerly been crusaders, the aforementioned versified *Vita* of Francon of Arquennes, knight and Fifth Crusader before becoming a monk of Villers, and the *Life* of Gobert of Aspremont, knight and crusader, then lay monk of Villers (1189-1263).¹¹¹⁹ To this must be added the foundation of Villers by St Bernard at the height of his preaching of the Second Crusade, during his tour of the Low Countries in 1146/47. Furthermore, Villers maintained close links with the Dukes of Brabant, whose family was possessed of strong crusading credentials, with the crusader Duke Henry I insisting on being buried in Villers.

Goswin's Circle

In our quest to fuse the identities of the author of the *Carmen* with Goswin cantor of Villers, we have hitherto searched along the relatively unswerving highways of chronological, geographical and internal-textual coincidence. It is now time to leave this thoroughfare and examine the sinuous byways of Goswin's wider community and to put some questions to his friends, colleagues and acquaintances, in so far as they can be ascertained.

¹¹¹⁵ *Crónica de Portugal de 1419*, p. 96; DEL pp. 56-57; DIN pp. 591-676.

¹¹¹⁶ Many examples are included in *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291* ed. by Jessalynn Bird et al; and see *Letters from the East, Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12th-13th Centuries*, trans. by Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

¹¹¹⁷ *Annales Sancti Disibodi*, in MGH *Script.* ed., GH Pertz, Hanover, Weimar, Stuttgart, Cologne 1826-1934, xvii pp. 27-28; Jonathan Phillips, 'St Bernard of Clairvaux, The Low Countries and the Lisbon Letter of the Second Crusade,' *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*/Vol. 48/Issue 03/July 1997, pp. 485-497; Edgington, Susan B. Edgington, 'The Lisbon Letter of the Second Crusade', *Historical Research* lxi (1996), 328-339; See Chapters 1 and 2 herein.

¹¹¹⁸ *Annales Sancti Disibodi* p. 27.

¹¹¹⁹ Cawley, *Send Me God.*, p.xlix.

We have already mentioned the distinctiveness of the southern Netherlandish canon of twenty-four-or-so *Vitae*. In this respect, Goswin de Bossut belonged to a relatively small circle of like-minded contemporaries.¹¹²⁰ The list of authors belonging to this canon include Philip monk of Clairvaux, Henry Cistercian monk of Saint-Bernard-on-the-Scheldt, the Premonstratensian canon Hugh of Floreffe, the Augustinian canon James de Vitry and his protégée and later critic, the Dominican Thomas de Cantimpré. To this group of authors a number of other prominent figures can be identified as active in Goswin's world, although his direct relations with them are almost always difficult or impossible to establish. Certainly, among those who were very likely know to Goswin, but for whom personal links to him if they exist are yet to emerge, is Oliver Scholasticus of Cologne. Pope Innocent III had called upon Oliver to preach the Fifth Crusade on Goswin's own home turf of Brabant within a wider mission entrusted to the scholastic including other Low Countries areas with profound links to the Alcácer expedition: Flanders, Frisia, the diocese of Utrecht and Westphalia.¹¹²¹

It is known Oliver maintained a friendship with someone connected to the Alcácer episode that we have already met in the previous chapter, Abbot Émon of the Premonstratensian Abbey of Floridus Hortus in Frisia. It will be remembered that it was Émon, in his *Chronicon*, who included the anonymous eyewitness account of the Frisian contingent who joined the northern fleet voyaging to the East,¹¹²² but who refused to participate in the expedition to Alcácer, preferring to continue their journey to Palestine without deviation.¹¹²³ Émon, is known to have been educated, among other places, in Paris, an experience he had shared with Oliver and also James of Vitry, indeed the three could have been direct contemporaries. It was also in the Paris schools where, a few years later, Thomas de Cantimpré would receive instruction. By the early thirteenth century, the Paris schools had become a powerful common denominator among religious in many regions and the Low Countries were no exception, with the preaching materials of James, Oliver and Thomas being replete with echoes of their schooling in Paris.¹¹²⁴ Increased concerns over heresy during the second half of the twelfth century had highlighted the need, hitherto unprecedented, for the construction and delivery of well-crafted sermons, something that could only be done by clergy with the requisite learning. Thus, as the debates over abstruse theological questions characteristic of past masters like

¹¹²⁰ On this geographical terminology see Newman, Preface in Cawley, *Send Me God*, at p. xxx, note 2; for a list of the *Lives* included in the Southern Netherlandish canon, see p. xlviii.

¹¹²¹ Setton, *A History of the Crusades*, vol 2, p. 381.

¹¹²² *De Itinere Frisonum*, pp. 57-70.

¹¹²³ It appears that Emo met Oliver on his return from Rome in 1212 and later met him again in 1214 when Oliver was preaching the crusade in Frisia. The *Emonis Chronicon* reports the visit of Oliver to Floridus Hortus on 1st June 1224 where he celebrated the feast of Pentecost in the company of Abbot Emo; Alemparte, *Arribadas*, p. 85.

¹¹²⁴ Jessalynn Bird, 'Crusade and Conversion after the Fourth Lateran Council (1215): Oliver of Paderborn's and James of Vitry's Missions to Muslims Reconsidered,' *Essays in Medieval Studies* Volume 21, 2004, pp. 23-47.

Abelard and Peter the Lombard gave way to the more 'applied theology'¹¹²⁵ of Peter the Chanter, Peter of Poitiers, Praepostinus of Cremona and Alan of Lille – a new generation of masters who were keenly aware that the majority of their pupils would be required to preach – ever growing numbers of students flowed into the Paris schools. Goswin had apparently been one of them.

Certainly, as he reveals in an anecdote in his *Vita Arnulfi*, Goswin expected a readership among the residents of a particular student hostel in Paris, perhaps one catering to specifically Brabantine students.¹¹²⁶ In this respect, Cawley refers us to a note in the *Acta Sanctorum* citing *Les Antiquitez de la ville de Paris*,¹¹²⁷ which describes Parisian student hostels including the information that each one accommodated students of a particular nationality. The landladies of these houses became, as a consequence, important sources of news from the varied regions of Europe and, indeed, according to Thomas of Cantimprés *Supplement*, it was during his student days in Paris that James of Vitry first learned of Marie of Oignies.¹¹²⁸

Goswin's anecdote concerns one such landlady, a certain Theophania, 'hostess at the hostel in Paris, the one facing the cathedral of Notre Dame,' who having heard of the holiness of Arnulf wished to see his face and have a chance to speak with him. On account of the great distance involved, she was unable to meet him in the flesh but persuaded 'a cleric who was studying there, a Brabantine by nationality,' to convey messages between herself and the holy man. In this way, a connection was established between Arnulf of Villers and the Parisian schools since, 'thereafter, over and over again, this handmaid of Christ, sent Arnulf greetings in the Lord, by means both of the cleric already mentioned or of many others too.' Goswin adds at the end of the story, for the benefit of doubters, 'She [Theophania] is still alive and is in the city of Paris to this day, and from her they can seek for themselves the truth of this matter.' So specific a narrative suggests it was written from personal experience.

Was Goswin himself the Brabantine cleric in the tale? Did he first learn of the reputation of Arnulf through his landlady whilst studying in Paris?¹¹²⁹ On these points we may only speculate, however, the likelihood of Goswin's having been a student in the Paris schools

¹¹²⁵ Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers, florilegia and sermons* p. 48.

¹¹²⁶ *Life of Arnulf*, II, 16a – 16e; Cawley, pp. 183-184; And see, p. 183, note 152. ; *Supplement by Thomas of Cantimpré to the Vita Mariae Oigniacensis*, ed. by D. Papebroeck in *Acta Sanctorum* (Paris, 1867), June, V, pp. 572-81.

¹¹²⁷ Claude Malingre, *Les Antiquitez de la ville de Paris* (Paris, 1640), IV: 950-1005.

¹¹²⁸ Thomas de Cantimpré, *Supplement to the Life of Mari d'Oignies*, trad. by Hugh Feiss (Toronto: Peregrina Publishing, 1990) Ch.1 p. 20.

¹¹²⁹ Cawley, *Send Me God*, p. 184 note 153. More mention is made of Paris in the *Life of Abundus*, at Ab 13e, p. 234; and cf, Newman, *Send Me God*, p. xliii.

would provide a plausible platform for connecting him to people in his environment, geographical and literary, for whom links may be suspected, but not established. Among these are at least three authors included in Newman's canon of Southern Netherlandish *Vitae*, Philip of Clairvaux and Henry of Saint-Bernard-on-the Scheldt for whom it is difficult to find connections to Goswin beside their being fellow Cistercians, and Hugh canon of the Premostratensian abbey of Floreffe, author of the *Vita* of Yvette of Huy, a *muliere religiosa* tantalisingly mentioned by Goswin in his *Vita Abundi* who recounts how the saintly Yvette advises the young Abundus to join a Cistercian monastery.¹¹³⁰

Further, Goswin's probable Paris education and also his later position as cantor of Villers, link him to the production at Villers during the first half of the thirteenth century of a major literary work, the monumental patristic florilegium the *Flores Paradisi*. By the early thirteenth century, the importance of access to reference works for the construction of suitably intelligent sermons had been understood in the schools of Paris. Peter the Chanter, Peter of Poitiers, Praepostinus and Alan of Lille had all produced collections of biblical *distinctiones*, with Allan also having produced his *Ars praedicandi* which included models of sermons to be preached to several different social groups, e.g., soldiers, princes, monks, widows and virgins. Whilst there is some debate over whether these instruments were more teaching aids than reference works, it is clear that those studying in Paris during Goswin's time were likely to use, and indeed produce, sermon tools since they would already have been schooled in the use of works of reference.¹¹³¹

Goswin's likely involvement in the task of compilation of the *Flores Paradisi* would have held great potential for expanding his social horizons since the contents of this vast work could not be harvested solely from the library of Villers, substantial though it may have been. In this respect Falmagne's notion of monks from Villers undertaking what he terms *voyages littéraires* is most instructive. During his examination of the circumstances of the production of the *Flores Paradisi*, Falmagne noted that, apart from making use of works in the libraries of Villers and nearby Aulne, the compiler(s) went to some lengths to obtain works from other institutions. Indeed, the *Flores Paradisi* in its 'finished state'¹¹³² contains nearly fourteen thousand excerpts from some three hundred and fifty patristic works and, as Falmagne has shown, embraced a considerable literary catchment area. Works were not only sourced from

¹¹³⁰ On Juette (Ivette) of Huy, see *inter alia*, Jennifer Carpenter, 'Juette of Huy, Recluse and Mother (1158-1228): Children and Mothering in the Saintly Life' in *Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women* ed. by Jennifer Carpenter and Sally-Beth MacLean. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995) pp. 57-93.

¹¹³¹ Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers, florilegia*, pp. 49-50.

¹¹³² Brussels, Royal Library, Ms 2003032.

Cistercian houses including besides Villers and Aulne, one from Clairmarais, one from Cambron, two from Clairvaux, one from Cîteaux and at least two from Signy, works from Benedictine abbeys were also consulted including two volumes from Saint-Amand, one from Anchin, one from Gembloux, one from Saint-Laurent de Liège and probably a number from Corbie.¹¹³³ As can be seen from a glance at a map of the region, several of these houses, e.g., Signy, Clairvaux and Cîteaux are at a considerable distance from Villers.

With respect to the personnel involved in the compilation the *Flores Paradisi*, three Villers incumbents are outstanding; Arnulf of Louvain, abbot, 1240-1248, and two cantors, Goswin de Bossut, during the 1230s and, later, Thomas de Louvain who appears to have occupied the post during the 1260s.¹¹³⁴ Falmagne comments, 'I see that several manuscripts used for *Flores Paradisi* betray links with the first, who cultivates, as the author of the prologue to the florilegium, a strict Bernardine spirit. Then the function of librarian which devolved to the Cistercian cantor places the two others at the head of a project resembling library science.'¹¹³⁵

Certainly the cantor would have been the obedientary responsible for books at Villers. Goswin in 1217, the year of the conquest of Alcácer do Sal, had probably not yet risen to this post, however, since he was a monk who had almost certainly received a good education before entering the monastery and since the *Flores Paradisi* is a work which, in all likelihood, took several years to compile, it is possible to suppose that Goswin may have been one of those scribe-copyists sent out to other monastic institutions to gather flowers in their libraries.

Having thus attempted to set out some general platforms for contacts between Goswin and those in his broader environment through travel and exchange between religious and their various houses, something that would have been greatly facilitated by the relatively plentiful presence of roads and navigable rivers in the southern Netherlands by Goswin's time, we must now examine more specific evidence linking him with certain individuals important in our search for his alter-ego, GOSUINUS.

To begin in this direction, let us as a matter of urgency, add to the distinguished roll-call of authors recited so far herein, the name of Caesarius of Heisterbach, already briefly referred to above. Although strictly he does not belong to Newman's postulated canon of south Netherlands *Vitae*, his presence in the regional literary landscape looms so large that he cries out in loud voice to be considered first of all.

¹¹³³ Falmagne, *Un Texte*, pp. 352-53.

¹¹³⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 64-66. Cawley, *Send Me God*, p. 8.

¹¹³⁵ Falmagne, *Un Texte*, p. 72.

Goswin and Caesarius of Heisterbach

Villers maintained very close links with Heisterbach. Not only were both affiliated to the same mother house of Clairvaux, but Abbot Charles of Villers (1197-1209) had been one of the very founders of Heisterbach. Charles, a former knight and once member of the bodyguard of the Archbishop of Cologne, following his conversion on the way home one day from a tournament, entered the Cistercian Abbey of Himmerod. Alarmed at the migration of young men from his diocese to the same abbey, the Archbishop of Cologne requested another abbey be founded nearer his own city. In this way, in 1188-89, Heisterbach Abbey was established and Charles, who had been a member of the foundation party, was appointed prior of the new Abbey. Caesarius knew him well, indeed it is possible that Charles had been Caesarius' novicemaster,¹¹³⁶ and there are several references to him in the *Dialogus*. When Charles was promoted to the Abbacy of Villers within less than a decade of the foundation of Heisterbach, he kept in regular and frequent contact, not only with Caesarius, but also with the other monks of his former home. Charles, famed in the secular world for his martial skills and horsemanship, had not been a scholar. Conscious of his educational failings, he sought to make up for it with a policy of recruiting the best minds available to him. Abbot Guy of Clairvaux, who was greatly impressed by Charles, praised him for gathering to his abbey 'great and highly honoured persons.'¹¹³⁷ It was Charles who recruited the nobleman, Conrad of Urach, second son of Count Egino IV of Urach and scion of the aristocratic Zähringen family through his mother Agnes. Conrad, whose privileged background catapulted him onto the ecclesiastical fast-track, succeeded Charles in the abbacy of Villers before, shortly thereafter, being promoted to Clairvaux, and then quickly on to Cîteaux and from there, in 1219, to appointment as cardinal-bishop of Porto and St Rufina under Honorius III.¹¹³⁸ Conrad, however, was but one of many talented and eager young men recruited by Abbot Charles, a superior who also took care to enlist in his monastery the more senior and scholarly Walter of Utrecht, to instruct them. And who knows if among these novices was a certain youth, perhaps singled out by Charles for his devout nature, good education and musical turn, named Goswin de Bossut?

¹¹³⁶ Cawley, *Four Abbots*, p. 304.

¹¹³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 306.

¹¹³⁸ On Conrad see generally Falko Neining, *Konrad von Urach (d. 1227): Zähringer, Zisterzienser, Kardinallegat*. (Paderborn 1994).

Caesarius, entirely contemporary with Goswin, published his *Dialogus Miraculorum* only ten years before Goswin began his *Vitae*.¹¹³⁹ The anecdotes contained in Goswin's Lives are strongly reminiscent of Caesarius's work whilst, at the same time, the *Dialogus* contains multiple references to Villers, as might be expected. Could it be that Goswin and Caesarius were acquainted? It would appear likely. But what of our GOSUINUS author of the *Carmen*? The *Dialogus* supplies the link.

At Book 8, Chapter LXVI, of the *Dialogus*, Caesarius recounts the miraculous vision of a celestial army at the siege of Alcácer in 1217. The very same event appears to be recounted in the *Carmen* in the following way:

A heavenly column of troops comes in our assistance, behold!
Where God is imparting the sign that he gave before of the cross,
Their robes shining like the Sun, white as new snow
And there are on their breasts, the signs of the red-coloured cross.

....

So that they may bring us disorder, the approaching of galleys confirms
Thrice ten, we search for them, presently we find them.
He that had imparted the signs in the heavens and on the earth, the waves
He now stirs up and the enemy ships are destroyed.¹¹⁴⁰

The *Dialogus* narrates that Saracen prisoners, on being led through the Christian army were –

...asserting that a white-clad host, wearing red crosses upon the breast, had put their multitude to flight. Furthermore also, the galleys which they had brought over the sea against the Christians were put to flight by the terror of that celestial vision.¹¹⁴¹

Caesarius, who was not present at Alcácer, then proclaims,

¹¹³⁹ Cawley, *Send Me God*, p. 29.

¹¹⁴⁰ *Agmen in auxilium nostris venit ecce supernum*
Dante Deo signum quod dedit ante Crucis.
Vestis ei splendens ut Sol, ut nix nova candens
Suntque suo rosea pectore signa Crucis.

.....

Ut nos confundant, confirmat adesse Galijas
Ter denas, petimus, nunc reperimus eas.
Qui caelo, qui signa solo dederat, modo fluctus
Turbat, et hostiles his periere rates.

Carmen, lines 149-52, 169-71.

¹¹⁴¹ DM Vol II, 8.LXVI p. 137.

These things were told to me by some of those who were present at the battle and heard it from the mouth of the Saracen what I have related.¹¹⁴²

Typically, Caesarius does not name his informants, but we must admit the possibility that GOSUINUS, that is so say Goswin of Bossut, cantor of Villers, was among them. Indeed, Caesarius appears very well informed and, among the details he includes, recognisable from other contemporary sources for the conquest of Alcácer, is that the 'blessed Vincent' is the patron saint of that country (*regionis*)¹¹⁴³ and that the name of the Bishop of Lisbon, is 'Severus' (SUERIUS). Although Caesarius mentions the presence of the Bishop of Évora, this prelate is not named which may indicate that, for Caesarius' informants, this cleric was of somewhat lesser importance in their narrative.¹¹⁴⁴

Goswin's Villers and *Mulieres religiosae*

Obviously the mere mention of one of Goswin's three surviving musical works being a *historia* for the important recluse and mystic, Marie of Oignies, suggests his links to two other literary giants of the south Netherlands, James of Vitry, who sometime before taking up his position as Bishop of Acre in 1216, authored the *Vita Mariae Oigniacensis* and his younger disciple, Thomas de Cantimpré, who later produced a Supplement to it, *Supplementum ad vitam B. Mariae d'Oignies a B. M. Jacobo de Vitriaco*. Before considering each of these authors in turn in our search for links to the author of the *Carmen*, let us briefly set the scene for possible meetings between these two and our prime suspect, Goswin, cantor of an abbey that appears to have shared their fascination with remarkable women like Marie of Oignies.

Whilst it is a matter of some debate whether Goswin composed the office for Marie's local veneration at Villers or for some other purpose, such as to comprise part of her canonisation file, or to commemorate the moment of the translation of her relics,¹¹⁴⁵ what is beyond doubt is that the work arose in the circumstances of the close, indeed almost obsessive, relationship of his abbey with various *mulieres religiosae*, beguinages and houses of nuns in the south Netherlands amid an unprecedented explosion of female spirituality.¹¹⁴⁶ Indeed, figures for

¹¹⁴² Ibid.

¹¹⁴³ DM Vol II, p. 157.

¹¹⁴⁴ It is to be noted that at this time the Bishop of Évora was also named Suerius, yet it is clear that this prelate is not named in the text.

¹¹⁴⁵ The ongoing debate over the precise circumstances of its production need not concern us, but see Mannaerts, 'An Exception', pp. 233-269; Martinus Cawley, 'Mulieres Religiosae in Goswin of Villers' in *Vox Benedictina* vol.9 (1992) pp. 99-107; and cf, Newman, *Send Me God*, p.xxxiii.

¹¹⁴⁶ On the Belgian feminine religious movement two works in particular are outstanding: Ernest W McDonnell, *The Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture* (Rutgers, 1954) and Walter Simons, *Cities of Ladies, Beguine Communities in the Medieval Low Countries 1200-1526* (Philadelphia, 2003).

the diocese of Liège alone show that as many as fifteen Cistercian nunneries were founded between 1200 and 1229, with another sixteen being founded in the decade 1230-1240.¹¹⁴⁷

Abbot Walter of Villers had pioneered an energetic policy of founding or seeding houses for nuns within the diocese of Liège, including the incorporation of Ida of Nivelles' own convent of Kerkom and its transfer to La Ramée. Such was his enthusiasm for the creation and nurture of houses for women and their incorporation into the Cistercian Order that he came within danger of over extending his resources and began to run out of personnel for the provision of these new houses with chaplains and lay brothers. Ultimately, he was compelled to pass on the responsibility for as many as eight newly-founded convents to the Abbot of Cîteaux.¹¹⁴⁸

Walter's successor, Abbot William, although he terminated Walter's policy of sending out monks to serve the women as pastors, continued Villers' intense interest in the encouragement of female religious. No doubt aware that Walter had been a little too ambitious in this direction, William only accepted the role of Father Immediate for the Abbey of Val-Duc, founded with an endowment made by Henry II, Duke of Brabant, in 1232. Almost certainly William made this single exception in deference to the close links Villers enjoyed with the ducal family. In all other cases, William preferred to restrict himself to the role of advisor on suitable sites for new feminine foundations whilst passing paternity of them to the Abbot of nearby Aulne. At the same time, outside the Order, beguinages, including those at Leuven, Tienen, Brussels and especially Nivelles, were powerfully supported by William, both through his personal involvement in their affairs and through his generous giving of alms.¹¹⁴⁹

Goswin and James of Vitry

Given Villers' pioneering involvement with charismatic women, it would be unsurprising to discover ties between the abbey and, that most famous champion of beguines, James of Vitry. Certainly he had no doubts that the spirituality of Marie d'Oignies sprang from the pullulating gardens of Cistercian theology. At the very beginning of Book I of Marie's *Vita*, describing her childhood, James is careful to include the following episode within just a few lines of the opening;

¹¹⁴⁷ Jean-Baptiste Lefèvre, 'Sainte Lutgarde d'Aywières et son temps (1182-1246)', *Collectanea Cisterciensia*, 58.4 (1996) pp. 277-335, at p. 320.

¹¹⁴⁸ MGH *Scriptores*, vol.25, p. 200, para. 10; Cawley, *Four Abbots*, p. 316.

¹¹⁴⁹ De Moreau, *L'Abbaye*, xxiv; Mannaerts, 'An Exception', p. 241. A great deal more can be said about William's involvement with female religious which often caused controversy at Villers and sometimes spilled over into the General Chapter, both over the financial support he lavished upon them and also when he took with him when he was promoted to Clairvaux the paternity of La Cambre, a house with strong traditional ties to Villers from the time of Abbot Charles. See, *inter alia*, Cawley, 'Four Abbots', pp. 323-324 and the references contained therein.

'Once...when some Cistercian brothers were passing in front of her father's house, she glanced up at them and, admiring their habit of religion, she followed them stealthily; when she could do no more, she put her own feet in the footprints of those lay brothers or monks from her great desire.'¹¹⁵⁰

Here, James leaves an early and clear message that there can be no doubt about Marie's orthodoxy, a principal theme in the work. Since Marie's childhood was spent at her family home in Nivelles, only fifteen kilometres west of Villers, it has been assumed, very reasonably, that those passing religious were from that Abbey, perhaps proceeding to or from a nearby grange.¹¹⁵¹ Nor is this the only reference in the work to a specifically Cistercian world; the *Vita* contains several, including Marie's vision in which she converses with St Bernard who appears possessed of the wings of an eagle¹¹⁵² and the fact that the entire work is dedicated to Fulk (former troubadour of Marseilles) Bishop of Toulouse, formerly Abbot of the Cistercian house of Le Thoronet.¹¹⁵³ In the Prologue to the *Vita*, James tells us that Fulk had been 'exiled from his own city by the heretics and had come to the countries of Gaul to beg for help against the enemies of the faith.' He had arrived to the diocese of Liège having heard of the great reputation of the region's holy women. Indeed, James' two overriding aims for writing the *Vita* emerge clearly in the Prologue; one is explicit, that the work is intended as a tool for preaching against heresy,¹¹⁵⁴ the other, obvious but implicit, is an intention to confirm and extol the Christian orthodoxy of the beguines.¹¹⁵⁵ How fitting then, that he finds a direct link with Villers, a house renowned for its support of *mulieres sancta* and his heroine Marie d'Oignies.

Goswin, a contemporary of James of Vitry, although probably his junior by some twenty or more years, clearly knew his *Vita Mariae* well and used it as the foundation for the office. We may speculate that the office was commissioned from Goswin by Abbot William, who had also commissioned from him the *Vitae* of Arnulf and of Ida of Nivelles.

¹¹⁵⁰ Vitry, Cardinal Jaques de, *The Life of Marie D'Oignies* Trans with Introduction by Margot H. King (Toronto, 1989) at Book 1, Chapter 11A, p. 27

¹¹⁵¹ Mannaerts, 'An Exception', p. 242.

¹¹⁵² For example, later in the *Vita*, in order to confirm Marie's continuing devotion to the Cistercian path, James has her experience a vision in which St Bernard of Clairvaux comes to her; 'Once St Bernard, the father and luminary of the Cistercian Order, appeared to her as if winged, and he stretched his wings around her. When she asked what kind of wings they were, he replied that, like an eagle, he attained the high and subtle things of Divine Scripture through high flying and that the Lord had opened to him many of the heavenly secrets.' *The Life of Marie D'Oignies*, Chapter 90, p. 103; and c.f., Mannaerts 'An Exception', p. 253.

¹¹⁵³ See Chapter 1, herein.

¹¹⁵⁴ *The Life of Marie D'Oignies*, Ch. 9, pp. 23-24;

¹¹⁵⁵ See *ibid*, Ch.4 at p. 18, 'they affixed new names against them, just as the Jews called Christ a Samaritan (John 8, 48) this is a clear reference to the malicious labelling of the Flemish *mulieres sanctae* 'beguines' a derogatory term which was growing in currency at the time, although James himself never uses it.

In this latter respect, especially given William's well known involvement with the beguinage of Nivelles,¹¹⁵⁶ it is most interesting to note that Marie's connections to Nivelles are far more important to Goswin (and/or his commissioner) than her connections to Oignies. Apart from the opening rubric, the office makes no mention of Oignies at all. Rather the office concentrates wholly on Marie's life and activities in Nivelles.¹¹⁵⁷ As Pieter Mannaerts observes, the antiphons of first vespers are the most narrative – they describe Marie's Nivelles origin and parents, her marriage to a certain John and the new celibate marital life adopted by them. Only in the twelfth responsory is there an implicit reference to Oignies. The verse describes Marie's death, while surrounding her bed are her 'brothers' the canons of Oignies (*Quae in domo unctionis coelesti balsamo delibuta iter manus fratrum in pace consummavit*).¹¹⁵⁸

Although the chants and their references to Nivelles are biographical in nature, most of the text of the *historia* for Marie is not at all narrative. Rather it combines a number of biblical references with various appellations for Marie which have drawn the attention of both Mannaerts and Daniel Misonne.¹¹⁵⁹ As in James' *Vita*, Goswin often refers to Marie as *ancilla* (handmaid) and also (much more often than in the *Vita*) as *sponsa Christi* ('Christ's betrothed'). The most remarkable designation, is that of *benigna* ('she who is kind', or 'bounteous-one'). This has been read, within the context of the *historia*, as a direct reference to the beguines. The term, 'beguina', loathed by James of Vitry, was initially a derogatory term with implications of sexual hypocrisy and coquettishness (the famous Cole Porter song 'When they begin the beguine' is an example of the continued survival of this tradition; the name 'beguine' eventually coming to lend itself to a seductive Latin American dance.) Indeed, by the end of the thirteenth century the beguines were widely considered to be either heretics or licentious hypocrites.¹¹⁶⁰ In an attempt to prevent the degeneration of the beguine reputation, alternative definitions for the term 'beguina' were promoted, one being its supposed derivation from the Latin words *benigna* and *benignitas*, the earliest documented efforts in this direction being recorded in *De sainte Léocade* (1222-27) by Gautier of Coincy.¹¹⁶¹ That

¹¹⁵⁶ The Beguines at Nivelles were one of the more substantial beneficiaries of William's reform of alms giving in particular the cessation of petty almsgiving in order that larger sums could be made available to deserving institutions; Cawley, *Four Abbots*, p. 322.

¹¹⁵⁷ Daniel Misonne, 'Office Liturgique Neumé de la Bienheureuse Marie d'Oignies à L'Abbaye de Villers au XIIIe Siècle', *Revue bénédictine* 111, 2001, pp. 267-286, at p. 275.

¹¹⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 282, verse 39; Mannaerts, 'An Exception', p. 251.

¹¹⁵⁹ Mannaerts, 'An Exception', p. 251.; Misonne, 'Office', p. 276.

¹¹⁶⁰ Cf, Margot H King, 'Introduction' in *The Life of Marie D'Oignies*, p. 8, who gives the example of Marguerite Porete, burned at the stake in 1310 in Paris for heresy.

¹¹⁶¹ Cf, Misonne, 'Office', pp. 277-78.

such a pre-occupation arises in the office is scarcely surprising given Villers' interest in the beguine movement and Goswin's authorship of *Ida of Nivelles*.¹¹⁶²

Among the many scriptural references in the office there are a number of references to the Virgin Mary through Marie of Oignies. Offices in honour of the Virgin commonly contain references to the Song of Songs, but they are here found in the *historia* to Marie, implicitly connecting the two figures. The theme is echoed in the references, in two Vespers chants, to the *Ave maris stella*, a well-known plainsong Vespers hymn to the Virgin Mary tracing its origins to the ninth century.¹¹⁶³ Perhaps significantly in the context of the *Carmen*, the Virgin is designated a daughter of *Syon*, a theme which returns in the tenth antiphon of the office, *Maria filia Jerusalem*.¹¹⁶⁴ Mannaerts has suggested that these references to the Holy Land could have been inserted as a deliberate commemoration of James of Vitry's involvement in the Fifth Crusade, both as a leading preacher and as Bishop of Acre.¹¹⁶⁵ Indeed, such references would resound very strongly with the author of the *Carmen*. Certainly it appears that James himself saw his defence of the beguines, his role as supporter of the anti-Cathar campaign, his work as a crusade preacher and, later, his office as Bishop of Acre, as being entirely coterminous and part of a general response to the various and, for many contemporaries inter-related, threats to Latin Christianity in the early thirteenth century.¹¹⁶⁶

Goswin makes notable use of the eagle motif, a clear reflection of James' account of Marie's vision of St Bernard. Clearly St Bernard, founder of Villers, would have great resonance for Goswin, and the presence of this most-famous-of-all Cistercians in his work is to be expected - indeed, Abundus experiences a vision of St Bernard.¹¹⁶⁷ Whilst this may be somewhat unremarkable, given the context, what is notable is the powerful resonance in the office with James' emphasis on the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit, the whole of Book II of the *Vita* being constructed around them so that this part of the *Vita* resembles a series of exempla arranged around this catechetical regime. In Goswin's office, the proper antiphons of Matins are taken almost directly from Book II. Significantly, the number seven and the Seven Gifts, admittedly a relatively common medieval *topos*, are strongly represented in the *Carmen*.

¹¹⁶² Cf. Mannaerts, 'An Exception', p. 251.

¹¹⁶³ Earliest extant example is in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod.387, fol.2v, dated 818; *Warburg Institute Iconographic Database*, accessed, 01/06/2015.

¹¹⁶⁴ Mannaerts, 'An Exception', p. 252; Misonne, 'Office', p. 280, verse 23.

¹¹⁶⁵ Mannaerts, 'An Exception', p. 251; Misonne, 'Office', p. 286, verse 64.

¹¹⁶⁶ Cf. Barbara Newman's Introduction to *Thomas of Cantimpré: The Collected Saints' Lives*, ed. by Barbara Newman (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008) at p. 16; also Purkis, 'Crusading and Crusade memory', p. 115.

¹¹⁶⁷ Cawley, *Send Me God*, p. 235.

Further references in Goswin's office include references to the office for Mary Magdalene and, unusually, not to the office for the Virgin Mary. This is probably a reflection of the growing popularity of the cult of Mary Magdalene in the diocese of Liège and her known appeal for the first beguines. From James of Vitry himself we have three surviving sermons on Mary Magdalene and compelling comparisons have been drawn by Michel Lauwers between these and several *Vitae of mulieres religiosae* and other texts concerning the beguines in the south Netherlands.¹¹⁶⁸ Certainly, Goswin and his brothers at Villers would have been aware of this phenomenon and Mannaerts plausibly suggests that Goswin used Mary Magdalene to forge a liturgical link between the beguines and the Cistercians, for whom the Magdalene was probably the most important female saint next to the Virgin herself. At Villers, the earliest evidence of the cult of Mary Magdalene coincides almost exactly with her rise to prominence in the beguine community. Indeed, Thomas Coomans reports that the first altar dedicated to Mary Magdalene was consecrated by Abbot Nicholas in 1237, whilst Goswin was cantor.¹¹⁶⁹ The inauguration of the altar could well have coincided with Goswin's authorship of his *Vita Abundi* which includes an episode where Mary Magdalene appears together with the Virgin to Abundus, as the monks and lay brothers are working gathering the harvest.¹¹⁷⁰

Whilst it is clear that Goswin was very familiar with James' *Vita Mariae*, we can only speculate as to whether the two men were personally acquainted. Almost certainly the canons of Oignies were well known to the monks of Villers; *inter alia* they are mentioned in Goswin's office for Marie and the town of Oignies is only 20 Km south of Villers on the other side of the River Sambre. Further, as mentioned earlier, Abbot Walter, the likely commissioner of the *Carmen* in its first version was, like James of Vitry, a preacher for the Fifth Crusade and they appear to have both been active in that capacity in more or less the same geographical region at the same time. Add to this Walter's and James' interest in the promotion of the *mulieres sanctae* and it appears almost inconceivable that James had not been a visitor to Villers, perhaps even a frequent one. That a copy of his *Vitae Mariae* existed in the Villers library is certain since a copy of it had originally been part of the codex that had contained the unique manuscript of Goswin's office for her.¹¹⁷¹

¹¹⁶⁸ Michel Lauwers, 'Noli me tangere.' Marie Madeleine, Marie d'Oignies et les penitents du XIIIe siècle', in *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 104 (1992), pp. 209-68, at p. 214-216; Mannaerts, 'An Exception', p. 257.

¹¹⁶⁹ Coomans, *L'Abbaye de Villers*, pp. 584-86; Mannaerts, 'An Exception', p. 257.

¹¹⁷⁰ *Vita Abundi*, Ch.14, Cawley, *Send Me God*, p. 234.

¹¹⁷¹ On this codex and its attributes see Mannaerts resumée, 'An Exception', p. 233 *et seq*; Goswin's office for Marie of Oignies, *Celebris hec festivitas/Gaude Maria filia Syon* exists in a unique manuscript, probably autograph, today housed in the Brussels Royal Library (Ms. II 1658).

Goswin and Thomas de Cantimpré

At best, we can only conclude that it is 'more-likely-than-not' that Goswin had some personal contact with James of Vitry. Whilst this is a somewhat disappointing and unsatisfactory conclusion for us, our travels along this road have not been in vain since the cultural, literary and geographical possibilities for the links between these two authors inform Goswin's possible links to James' younger disciple, Thomas de Cantimpré. Here the evidence is somewhat more compelling and, crucially, brings us closer to the *Carmen*.

Contacts between Thomas de Cantimpre and Villers are confirmed both by the early incorporation of several of his works in the library of Villers during the thirteenth century,¹¹⁷² and through the many explicit references to Villers in Thomas' writings. For example, in his *Bonum universale de apibus*, written 1254-1263, he recounts the story of how Abbot Conrad of Villers (1209-1214) received a vision of Marie of Oignies during a night-time visit to pray at her tomb.¹¹⁷³ However, a far earlier version of this story can be found in Thomas' *Supplementum* to the *Vita Mariae*, written in about 1230, but where the name of the protagonist is not revealed, 'since he forbids that he be named'. According to this version, the protagonist, 'a certain bishop,' told the story to the prior of Oignies who passed it on to Thomas.¹¹⁷⁴ Abbot Walter, the likely addressee of the first version of the *Carmen*, was also known to Thomas who, as he recounts in the *Bonum*, was deeply impressed by his humility.¹¹⁷⁵

Thomas has much more to say, however, of Abbot William (1221-1236), during whose abbacy flourished at least four members of Villers who were the subjects of *Vitae*; Arnulf the lay brother (d. 1228), Abundus, who lived under William for at least fifteen years, the ex-knight and Fifth Crusader, Francon, whose *Vita* wholly in verse, we have already briefly mentioned, and one Geoffrey Pachomius.¹¹⁷⁶ Thomas claims to have seen William experiencing the gift of tears for himself,¹¹⁷⁷ and it is likely that Thomas was a more-or-less frequent visitor to Villers where he learned of other members of the community blessed with prophetic abilities: *In monasterio ipso multos vidimus sanctos et plerosque qui spiritu prophetie et miraculis*

¹¹⁷² Falmagne, *Un Texte*, at, *inter alia*, pp. 39, 47 and 508.

¹¹⁷³ *Bonum universale* Book I, Ch.9.

¹¹⁷⁴ Cantimpré, Thomas de, *Supplement to the Life of Marie D'Oignies*, ed and trans.by Hugh Feiss (Toronto, 1990), p. 46; Mannaerts' dating of the incident, if historical, to within the first year of Marie's death which occurred on 23 June 1213, 'for by the end of 1214 Conrad had been elected abbot of Clairvaux,' cannot be correct. Rather it appears the incident took place much later after Conrad had become a cardinal since Thomas describes him as 'a certain bishop...who came suppliantly and devoutly from Italy...'; Mannaerts, 'An Exception', p. 243.

¹¹⁷⁵ *Bonum universale*, 2.26, cited in MHG 10; Cawley 'Four Abbots', p. 318; Falmagne, *Un Texte*, p. 66.

¹¹⁷⁶ Cawley, 'Four Abbots', p. 325; for the references and dates of Francon and Geoffrey Pachomius, see Roisin, *L'Hagiographie*, p. 78, *et seq.*

¹¹⁷⁷ MGH *Scriptores*, Vol 25, p. 202, para 16, *Hunc specialissime detitum lacrimus vidimus...*

claruerunt.¹¹⁷⁸ Of course, it would be hardly surprising to find Thomas frequenting Villers from time to time, given the geographical proximity within which various religious operated and also the fact that Thomas had been appointed as confessor in the female house of Valduc, possibly by the nuns themselves, of which Abbot William was the Father Immediate.¹¹⁷⁹

Whilst William almost certainly commissioned at least two lives from Goswin, and we know that Goswin wrote the *Vita Abundi* at his own initiative with William's permission, Cawley speculates that William, during this very fecund literarily period for the cantor, may himself have become the subject of a *Vita* now lost to us. Indeed, Thomas de Cantimpré tells us very clearly that he had seen some written matter concerning William's many divine visions: *de quibus nonnulla vidimus scripta et approbata*.¹¹⁸⁰

Although the *Chronica* of Villers contain two of Thomas' complete stories about William that are quoted verbatim from the *Bonum*, one recounting the miraculous feeding of ox meat to a poor pregnant woman¹¹⁸¹ and another concerning a usurer of Namur,¹¹⁸² these, as Thomas explains in his text, are told to him by others; they are not taken from the written material he had seen. Rather, the information contained in that material recounted visions experienced by William that he shared only with his close companions at Villers, *ut illi dixerunt qui hominem secretius cognoverunt, in tantum divine contemplationis assiduitate vacabat, ut ei Dominus multa in vision monstraret*.¹¹⁸³

Cawley suggests five episodes contained in the *Chronica* and one from the *Dialogus Miraculorum*, that could have been sourced from this material; three concern William hearing confessions,¹¹⁸⁴ another three concern the Mass.¹¹⁸⁵ Certainly, the overtly mystical nature of these vignettes resounds strongly with Goswin's conventionally accepted corpus of *Vitae*. Was Goswin the author of the source material? Did he show this work to his direct contemporary¹¹⁸⁶ and fellow author Thomas during one of the latter's visits to Villers?

¹¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 204, para 20..

¹¹⁷⁹ Abbot William's willingness to allow female communities to appoint their own pastors apparently caused considerable controversy, see Cawley, *Four Abbots*, p. 324; Cf, Barbara Newman, 'Possessed by the Spirit: Devout Women, Demoniacs, and the Apostolic Life in the Thirteenth Century', *Speculum*, Vol. 73, No.3 (Jul., 1998) pp. 733-770, at p. 743;

¹¹⁸⁰ MGH *Scriptores*, Vol 25, p. 202 at para 16.

¹¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 201-202, at para 16, Cawley, 'Four Abbots', p. 319 and p. 322.

¹¹⁸² MGH *Scriptores* vol. 25 p. 204, at para 20.

¹¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 202 at para 16.

¹¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 200 at para 11, p. 201 at para 13; DM IX, 31.

¹¹⁸⁵ MGH *Scriptores*, Vol 25, p. 201 at para. 14, and p. 203 at para. 19; Cawley, 'Four Abbots', p. 326.

¹¹⁸⁶ According to the age suggested for Goswin herein, he would have been perhaps some 12 years older than Thomas, born 1201.

Again we are in the land of speculation. However, the possibility of a direct connection between the two biographers gains some considerable strength when considering the evolution of Thomas of Cantimpré's hagiographic method. Simone Roisin, the first scholar to submit Thomas' works to such analysis, noticed an increasing concern for the expression of inner mystical experience of the divine as his literary output progressed. She noted that, in his earlier works, such as his *Supplement to Mary of Oignies* and *Christina the Astonishing*, Thomas had been concerned to relate physical miracles observable in the human world, whereas it was ascetic qualities he was keen to emphasise in *Margaret of Ypres* and finally his preoccupation was with mystical virtues in his *Life of Lutgard of Aywières*, arguably his most mature work. Roisin saw in this progression a reflection of Thomas' own spiritual development which she attributed to an increasingly Cistercian influence in his life. In short, she concluded that, somewhere between writing the *Vita* of *Christina the Astonishing* and that of *Lutgard of Aywières*, during the 1230s, Thomas must have become familiar with the trilogy of *Vitae* usually attributed to Goswin.¹¹⁸⁷

Newman, has thought the hypothesis plausible. Certainly Thomas' *Vita* of Lutgard, is reminiscent of Goswin's *Vita* of Ida of Nivelles, yet these similarities could be explained by the subjects' shared quality as Cistercian nuns. However, the similarities between Thomas' *Christina the Astonishing* and Goswin's *Arnulf*, particularly their tortuous physical penitential suffering, are far more intriguing. In Newman's opinion, Thomas clearly shared two of Goswin's preoccupations, namely his concern to bring a transparency into the inner mystical life and to emphasise the bonds, both mystical and temporal, within a religious community.¹¹⁸⁸ Drawing together the various commonalities between the two authors, Newman's endorsement of Roisin's hypothesis is not just difficult to resist, it is worth quoting:

'Both hagiographers valued such mystical experiences as visions, revelations, and ecstasies, and more strikingly, both shared a confidence that these extraordinary states could be communicated with ease, whether in words or in direct, telepathic access to the souls of others. Further, both wrote for and about a broadly conceived network of spiritual friends transcending the boundaries of language, gender and religious profession...'¹¹⁸⁹

¹¹⁸⁷ Simone Roisin, 'La Méthode hagiographique de Thomas de Cantimpré', in *Miscellanea Historica in Honorem Alberti de Meyer*, 2 vols (Louvain, 1946) Vol.1, pp. 546-557; Barbara Newman, 'Introduction' in *Thomas of Cantimpré, The collected Saint's Lives* (Tourhout: Brepols, 2008) pp. 18-19.

¹¹⁸⁸ See Newman, *Send Me God*, pp. xlvi-xlvi, where she expounds her view that Goswin characterises the inner life through *sublimity, transparency, and community*.

¹¹⁸⁹ Newman, 'Introduction', *Thomas of Cantimpré, The Collected Saints Lives*, p. 19.

Whilst all this may be very well where links between Thomas of Cantimpré and Goswin of Bossut are concerned, one may be forgiven for asking what this has to do with Goswin as GOSUINUS author of the *Carmen*, a poetical account of a military conquest in Iberia. The link is in the 'poetical' and, in particular, the poetical account of the life of a member of the Villers community which is perhaps one of the most striking examples of versified works produced at the Abbey during its entire Golden Age, the rhythmical ballad, the *Vita Franconis*. This life of Francon de Arquennes, a Fifth Crusader turned monk, written contemporaneously with Goswin's *Vitae* is addressed to a certain 'illustrious Thomas.' (*O Thoma clare*).¹¹⁹⁰

Goswin and Francon de Arquennes

Goswin's relationship with Francon de Arquennes and the high likelihood of his having authored the *Vita Franconis*, present further crucial indications that Goswin and GOSUINUS are one and the same person.

The family d'Arquennes appears in several documents, the earliest dating to the twelfth century with Francon himself being attested during the first quarter of the thirteenth.¹¹⁹¹ The earliest reference to him records his presence among the soldiery in England in 1213, perhaps in the context of negotiations between Flanders and King John in a prelude to imminent hostilities with France. Next we find him at the beginning of 1220 at Damietta during the Fifth Crusade where along with his two sons, 'F' and 'W', he witnesses a deed of donation in favour of the Teutonic Order made by Walter Berthout Lord of Mechelen, of lands and rights around Grootlo in Brabant.¹¹⁹² It is not clear when Francon set out for the Holy Land, but his presence among Walter's close associates as a witness to the donation¹¹⁹³ suggests he was in some way connected to Walter's crusading entourage. A vassal of Duke Henry of Brabant, who as mentioned earlier, took the vow but did not depart, Walter had travelled to the East sometime after January 1218 with his family ensemble including his sons and his wife, a grouping of

¹¹⁹⁰ Martène et Durand, 1339a.

¹¹⁹¹ Roisin, *L'Hagiographie*, p. 41.

¹¹⁹² J. T. de Raadt, 'A propos d'un diplôme relative à la maison des Berthout,' in *Annales de La Société D'archéologie de Bruxelles*, II, 1888-1889, pp. 100-07, at p. 103; Reinhold Rohricht, *Studien zur Geschichte des Fünften Kreuzzuges* (Innsbruck: Verlag de Wagner Schen Universitäts Buchhandluk, 1891) p. 70. The correct date of the Charter is 27 January, 1220; Godfried Croenen, *Familie en Macht, De Familie Berthout en de Brabantse Adel* (Leuven: Universitaire Pers Leuven, 2003) p. 38. It appears the charter was made on Walter's deathbed since it is addressed to his kinsmen in Brabant and it is clear from the preamble that he had been wounded. Walter never returned from Egypt presumably dying shortly after the execution of the charter; Croenen; *Ibid.*, p. 302. Like Francon d'Arquenne, Walter had been in the service of John Lackland being attested in England between October 1215 until June 1216; the author is grateful to Godfried Croenen for supplying this information.

¹¹⁹³ De Raadt, 'A propos', p. 106.

relatives and household members common among bands of crusaders during the period.¹¹⁹⁴ In accordance with this convention, we note the presence of Francon's own two sons on the expedition.¹¹⁹⁵

In a dramatic passage from Oliver Scholasticus' 'The Capture of Damietta' we find Walter fighting a heroic action shoulder to shoulder with the leaders of the Alcácer fleet, the counts of Holland and of Wied.¹¹⁹⁶ It follows that we can surmise Walter, on arriving in the East, quite naturally attached himself to the contingent of his fellow countrymen already present, which had sailed in the fleet that had attacked Alcácer and included, very plausibly, Francon of Arquennes. In this respect, elements of the *Vita Franconis* become highly relevant and are inextricably linked with the identification of Goswin of Bossut as the probable author of both this work and the *Carmen*.

The *Vita Franconis*, a lengthy poem of eighty-two quatrains, very much a ballad and, indeed, probably intended to be sung,¹¹⁹⁷ deals for the most part with Francon's life and death as an aged lay brother in Villers. Nevertheless, early in the work there is a powerful invocation of Francon's former profession as a lion-hearted (*corde leoninus*) knight and, in particular, an account of his exploits on the Fifth Crusade in *Chaldea*. *Chaldeans* is a term frequently used to denote the Muslims of Iberia.¹¹⁹⁸ Only one battle is described and, although the geographic location is unspecified, it is possible to recognise certain key moments in the conquest of Alcácer do Sal, several of which are recounted in the *Carmen*. Indeed, the bellicose episodes described in the *Vita*, in so far as they can be ascribed to historical events, fit much more nearly the conquest of Alcácer than any of the other actions of the Fifth Crusade whilst, curiously, there is no mention whatsoever of the dramatic and eminently narratable battle for Damietta at which Francon was almost certainly present. The relevant sequence of the *Vita* occurs at verses IV – IX. Here we learn that Francon sets sail under prosperous winds for the

¹¹⁹⁴ Powel, *Anatomy*, p. 81-82; Walter is last recorded in Brabant witnessing a charter of Duke Henry of Lotharingia in January 1218; Cartuaire de l'abbaye d'Affligem et des monastères que en dépendaient; *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de Belgique, 2ième section: Cartulaires et documents entendus, 1 (1994)-5(1901)*, ed. by E. De Marneffe p. 375. His first recorded appearance in the East is at Damietta in 1219, where in the company of William Count of Holland he witnesses a charter of Egidius Bertous in favour of the Teutonic Order; *De Oorkonden van Pitsenburg, commanderrij van de Duitse Ridderorde te Mechelen (1190-1794), Voor 15 marrrt 1190- 21 oktober 1299*, ed. by A. James (Antwerpen: Provincie Antwerpen, 1991).

¹¹⁹⁵ Powell gives Walter Berthous date of departure for the crusade as autumn of 1218; *Anatomy*, p. 82.

¹¹⁹⁶ Oliver of Paderborn, 'The Capture of Damietta' Ch. 29 in *Christian society and the Crusades, 1198-1229: sources in translation*, ed. by Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971) at p. 82.

¹¹⁹⁷ C.f. Cawley, *Send Me God*, p. 6, 'It is a sheer delight to the ear and we can imagine it being sung to the assembled community on a feast-day afternoon.' Meanwhile, I have noticed it works perfectly to the tune of the well loved English Christmas carol *Good King Wenceslas*.

¹¹⁹⁸ Norman Roth, *Jews, Visigoths and Muslims in Medieval Spain, Cooperation and Conflict* (Leiden: Brill, 1994) p. 50; Kenneth B Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1990), pp. 48-50; and cf. Pedro López de Ayala, *Crónica del rey don Pedro*, in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (monograph series) 66 (Madrid: 1875) p. 420.

lands of the Saracens (*Pagani*); that a rumour quickly spreads among the Saracens that a Christian army has landed; that the Saracens assemble a great army to repulse the Christian force; that another Christian force arrives in support of the already landed maritime force; and that a great battle takes place resulting in great carnage.¹¹⁹⁹ Crucially, at Verse VII, there occurs the single mention of a certain Dominus Sugerus.

Franco miles inclytus, Christianus versus

In congressu praelii audax et severus,

Et cum eo pariter Dominus Sugerus

Invaserunt barbaros, velut Oliverus.

This can be none other than Bishop Soeiro Viegas (SUERIUS) of Lisbon, the name Sugerus being a common variation of the name Suerius, other versions of the name include Severus, Suario, Suarius, Sueiru, Suerii, Suerio, Suero, Sugerii, Sugerio, Sugerius, Sueyro.¹²⁰⁰ The author opted for 'Sugerus' because it has only three syllables and better fits the remarkably rigid metre of the poem which is strictly maintained throughout. Each line has precisely thirteen syllables with a caesura occurring between syllables seven and eight. As the poem stands, if the author had written 'Dominus Suerius' he would have been one syllable over his six syllable limit for the part of the line following the caesura and he cannot use the common alternative 'Severus' because he has just used *severus* in the previous line.

The Fifth Crusade was an almost unmitigated failure for Latin Christendom, one of the only positive outcomes being the conquest of Alcácer in Iberia. Perhaps this is why the *Vita Franconis* makes no specific mention of such renowned events as the conquest of the chain tower or the capitulation of Damietta since, ultimately, all was futile. Rather, the author chooses to celebrate Francon's role in an undoubted Christian victory, perhaps one that he himself witnessed. Whilst keeping the geographical location of the event vague, the author mingles his narrative with episodes very obviously designed to cast Francon in the role of the great Christian hero, Roland; not only does Francon defeat a gigantic Saracen champion (*Giganteus corpore, ac superbus mente*)¹²⁰¹ in single combat, mirroring Roland's defeat of the giant Ferracut in the *Pseudo Turpin*,¹²⁰² but Sugerus is expressly likened to Roland's faithful

¹¹⁹⁹ Cf. *Carmen*, lines 29, 91, 113-16, 120-21, 132-38.

¹²⁰⁰ There is no record that I have been able to find of a crusader bearing any variation of that name having taken the vow in the relevant period; cf., Powel, pp. 242-43 and Rohricht, *Studien zur Geschichte des fünften Kreuzzuges*, p. 124-29.

¹²⁰¹ *Vita Franconis*, verse IX.

¹²⁰² *Chronicle of Pseudo Turpin* (ed. and trans. by Poole) Ch.17, pp. 40-48.

friend Oliver 'the valiant and the noble'¹²⁰³ who, in the *Song of Roland*, with his sword *Hauteclaire* famously makes short work of many a pagan enemy.¹²⁰⁴ The comparison is emphasised in the rhyming of *Sugerus* with *Oliverus* in the last two lines of the stanza. Whilst the lauding of Francon would be expected, such celebration of Sugerus/Suerius, the only other character in the entire poem apart from Francon to be named, is surprising and suggestive of a personal knowledge of the Bishop and his central role in events at Alcácer, either on the part of Francon or the *Vita's* author, or perhaps both. Indeed, it is impossible to know how much detail was imparted to the author by Francon himself and how much material the author may have deemed apt to add in, either from his own experience, or from other sources, in order to serve his literary ends.

According to the *Vita Franconis*, with Francon having defeated their champion, the Saracens become dispirited and call for a truce; the parallel with the overcoming of Alcácer, the fortifications of which are presented almost as a character in the *Carmen*, is notable.¹²⁰⁵ Francon, celebrated not only in the Christian camp but also among the Saracens for his great morality, courage and humility, is then sent to negotiate the treaty with the *Soldanus* (the Saracen chieftain) whose admiration and trust he has won.¹²⁰⁶ Finally, the opening section of the poem ends with brief news that Francon's twin sons, although famed for their prowess in arms, ultimately perish on the crusade and that Francon, deciding to spurn a life of luxury and exchange it for one of monastic rigour, enters the monastery of Villers.¹²⁰⁷ Since the real Francon de Arquennes appears once more in the historical record in a charter of 1225 in which he makes a donation of some woodland to the Convent of La Ramée, where his daughter had just been admitted as a nun, it is likely that Francon's entry into Villers occurred shortly thereafter.¹²⁰⁸

As to Goswin's authorship of the *Vita Franconis*, there are several important clues. Perhaps the least specific is that the author was a monk from Villers. This is clear from a number of indicators including his use of *noster* when speaking of the Cistercian Order and of Francon himself,¹²⁰⁹ and also through the presence of entire verses dedicated to extolling the virtues of Villers,¹²¹⁰ to prayers for the prosperity of the Abbey,¹²¹¹ and to exhortations encouraging its

¹²⁰³ *Song of Roland*, trans. By Glyn Burgess (London: Penguin, 1990) p. 34 at verse 12.

¹²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, verses, 103, 107, 126, 127, 144, etc.

¹²⁰⁵ *Carmen*, lines 97-100.

¹²⁰⁶ *Vita Franconis*, verses XII-XVII.

¹²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, verses XVIII-XIX.

¹²⁰⁸ Roisin, *L'Hagiographie*, p. 41.

¹²⁰⁹ E.g., *Vita Franconis*, verses XXVI, XXVII.

¹²¹⁰ E.g., *Ibid.*, verses LXXVII, LXXX.

¹²¹¹ E.g., *Ibid.*, verses LXXVII, LXXXI.

monks to perseverance.¹²¹² Further, it is evident that the author is a generation or so younger than Francon since he does not hesitate to describe him as being 'white as a swan because of his old age' and 'weakened by age',¹²¹³ thus the author's age accords comfortably with that herein postulated for Goswin. Most compelling of all, however, is the obvious presence in the *Vita Franconis* of a trait identifiable as peculiar to Goswin's canon, namely a celebration of mysticism firmly espoused to a keen awareness that accounts of mystic experience are likely to receive a frosty reception in some quarters, including among religious.

This characteristic, conspicuously present in each of the lives comprising the trilogy of *Vitae* hitherto attributed to Goswin,¹²¹⁴ is especially strong in the *Vita Franconis*. From verse LVII onwards, the author's voice emerges in powerful condemnation of those who would sneer at mystic experience. The tirade is constructed around the scenario of Francon's deathbed where the crusader-turned-monk, on the point of death, begins to sing a sweet and divinely inspired song; *Quod cum Franco debuit cursum consummare, / Quoddam dulce canticum coepit decantare*. However, some of those monks present extended derisive smiles to each other making mockery of the phenomenon. A particular monk standing close by who much loved the aged Francon, almost certainly the author himself, reproves the mockers for their scoffing. Believing the song to have been of divine inspiration the monk begs Francon to sing one more song in order to shake the smirking monks from their senseless incredulity. Francon, although virtually on his last breath, obliges by singing another verse as if to refute those who he has understood have offered him offence, *Temquam vellet dicere, 'volo confutare / Monachos quos audio mihi insultare.'* Indeed, there is a powerful personal note in the sensation that the individuals at whom the author's criticism is aimed, some present at Francon's deathbed, might well have been able to identify themselves in the work.

*Sed praesentes aliqui quia nesciebant
Quid hoc esset canticum, aut intelligebant
Quondam ad alterutrum risum emittebant
Et tanquam ludibria vana deridebant.*¹²¹⁵

Let us pause for a moment to consider the likely significance of Francon's song for cantor Goswin. In this respect we highlight Falmagne's observation that, whilst the compilers of the *Flores Paradisi* systematically excluded Patristic works of hagiography, history, science, natural

¹²¹² E.g., *Ibid*, verses LXXIV/LXXV.

¹²¹³ *Ibid*, verses XXI and XXVI.

¹²¹⁴ Cawley, *Send Me God*, 'The Life of Ida of Nivelles' at p. 56, 17e; 'The Life of Arnulf', at p. 146, l.10d and 'The Life of Abundus', at p. 224, 9d.

¹²¹⁵ *Vita Franconis*, verse, LIX.

philosophy and especially the liberal arts, occasional exceptions were made.¹²¹⁶ The single exception with respect to the liberal arts was a selection of eleven extracts from Book 6 of Augustine's *De Musica*.¹²¹⁷ This is a work that Goswin can hardly fail to have known well, especially Book 6 which, as Augustine himself said, contains the essence of all the preceding five books.¹²¹⁸ Entitled *Deus numerorum aeternorum fons et origo*, the volume describes 'the ascent from rhythm in sense to the immortal rhythm which is truth.'¹²¹⁹ In short Augustine here seeks to show how music properly played or sung¹²²⁰ is united with the Pythagorean theory of the Music of the Spheres. Since numbers define music (harmony, rhythm, metre etc.) and numbers are eternal, because everything eternal comes from God, the originator of rhythm and music must also be God.¹²²¹ Accordingly therefore, Francon's sweet singing, in addition to being miraculous and ecstatic, demonstrates that his spiritual life reflects the eternal cosmic design which conforms to the laws of equality, unity and order found in music which is Divine and so Francon's song is indicative of his saintliness.¹²²² However, man's pride, Augustine tells us, can disrupt this heavenly scheme and prevent the soul from appreciating what is good in music by diverting its attention to sensory pleasure which is a thing below the soul.¹²²³ Sure enough, at least four verses of the *Vita Franconis* are given over to berating the scoffers specifically for their pride and warning them that their ruin is at hand.¹²²⁴

Finally having spent a full eleven verses in a biting tirade against the shameless mocking of his anti-mystic brethren,¹²²⁵ the author draws his work to a close and in so doing is careful to dedicate it to a certain 'illustrious Thomas.'

*Quia cibus nimius soet generare,
Vomitum, propterea nolo prolongare,
Opus hoc unterius, sed O Thoma clare,*

¹²¹⁶ Abbot Arnulf of Louvain, author of the Prologue to the *Flores Paradisi* appears to have been distinctly opposed to secular learning and had opposed Abbot Stephen Lexington of Clairvaux in his drive to provide monks with university education, MGH *Scriptores*, vo.25, para 28.

¹²¹⁷ Falmagne, *Un Texte*, p. 363.

¹²¹⁸ Augustine, *Letters*, vol. 2, p. 17 (no. 101).

¹²¹⁹ *De Musica libri sex*, in *Ouvres de Saint Augustin*, ed. By Finneart and Thonnard, 1st series, VII (Paris, 1947).

¹²²⁰ Says Augustine, 'Music should be defined as *ars bene modulandi*: that is, how to make controlled variations of sound in the right way.' *De Musica*, Bk 1.2.

¹²²¹ Kathi Meyer-Baer, 'Psychological and Ontological Ideas in Augustine's de Musica', *The Journal of aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Vol.11 No.3 (Mar., 1953), pp. 224-230.

¹²²² Further, it is likely that the rigid and extraordinarily rhythmical form of the *Vita Franconis*, which never strays from its format of thirteen syllables a line over the entire length of 82 regular rhyming quatrains, very much in the style of a ballad, is intended to reflect both that Francon's life was lived entirely in harmony with God's plan and, more concretely, that the monk Francon lived at Villers entirely within the strict observance of the Rule.

¹²²³ *De Musica*, 6.13; Brian Brennan, 'Augustine's De Musica', *Vigiliae Christianae*, Vol.42, No3 (Sep., 1988), pp. 267-281, at p. 275.

¹²²⁴ *Vita Franconis*, verses, LXV-LXVIII.

¹²²⁵ *Ibid*, verses LVII- LXVII.

*Meam hic terminiam volo terminare.*¹²²⁶

This can hardly be anyone other than Thomas de Cantimpre, Goswin's likely comrade in the literary promotion of their shared view of Low Countries mysticism and who himself includes a similar episode of miraculous singing in his *Vita Beatae Christina Mirabilis*.¹²²⁷

If we can thus conclude Goswin's likely authorship of the *Vita Franconis*, can we also attribute to him the authorship of the *Carmen*? The specificity of the information included in the *Vita Franconis* readily associable with Alcácer, particularly the appearance of *Dominus Sugerus*, taken alongside the chronological, geographical and textual coincidences highlighted earlier in this chapter oblige an answer in the affirmative; certainly on the balance of probabilities. This being so, it is clear we must now extend Goswin's canon to include at least the *Vita Franconis* and the *Carmen*, if not also a lost *Vita Wilhemi Brusseli Abbatis*.

Cawley, apparently unaware of the *Carmen's* existence, puts the question which now appears somewhat rhetorical, 'Were Goswin and Thomas, the biographers of Ida and Lutgard, friends? William, I am sure would have wished it so.'¹²²⁸

Goswin and Suerius

Our search for GOSUINUS has, so far, lead us in a dance around the cultural southern Netherlands on what may have seemed, at times, the flimsiest of evidence and the most florid of assumptions. In an attempt (probably audacious) to cast a constructive framework over a collection of data that may otherwise often appear as disparate and haphazard as it is heterogeneous, it is now high time we 'put the pedal to the metal' regardless of how speculative the former, or how imaginary the latter. Here goes.

If GOSUINUS author of the *Carmen* is indeed Goswin of Bossut, why might we find him, a voyager on a ship of Northern crusaders, on the crucial expedition to Alcácer do Sal in 1217? Brief allusion has already been made to the preaching of the Fifth Crusade on Goswin's home-turf and even to his acquaintance with some of those preachers, but for more precise

¹²²⁶ Ibid, verse LXXVIII.

¹²²⁷ Thomas de Cantimpré, *The Life of Christina Mirabilis*, trans. By Margot H. King (Toronto: Peregrina Publishing, 1989) Ch.35. p. 29. *Vita Beatae Christina Mirabilis Virginis* ed. By J. Pinius, Acta Sanctorum Iul. V (1868) pp. 637-660. It is of note also that similar singing is to be found in James of Vitry's Vita of Marie d'Oignies; Ulrike Wiethaus, 'The Death Song of Marie d'Oignies: Mystical Sound and Hagiographical Politics in Medieval Lorraine', *The Texture of Society: Medieval Women in the Southern Low Countries*, ed. by Ellen E. Kittell and Mary A. Suydam (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004) pp. 153–79.

¹²²⁸ Cawley, 'Four Abbots', p. 326.

information, we must now look to Goswin the ecclesiastic, to Goswin the priest and, importantly, to Goswin, monk of the Cistercian Order.

In so far as he is a priest, we have already noted that there is ample precedent for his possible role as a ship's pastor. The subject of Thomas de Cantimpré's earliest *Vita*, Abbot John de Cantimpré, was ordained a priest at about 22 years of age.¹²²⁹ If we similarly accept Goswin's ordination to have taken place whilst he was in his early twenties, we must place Goswin's birth-date back by some five years from the date suggested by Cawley; this would make him roughly the same age as his friend and fellow monk Abundus (b.1189), an adjustment which is unobjectionable, since it raises no contradictions in relation to what is presently known of Goswin's life. Save for this meagre observation, since we are denied any more personal or specific information, we must now concern ourselves with what may be revealed through reports of events around the Alcácer do Sal of the *Carmen*.

Once again we find ourselves in the realms of speculation however we may, at least, comfortably imagine Goswin, a young priest in 1217. Having taken his crusade vow, with his Abbot Walter's permission, amid the general crusade furore drummed up in the Low Countries by preachers such as Abbot Walter himself, James of Vitry, Oliver of Paderborn and others, Goswin is appointed to serve as the pastor on a ship of crusaders headed to Palestine along the Atlantic route. On the way, being member of a contingent from the southern Netherlands and not part of the dissenting Frisian brigade, Goswin is present at the conquest of Alcácer do Sal.

As a Cistercian monk Goswin would have been in good company since one of the leaders of the expedition to Alcácer was Abbot Pedro of Alcobaça whose abbey, like Villers was affiliated to Clairvaux. Of course, Alcobaça lay within the diocese of Lisbon which was under the control of another leader of the Alcácer episode (indeed perhaps its commander-in-chief), Bishop Soeiro Viegas of Lisbon who, as far as we know, appears to have enjoyed good relations with that great Cistercian house of Portuguese Extremadura and its monks, a number of whom would probably have been present at Alcácer, perhaps in the entourage of their Abbot.

Since the Almohads had sought to deprive the besiegers of fuel and forage, the trees in the immediate area had been felled or burned and there was a terrific shortage of timber in the Christian camp. As a result, eight of the crusaders' ships had to be dismantled to make the siege machines, especially two wooden towers, which finally brought about the capitulation of

¹²²⁹ Cf, Newman, 'Introduction,' in *Thomas of Cantimpré, The Collected Saints' Lives*, p. 23.

the town. This we know from the letter sent by Honorius III to the Bishops of Lisbon and Évora and the Prior of Santiago at Palmela, in response to their request, following the conquest, that the crusaders be granted papal permission to stay to fight the Muslims in Iberia. Honorius refused the request but *did* absolve from their vows those crusaders who were destitute and those of the eight ships that had been cannibalised.¹²³⁰ Let us suppose Goswin was on one of those ships and was thus released from his vow to go to the East. Goswin, perhaps now at something of a loose end, stayed in Portugal for some time, perhaps along with those members of his crew who decided not to return to the Low Countries. Certainly, that Goswin or some of his crew members anticipated some form of settlement in Portugal is reflected in the *Carmen* where he describes Portugal as a *terra vivenda* (l.34), i.e., a land of opportunity.¹²³¹

Bishop Soeiro, as we saw in the previous chapter, experienced such dissent within his cathedral, following his return from Alcácer, that he was forced to dismiss several of his canons and replace them with his own nominees. It is without difficulty we may suppose that in searching for suitably qualified candidates he would have had available to him some foreign clerics who had supported him at Alcácer, who had been his comrade-in-arms and who were now 'stranded' in Iberia. Certainly, a well educated Brabantine cleric, unable to complete his voyage to Jerusalem since his ship was lost, would not have escaped Soeiro's notice. Would Soeiro, never one to miss an opportunity, have suggested to Goswin that his mission in Christ could nonetheless be accomplished on the Portuguese frontier with Islam? Was Goswin, the priest and man of letters, recruited by Soeiro to the chapter of Lisbon following the siege of Alcácer? Perchance, if as would seem quite possible for the author of the *Carmen*, his talent for poetic composition and perhaps also music had become apparent to the Bishop, could Goswin have been appointed cantor of Lisbon Cathedral?

There is a gap in the chronology of cantors of Lisbon that is no less than perfect. The list, compiled by Maria João Branco shows that Fernando Peres who, as we saw in the last Chapter had probably accompanied Bishop Soeiro to the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, had been cantor between 1208 and 1217 when he re-appears in Portuguese documentation no longer an officer in the Chapter of Lisbon but as a member of the Dominican Order. From 1217 there is empty space in the list of cantors of Lisbon until 1225, when we find Master Pedro Nunes in the position.¹²³² Goswin, already possessed of a good Paris education which would have

¹²³⁰ *Monumenta Henricina*, pp. 54-55.

¹²³¹ *Carmen*, line 34.

¹²³² Branco, 'Dignidades de Lisboa (1147-1250)' in *O conceito de soberania régia...etc.*, Vol. II, p. 120-122.

included music (part of the *quadrivium*) would have been an obvious choice for cantor in the context of changes wrought by Soeiro in his cathedral chapter in late 1217 or 1218.

Sometime before or after Goswin's appointment to the Cathedral of Lisbon, Bishop Soeiro saw, or was informed of, Goswin's chronicle-poem of the conquest of Alcácer do Sal, which the monk had prepared for his abbot at Villers, Abbot Walter (1214-1221). This text, probably requested of Goswin by the abbot before the former's embarkation, is entirely in accordance with not only the poetic traditions then in vogue at Villers, somewhat remarkable for a Cistercian house, but also with the equally remarkable trend prevalent in contemporary Brabant of writing historical chronicles in verse.¹²³³ Impressed by Goswin's literary abilities, Soeiro commissioned the monk to write a version of his poem highlighting and praising the bishop's participation in the Alcácer campaign and lamenting his unjust treatment once the conquest had been accomplished. Goswin duly produced the version of the *Carmen* that has survived to us. Soeiro used this *Carmen* as propaganda in his attempt to have himself appointed papal legate for an International Portuguese crusade and in his political manoeuvring around the Court of Afonso II of Portugal and various ecclesiastical institutions, possibly using it to gain favour with the pope in the midst of great Portuguese domestic turmoil involving not only serious disputes between Afonso II and the church, but also intense and violent factional disputations within the chapter and diocese of Lisbon stemming from the bitter rivalry between Bishop Soeiro and Dean Vicente.

Since Soeiro was bishop of the diocese in which the Cistercian monastery of Santa Maria de Alcobaça was located, he would have been responsible for the discharging of various official functions within the monastery (e.g., the ordination of priests, etc.) and we know that on 20th October 1222, he consecrated the newly completed monastery church.¹²³⁴ That Goswin was a Cistercian monk in the service of Bishop Soeiro suggests that some direct contact between Goswin and the monks of Alcobaça was at least likely, even more so when it is remembered that Goswin's house of Villers and the Portuguese house of Alcobaça, both affiliated to Clairvaux, were founded by the great St Bernard at around the same time; Villers in 1146 and Alcobaça in 1153.

The probability is, therefore, that the monks of Alcobaça knew Goswin and were familiar with his *Carmen* written, of course, at their own bishop's behest. It appears that, in the early thirteenth century, the *scriptorium* of Alcobaça was already engaged in copying texts from

¹²³³ Godfried Croenen, personal communication to the author.

¹²³⁴ Fortunato de Almeida, *História da Igreja em Portugal* ed. by Damião Peres (Porto: Portucalense Editora, 1967-71) (1^aed. 1910-1928), p. 130.

other Portuguese houses, notably Santa Cruz de Coimbra and that the scribes also followed models obtained from Clairvaux such as the *Legendarium*, which they adopted to accommodate local cults, such as that of St Vincent.¹²³⁵ The monks seem to have been particularly interested in hagiographical material that could be adapted to propagandistic ends, possibly in order to attract northern crusaders to the Portuguese *Reconquista*. Indeed this may have been, *inter alia*, part of the effort underway to build St Vincent into a Portuguese version of St James of Compostela, discussed herein in the previous chapter. During this campaign of copying, the monks obtained texts from the library of the Cathedral of Lisbon and, certainly, the *Carmen* would have been an attractive acquisition for them, if they had not already otherwise obtained a copy from their direct contacts with Goswin or Soeiro.

Goswin and the *De Expugnatione Scalabis*

Also present in the Lisbon Cathedral library was a copy (or indeed the autograph) of the *De Expugnatione Scalabis*, the account of the 1147 conquest of Santarém, the unique manuscript of which immediately precedes the *Carmen* in Codex Alc.415. That the *De Expugnatione Scalabis* was not produced in the scriptorium of Santa Cruz de Coimbra, as previously thought, is suggested by a significant divergence of detail between the *Scalabis* and a section in another work describing the conquest of Santarém, the *Vita Teotonii*, the life of the first Prior of Santa Cruz, which is known to have been produced in Santa Cruz in the latter twelfth century. Whereas in the *Vita Teotonii*, King Afonso Henriques confides his plan to conquer Santarém only to D. Teotónio and his monks of Santa Cruz, in the *Scalabis* Afonso Henriques extends his confidence to 'the rest of the clergy and the people.'¹²³⁶ If the *Scalabis* was not produced in Santa Cruz, circumstances indicate the Cathedral of Lisbon as the likely point of origin.

It is notable that the *Scalabis*, described by Herculano as a 'poem in prose,'¹²³⁷ is a literary work presented in the form close to a liturgical office. Identifiable in the work is a Matins invitatory complemented by the *historia* of the second nocturne (also of Matins). Aires Nascimento, considering the work in 2005 was prompted to comment as follows:

'The introduction intertwines eight biblical elements (Psalms, Genesis and Judges), bringing them together in order to make a collective encomium. Although formally it lacks the refrain, we are not far from an invitatory in a montage of celebration according to the forms of the

¹²³⁵ François Dolbeau, 'Le Légendier D'Alcobaça, Histoire et Analyse,' in: *Analecta Bollandiana* vol. 102 (1984) p. 263-296.

¹²³⁶ Cf, Nascimento, 'O Júbilo da Vitória' p. 1221

¹²³⁷ Herculano, *História de Portugal*, vol.1 pp. 447-485.

liturgical office, where the choir is formed by the companions of the King; this follows on from the antiphon of the invitatory and, after the initial extolment of a prodigious action (taken as possibly owed to divine assistance), it proceeds to the report of the events of the Conquest of the city of Santarém. The divine encomium alternates with the enunciation of a deed, as happens in the invitatory of the office of Matins.¹²³⁸

Again it may be pushing the limits of reasonable speculation, but since the *Carmen* follows directly on from the *Scalabis*, both texts filling completely the last quire (a *de facto* appendix or *addendum*) to Codex Alc. 415 and copied in the same hand, presumably at the same time, we must, at least put the question that now seems obvious. Was cantor Goswin, perhaps taking his raw material from an earlier text as he did when he wrote the office for Marie D'Oignies, also the author of the *Scalabis*? Certainly, the exhortation contained in the work to massacre the Saracen inhabitants of Santarém is utterly anachronistic in a Portuguese text produced in the mid-twelfth century, but perfectly in keeping with Cistercian ideology of the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

Space herein dictates we must postpone our investigation into Goswin's possible authorship of the *Scalabis* and relegate the task, as did Boaventura with the *Carmen* in 1827, to some future occasion. For now, let us complete our speculation over Goswin's Portuguese activities by observing that the evidence permits he may have held the cantorship at Lisbon until as late as 1225 when Master Pedro Nunes appears in the post. It is, then, at around this time we might find Goswin making his way back to Villers where, for the second time in his life, he would be cantor.

Goswin's Finale

Goswin's career draws to a close at a time when mysticism was being increasingly undermined. As scholasticism became more open to Aristotle and prepared itself to face-up to the challenges of Abelard, monastics found themselves torn between centuries of Patristic authority and the temptation of the new rational process with all its revelatory promise of a deeper, and more complete, understanding of Christian truth. Additionally, ever present concerns over heresy meant a growing orientation among the orthodox away from personal experience of the divine and towards a reaffirmation of the unchallenged authority of Scripture. Goswin, perhaps aging and therefore disinclined to move with the times, appears to

¹²³⁸ Nascimento, 'O Jubilo da Vitória', pp. 1217-1218.

have been scooped up in the dust-pan of this shifting zeitgeist. Nothing is known of his later life, only that by about 1260 one Thomas de Louvain was cantor at Villers.¹²³⁹ Cawley speculates, that after Goswin's literary patron the mystic William of Brussels was promoted to Clairvaux in 1237, there was a purge of his close associates entailing Goswin's dismissal and replacement as cantor.¹²⁴⁰ Perhaps the scoffers at Francon's deathbed had been unwilling to forgive Goswin's acerbic pen. Indeed perhaps, as Cawley has suggested, it is possible to detect Goswin's own foreboding in the last lines of the Prologue to his *Vita Abundi* -

Let those willing to accept what I write [...] accept it in the Lord's name and in good faith. As for those unwilling, let them rest assured that no one will be forced to accept my contribution.¹²⁴¹

¹²³⁹ Falmagne, *Un Texte*, pp. 64-65.

¹²⁴⁰ For the controversy surrounding Abbot William, see Cawley, 'Four Abbots', esp. pp. 319-26.

¹²⁴¹ Cawley, *Send Me God*; pp. 8 and 210, and *Ibid.* note 6; Frenken, *Vita Abundi*, p. 12.



Fig.13, Villers Abbey: now in ruins, Belgium (photographer unknown).

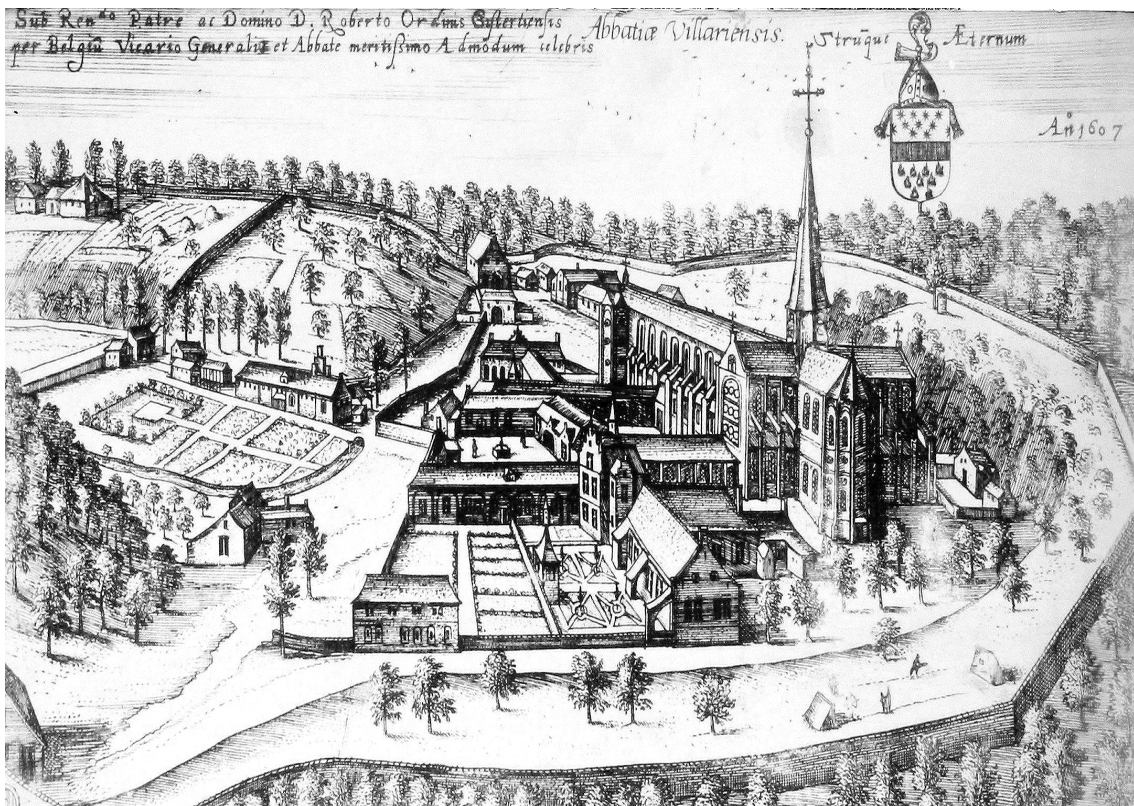


Fig.14, Villers Abbey: anonymous seventeenth-century engraving (reprd. Jean-Pol Grandmont).



Fig.15, Alcobaça: façade of Abbey church.



Fig.16, Açobaça: cloister.

Chapter 5

Conclusions

This study began by charting the development of 'crusading' ideology on the Iberian Peninsula during the course of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries and, in so doing, it was observed that the Portuguese (the King and his circle of advisors) were remarkably slow to embrace it, when compared with their contemporaries in other Iberian Christian states, especially Catalonia and Aragon. Indeed, until the late twelfth century, notions of 'crusading' were largely rejected in Portugal in favour of principles of warfare such as those so precisely expounded in the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*. In spite of crusading indulgences being granted to King Sancho I for his Galician campaign in 1197, it is only in the documentation concerning the Alcácer campaign of 1217 that express evidence emerges of a crusade in fact being conducted by the Portuguese on their frontier with al-Andalus. By this time a combination of factors, including increased immigration/settlement in the kingdom from northern Europe, the influence of the military orders and finally, the direct experiences of Portuguese warriors in the great Spanish crusading triumph of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212, had more-or-less forced the issue. Soeiro Viegas, bishop of Lisbon, was certainly one of the earliest Portuguese crusaders and, in this respect, the presence was noted of the crusader cross motif carved into the lid of his sarcophagus and speculation was made over the likelihood of his angling for appointment as papal legate in a hoped-for international Portuguese crusade which, in the event, Honorius III, anxious for progress in the East, refused to approve.

Evidence for Cistercian involvement in the Portuguese *Reconquista* is significant and it is notable that the Order grew and developed at the same time as the Portuguese polity was emerging as an autonomous kingdom. It has been advanced herein that the better view is that Bernard of Clairvaux was indeed involved in the planning of the 1147 conquest of Lisbon, a Christian victory which largely secured the future survival of the kingdom of Portugal, and that the contributions of the Cistercians, as pioneering settlers, champions of legitimising orthodoxy and influential operators close to the Roman curia, were recognised through generous grants made to the Order in the kingdom from at least 1144. Perhaps emblematic of

the favour enjoyed by the White Monks was the endowment and foundation, in 1153, of the great abbey of Alcobaça which, for two generations beginning with Afonso II (d.1223), became the choice location for royal entombment.

The Order's origins in Portugal, as opposed to other areas of Iberia, appear to have sprung from a discrete initiative, since the evidence rather militates against an overland spread southward from Cistercian houses established in the early 1140s in Galicia. This raises the possibility that the first Cistercian foundation parties sent to Portugal, which all came from Clairvaux, may have arrived to Portugal by sea, possibly from La Rochelle, a renowned Templar port, in the vicinity of which was the Cistercian abbey of La Grâce Dieu, a house founded by Bernard and affiliated to Clairvaux. Whilst it may be significant that, by the early thirteenth century, the Abbey of Alcobaça controlled a lengthy stretch of the Portuguese coastline on which it operated at least two sea-ports, precise evidence for specifically Cistercian maritime activities, as opposed to general 'crusading' and pilgrim traffic, along the western coasts of Europe during the period of this study, has proved elusive.

Having examined the broad background to the production of the *Carmen*, consideration was given to the likely commissioner of the work, Bishop Soeiro Viegas of Lisbon, SUERIUS. His leadership was noted not only in the Alcácer campaign, but also in an extensive programme employing tactics for attracting maritime crusaders to the Portuguese-Andalusi frontier, likely indication of which appears in carvings on the lid of his sarcophagus where, adjacent to the motifs of a crusader cross and a bishop's crosier, there is an engraved palm-tree, symbolic of the *Iter per Hispaniam*. Further, examination was made of Soeiro's likely motives for wishing to be seen as the architect of the great Christian victory at Alcácer, beyond those attaching to his *ex officio* role as a loyal servant of his king, and there was discussion of his likely disappointment at not receiving just reward for his efforts, once Alcácer had been won. Importantly, attention was drawn to situations in which the *Carmen*, vague in its condemnation but specific in its praise, could have been used to boost the profile of the bishop during a notoriously troubled period in the history of the kingdom. Almost certainly, one of the principal members of the *Carmen's* intended audience was the pope; the 'Peter' mentioned in the work, which is also likely to be a reference to the Bishop of Lisbon since the peculiarities of Latin construction appear to fuse the two identities into the single name; an aspect which may have been part of Soeiro's stratagem for presenting himself as the ideal candidate for appointment as legate in a postulated international Portuguese crusade.

Finally, attention was turned to the author of the *Carmen* whose identity has hitherto remained a mystery. Following a suggestion overlooked for nearly two centuries, made by Fortunato de São Boaventura, who was himself prompted by little more than a fancy resulting from the oddness of the name GOSUINUS occurring in the Portuguese situation, a case was advanced for the author of the work being Goswin de Bossut, cantor of the important Belgian Cistercian Abbey of Villers. In the process, it was possible to extend the canon of Goswin's known work. At the beginning of this study, Goswin was known only for three *Vitae*, those of *Ida*, *Arnulf* and *Abundus*, and for three musical works comprising two liturgical offices (one for Marie d'Oiginies and one for Arnulf Cornibout) and one *pium dictamen* (also celebrating Arnulf). Having traced Goswin's likely acquaintances and offered evidence as to the identities of at least some members of his circle, including Caesarius of Heisterbach, James of Vitry and Thomas de Cantimpré, Goswin's canon may now be extended not only to the *Carmen*, but also to the *Vita Franconis*, very probably to the *De Expugnatione Scalabis* and even to a lost *Vita* of his Abbot William.

In closing, it may be observed that these texts, along with others discussed herein and produced in Portugal during the long twelfth century, reveal on the part of those operating in varying degrees of proximity to the royal court, an acute and meticulous knowledge of the evolving ideology of 'crusading' yet, simultaneously, a keen perception that the war they wished to prosecute on the Andalusian South was, and indeed had to be, in fundamental respects, different from that prosecuted against the Muslims of Syria and Palestine as they perceived it. Masters in the dark-arts of manufacturing popular opinion far ahead of the propaganda mavens of a later age, the authors of this corpus reveal a nuanced and in-depth comprehension of the contemporary *zeitgeist*, not only inside the kingdom of Portugal, but also in other, often far-flung, regions of the Latin West. This cognizance of prevailing attitudes was coupled with a sharp awareness and profound understanding of the latest papal pronouncements on that particular and novel form of Holy War launched by Urban II in 1095, and the works frequently manifest a timely promptitude leaving the modern reader marvelling. In texts brimming with an implicit but powerful sense of self-assurance, during the long twelfth century, authors in Portugal constructed saintly and heroic narratives and promoted them confidently to carefully targeted foreign audiences, seasoned as appropriate with specially-tailored pedagogy, detail, and colour.

Appendix

Gosuini de Expugnatione Salaciae Carmen

The Text in Presentation

The *Gosuini de Expugnatione Salaciae Carmen* exists in the unique manuscript which is to be found in the codex belonging to the *fundo* of the Cistercian monastery of Alcobaça, now in the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal in Lisbon and classified, Cod.Alc.415.

The Codex contains the following works:

<u>Author</u>	<u>Work</u>
Fulgentius of Ruspe	<i>De fide</i> <i>Pro exponendis quinque quaestionibus</i> <i>De regula verae fidei</i> <i>Rescriptum de Aethiopsis baptisate</i>
Paulus Orosius	<i>Historiae</i>
Anon.	<i>Quomodo sit capta Sanctaren</i> (<i>De Expugnatione Scalabis</i> – title attributed by Herculano in PMH)
Gosuinus	<i>Quomodo capta fuit Alcacser</i> (<i>Gosuini de Expugnatione Salaciae Carmen</i> – title attributed by Herculano in PMH)

Typical of many codices comprising the *fundo* of Alcobaça, Alc.415 dates almost certainly to the second half of the thirteenth century and retains its original binding.¹²⁴² It consists of a text-block containing 150 folios in 19 numbered quires (gatherings); I-XVII contain 8 folios each (i.e. four bifolia), XVIII contains 10 folios (five bifolia) and XIX contains four folios (two bifolia). The average measurement of each folio is 30 x 44.8cm with a written area of 19.25 x 39cm.

The text-block is contained between wooden boards; the upper board measuring 44.6 x 29cm, the lower board 44.5 x 30cm. The whole Codex, including upper and lower boards, is 9.5cm thick on the open side and 8.5cm thick at the spine. The boards and spine are covered in a single piece of thick, unstained leather and the covered upper and lower boards appear to have each possessed five bronze bosses, one at each corner and one squarely in the middle. On the upper board, only the top right-hand boss and the lower left-hand boss is present; the

¹²⁴² Aires Augusto Nascimento and António Dias Diogo, *Encadernação Portuguesa Medieval, Alcobaça* (Lisbon: Casa de Moda, 1985) p. 84.

lower board presents only the central boss. Puncture marks and circular impressions marking the positions of the missing bosses are clearly evident. The Codex possesses no clasp or fastener, nor any chain attachment.

The folios are made from parchment, probably calfskin (*carta vitulina*, vellum) since they are of a large size and have a robust and even surface with the hair-side and the flesh-side being of approximately similar tones of white.

The Codex is compiled according to the so-called Rule of Gregory, under which the parchment is arranged such that wherever the book is opened, hair-side faces hair-side and flesh-side faces flesh-side, so that an evenness of tone across the two pages is presented to the eye. A second (strict) rule that the hair-side be used for the outer pages of the quire has also been followed.¹²⁴³

The pages are pricked along the outer edge and ruled with a plummet. The ruling demarks three columns with a central column of average width 2.2cm, being flanked by two columns containing the main script, each of average width 8.5cm.

There is no illumination, but capitals beginning sections, individual works, or verses show coloured shading. Flourished initials are used, the highest rank initial being a species of foliate initial.¹²⁴⁴ The acrostic element in the *Carmen*, each letter of which is a large coloured initial, is further emphasised in the manuscript by the appearance of the letters of the acrostic repeated, in miniature and without foliation, in the margins parallel to the principal letters in the text.

Attached to fol.1r. is a paper title page which appears to date from the eighteenth century and of which I have made the following transcription:

Title Page recto side:

{Cod.207}
S. FULGENTII –
Episcopi Ruspensis
Tractatus Aliqui Epistolares
nempe
De Fide Incarnationis Filii Dei
Ad Scárilam Abbatem S. Leocadiae
Iste Tractus ineditus iudicatur Eucusque de quo Quintadue

¹²⁴³ Cf, Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) p. 33.

¹²⁴⁴ Cf, *Ibid*, pp. 41-42.

nas relatus a Bolland. in tom.I. Act. Sancior. Pag. 972 –ibi =
Alius Codex ab annis nimirum 200 Literis Gothicis descriptiis
Extat in S. Cordubensis Ecclesia biblioteca, qui Liber – de Fide –
Inscribitur. Composuit hunc Liberum Fulgentius, cum Carthágine
Exularet, et Scárilae Abbati S. Leocadiae dedicavit.

De quinque quaestionibus: -

Ad Ferrandum Diáconum

De Regula verae Fidei

Ad Petrum Diáconum

De Baptismo Aethiopsis

Ad Ferrandum Diaconum

PAULI OROSII –

Opus integrum, nempe, Hystoriae Libri Septem.

Post (or 'Lose' – this is not clear – in extreme bottom right hand corner of page)

Title Page verso side:

Post Historiam Horosii sequitur memoria pactionus iter

Alphonsum

Regem Portugaliae primum, fratremque suum Dommum Petrum

Alphonsi

In cacumine montis¹²⁴⁵ Mendigua (alias – Serra de Albardos) de aedificando, et

Donando Monasterio Alcobacensi Claraevallensibus Fratribus, si

Ob mérita, et

Orationes Abbatis eorum D. Bernardi, tunc in terra¹²⁴⁶

Degentis, ScEálabim, ut ipse

Rex cogitabat, tunc expugnaret.

Ultimo codicem concludit Saláciae expugnatio

(vulgo – Alcacer ´do Sal)

Versu Elegiaco descripta per Suérium Gosuinum Ulissiponensem, qui floruit

Initio Saeculi decimetertii.

It is to be noted that the writer of the Title Page is of the opinion that the *Carmen* was written by one 'Suérius Gosuinus the Lisboan, who flourished at the beginning of the thirteenth century.' This rather suggests that the author of the Title Page was one of the compilers of the 1775 *Index codicum bibliothecae Alcobatae, in quo non tantum codices recensentur...*¹²⁴⁷ and therefore probably not Fr. Fortunato de São Boaventura who, as outlined at the beginning of Chapter 4, had suggested in his *Commentariorum de Alcobacensi mstorum bibliotheca...* that GOSUINUS may be Goswin de Bossut, a main contention of this dissertation.

¹²⁴⁵ perhaps *monty*.

¹²⁴⁶ perhaps *Serra*.

¹²⁴⁷ (Lisbon: Ex Typographia regia, 1775).

I believe the Codex was originally planned to end at quire XVIII. The last quire, XIX, consisting of four folios, contains two *complete* texts; with the *De Expugnatione Scalabis* beginning at the top of the first column on the first folio (fol.147r.) of the quire. As for the rest of the Codex, all of the quires contain eight folios except for quire XVIII which contains ten folios. It is to be noted that all of the other works in the Codex continue across the quires - for example Orosius' *Historiae* begins in the middle of quire VII (fol.52r). From this point of view, the final quire is remarkable since it is the only one to contain, exclusively, complete works, the *Scalabis* and the *Carmen*.

Further, if the *Scalabis* and the *Carmen* had originally been intended for inclusion in the Codex, then one would expect the final quire to have been six folios. Instead we find an incongruous arrangement whereby the penultimate quire contains 10 folios and is signed off by the scribe, only to be followed by a final quire of four folios in a different hand. In fact, this penultimate quire (XVIII) presents quite plainly at the conclusion of the text of Orosius' *Historiae* at fl.146v. the subscription of one Ferdinandus *peccator*.¹²⁴⁸ Mysteriously, the authors of the *Index codicum bibliothecae Alcobatiae* etc..., appear to have overlooked the subscription, and identified the scribe as a certain Fr. Duarte de Nazaré.¹²⁴⁹

I agree with Boaventura's assessment that the script contained in the last quire is in a different hand from that of the rest of the Codex, a hand which is consistent throughout and presumably that of Fernandinus (see the summary of Boaventura's observations presented in Chapter 4 herein). In this respect it is interesting to note that Nascimento and Diogo have suggested two possible candidates for Ferdinandus the scribe, both abbots of Alcobaça, one Ferdinandus who was reportedly killed when the monastery was attacked by Almohad troops during the campaigns of Caliph Yaquub al-Mansur in the 1190s (perhaps in 1191 or 1195 as set out in Chapter 1 herein), the other being an abbot of the same name who died in 1215.¹²⁵⁰ Either way, both were deceased by the time of the events reported in the *Carmen*, a feature in harmony with the proposition that the final quire was added to the Codex sometime after the main texts of the compilation had been completed, assembled and subscribed. Since it is clear the *Carmen* and the *Scalabis* are in the same hand with all circumstances suggesting the texts were copied at the same time, it follows that the two works were associated with each-other, at least to some degree, in the mind of the copyist/compiler - an aspect hinting at common

¹²⁴⁸ A. F. de Ataíde e Melo, *Inventário dos Códices Alcobacenses* (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, 1930) p. 392.

¹²⁴⁹ *Index codicum bibliothecae Alcobatiae, in quo non tantum codices recensentur...* p. 91.

¹²⁵⁰ Nascimento and Diogo, *Encadernação Portuguesa Medieval*, p. 89 and cf. p. 37.

authorship, though clearly inconclusive *per se*. In this latter respect it is noted that the rest of the Codex is arranged in divisions each of which are devoted to the works of a single author.

All the quires are numbered in Roman numerals at the centre of the bottom margin of the last folio. It is the norm for twelfth-century books and frequently thirteenth century books to display quire marks consisting usually of a Roman numeral commonly written in the lower margin of the first, or more often, the last page of the quire. Due to their prominent script and their location at a distance from the lower edge, they almost always survived the trimmer's knife.¹²⁵¹ On this basis we can be reasonably sure that the final quire was bound into the Codex at some time shortly after the original compilation of the Codex during the thirteenth century, there being nothing to suggest its addition in some later period.

There is an irregular rectangular piece cut from the final folio, fol.150, at the bottom right hand corner - lateral cut, 16.5cm, vertical cut 20.25cm - where the *Carmen* ends. This cut was clearly made before the scribe wrote on the parchment, since the text is somewhat squeezed into the available space. Indeed, this folio contains two columns of 39 lines each - whereas the rest of the Codex is regular and consistent at two columns per folio each of 38 lines. Also of note is that the quire-mark on fol.150v is carefully placed as close as possible to the edge of the cut, which occurs approximately in the centre of the folio, in order to maintain the style employed in the rest of the Codex; the folios at the end of each quire being numbered at bottom centre.

On fol.149 there is a tear in the vellum which has been repaired with stitching. The area affected measures 7 x 2.7 cm. The stitching is very fine and it is not clear what twine was used. On both sides the stitching has been smoothed down so as to appear as unobtrusive as possible. On the hair side, fol.149r, the repair is left blank. On the flesh side, fol.149v, the area is written over as far as has been possible with horizontal lines drawn about midway between the base-line and the head-line where the condition of the vellum has rendered writing impossible, presumably to indicate that the gaps are intentional and that nothing is missing or has been erased (lines 3-4 of column 2).

Added Text on fol. 146v.

There is a text written in old Portuguese, in what appears to be a fifteenth century hand, inserted at fol.146v., following the name of the scribe, Ferdinandus. It recounts a version of the legend in which King Afonso Henriques vows to his 'brother', D. Pedro Afonso, that if he is

¹²⁵¹ Derolez, p. 32.

successful in the conquest of Santarém, he will donate the land through which the two men were travelling, to St Bernard for the foundation of a monastery, which would come to be Alcobaça. It is of note that a summary of this text is given in Latin on the verso of the Title Page of the Codex (see above transcription) from which the *Inventário dos Códices Alcobacenses* takes its lead reporting, almost verbatim, 'At fol.146v [there is] a memorandum in fifteenth century Portuguese and hand-writing concerning an agreement between D. Afonso Henriques and his brother D. Pedro Afonso, of founding the monastery of Alcobaça if, through the intercession of S. Bernard, they manage to take Santarém from the Moors.'¹²⁵²

¹²⁵² *Inventario*, p. 392; English translation by the author. This text is edited, analysed and discussed by the author in a forthcoming work.

dabam fore custodia: ubi enim uidebat
 facili ascensus: erant due mutuo sese ad
 uigilandi ortantes. Unde quicunq; pa-
 rum merba tritici quiescentes. donec co-
 sopuerit sompno ad hinc uatq;. Sciamq;
 pinouens menend? ascendit cum suis p
 alchidia. & figuli domi. uir aut admiru.
 tetenditq; scalam in similitate haste. que
 si potuit herte sin sui. f. repes usq; deor-
 sum: dectit magni sonitum. Condoluit
 itaq; menend? ne uigilie excitaret stre-
 pitu. r incuruat parump; sup se fecit
 cende iuuenē nomine mogues me. Q
 eret? sursum: ascendit uico sup muru.
 & immetens scalam pugnaculis. ascendit
 iteo sup murum. r immetens scalam pro-
 pugnaculis. ascendit aut? cui uexillo royl
 eritq; illud. Intim ascendit menendus.
 dein ceta p ut potant meli? S; cum tres
 tantu ad huc eent sup: excitant? subico
 male dormientes uigilie. Respicentesq;
 uexilli iuxta: iurantesq; clamauerunt
 iauca uoce. Manhu: id est q eths? Eiq;
 cognouissent frustra xanos fore. clama-
 uerit uoce sublimi & confusa. annacha-
 ra. i. xanoy: insidie. lost? ceta itaq; uigi-
 lant uoce: exclamat menend? inuicant
 ad auxilium scilicet iacobu y spanne patoniu.
 & royl alfonti. Conclamaui & ego clamo-
 re magno scilicet iacote. r uasilima maria
 ungo. succurrite. hic e rex alfont. caute
 eos. nec sit un? euadat gladiu. Tanta
 dende secuta e confusio uocu ueriq; pa-
 rati: ut nulla possit notari discretio. dio
 g mis. ferant? auxilium sociis. tencam dex-
 tra. si potim? ascende palpatian. r gundisa
 ut? gundisatim cu suis sinistra. ut pocu-
 per caue q uenit de seferigo. ne porte a

dit? ab his pocuper? nosq; frustan. peant
 nri qui me s; ad obpitu nri. Qd & factu
 e. n nra s; uoluntate diu sola. Qui eni pro-
 fuerant p scalam consecande muru: ingressi
 sum p porta ciuitatis muto securi. Et qui
 dece fabricauant: due sole erant coplene-
 re tota officiu. p qd ascendet ut apine q
 mifuerit ad. x. s. tunc. Laudet? g ds in
 suis opib;. Tunc hu q erant nri ad portam
 occurrentes cici: mtebant? frange ualuas
 lapidib;. S; malle ferre deforis p uerbas:
 confregit seras & uertes fori: r uia cum
 magno gaudio & mis int? su recepit. In
 medio g porte fixis genib;. que orauim.
 ut exqnta pfunditate animu. fere ds. nec
 ne refren. qz exciderit ia amemoria. Qs
 conuersiones ul? impet fecit: dicant a
 m qui mifuerit qz n e min. Itaq; illa sus-
 ficiant p magnitudine gaudii cordis
 mei et leticie. *Quom? cap? sunt alacri*



egentes. metis bona
 pris oca carpitur. Et
 citus motu qui caue
 annis olo.

Cuncta mihi sunt ulteata. ul? arua senescunt.
 sic neglecta suis spina nouerca uisae.
 Quid magis: quoc; sicut? sordet. metus in tale
 Sicut e sensus qd in. quod ue hinc.
 Quod mup? cruce signans euenit ore
 Scto. hax? in? carmine. y faue.
 Scto. f. qre. temp? hax? orme reuoluas
 Vsq; in? stib; & sine messe fm.
 S; in? messis erit. rcedendo. qd oca tollam.
 He uicui carpit? mtoza bona.
 ligo scto. faue qm? es & ds un?
 ut tua x? cohs? pade facta qam.
 Ad tu qto faue. cu? carmina nra labuit.
 Cu? pete pet? cmla regela clatur

Fig. 17, Codex Alc. 415, fol. 148v. (photograph: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisboa)

Quomodo capta fuit Alcazer a Francis¹²⁵³

1. **S**egnicies mentis, bona corporis ocia carpunt,
2. Et citius motu qui caret amnis olet.
3. Culta nisi fuerint, vel tecta, vel arua, senescunt,
4. Fit neglecta suis spina noverca rosis.
5. Quid mage? Queque situ sordent, metuens mihi tale
6. Sed tamen est sensus quid mihi quidve fuit.
7. Quod nuper Cruce Signatis evenerat, ecce
8. Scribo, licet vili carmine, Christe fave,
9. Scribo sed quare? tempus licet omne revolvat,
10. Utque modo sterilis, et sine messe fui.
11. Sed mihi messis erit, scribendo quod otia tollam,
12. Ne vicium carpant interiora bona.
13. Ergo scribo, fave qui Trinus es, et Deus unus,
14. Ut tua Christocolis pandere facta queam.
15. Ac tu quaeso fave, cui carmina nostra laborant,
16. Cui petre Petri cimba regenda datur.
17. Ecce tuum nomen quinis habet esse figuris,
18. Ut quinos sensus cum ratione regas.

¹²⁵³ Alc.415, fols.148v.-150r. Herculano's title: *Gosuini De Expugnatione Salaciae Carmen*.

19. Hi, S. et V. gemines, ut amor geminus super astra
20. Te levet: hic fratris est amor, ille Dei.
21. Inuenies septem, numeres si quasque figuras,
22. Ut te septeno munere pneuma beet.
23. Quid moror hic? Peto, propositum faveas mihi, Christe
24. Cuncta fovens; tu me complue rore tuo.

25. **V**ota Peregrinos cupientes soluere quosdam
26. Diversas oras qui tenuere maris.
27. Annos in Christum cum voluis mille ducentos
28. Denos cum septem patria quoque gemit.
29. Innumeris ratibus sulcarunt aequora, Faram
30. Venerunt plures, damna tulere prius.
31. Hic mora fit, naves coeunt, iuratur in unum,
32. Dux legitur, statuit iura tenenda suis.
33. Aura datur, mare sulcatur quampluribus alnis,
34. Portugal ratibus terra vivenda patet.
35. Portus transitur, irascitur Eolus, armat
36. Euros in classem, deperit aura favens.
37. Anchora nulla ratem retinet, quia restis in ista
38. Rumpitur, hic verit anchora iacta solum.
39. Haec ruit ad cautes, in humo colliditur illa,

40. Veritur ista ratis, illa repletur aquis.
41. Et reliquae portum subeunt, sed non sine magno
42. Planctu, namque tulit aspera quaeque ratis.
43. Haec etenim puppim laceram, gemit illa carinam,
44. Haec navis proram plangit, et illa ratem,
45. Cedit hiems, socios compiscant, hic flet opes, hic
46. Ille legens lacerae naufraga membra ratis.
47. Iam reparat vires classis, sua vulnera quaeuis
48. Curatur: resonant littora mille modis.
49. **E**urus discedit, Zephirus blanditur, et irae
50. Tanquam paeniteat, se freta blanda parent.
51. E Portu cedit classis, sed ibi tamen haerent
52. Rupe duae naves, naufragiumque ferunt.
53. Auriferi reliqua classis petit ostia Tagi,
54. Hanc recepit portus nomen Ulixis habens.
55. Illam Christicolae laetantur adesse. benigne
56. Advena suscipitur, hospitiumque datur.
57. Praesul adest patriae, peregrinos munerat omnes,
58. Convocat, affatur, et pia verba ferit.
59. O fratres famuli Christi crucis hostibus hostes,
60. Spretores mundi, martiriique decus.

61. Ut patet ad nostras Dominus vos appulit oras,
62. Ut pereat nostrum vestra per arma iugum.
63. Est prope nos castrum super omnia castra nociuum
64. Christicolis, nomen Alcaser illud habet.
65. Al, Deus est, Castrumque, caser, Castrumque Deorum
66. Fertur apud gentes, id venerantur amant.
67. Huc ad perniciem nostram sua munera mittunt,
68. Armaque, cum tempus mortis adesse putant.
69. Castrensesque suo Regi dant quolibet anno
70. Centum Christicolas, soluimus ista quidem.
71. In quinis lustris hominum tria millia quina,
72. Illi ceperunt, sine dedere neci.
73. **R**ex Christus nobis dabit hic sua Regna merenda.
74. Hostes hos eius mente, terendo manu.
75. Noverit hoc anno vobis sacra terra petenda
76. Navibus, hoc etenim tempus et aura vetant.
77. Vestros consulite nautas, quibus aequoris arcti
78. Aestus, et instantis temporis aura patet.
79. Ergo aliquid facite, Sathanas ne reperiat vos
80. Ocia sectantes, quae mala quenque necant.
81. Ocia virtutes viciant, et mentis honorem

82. Carpunt et mores propositumque pium.
83. Ergo Crucis famuli sitis crucis hostibus hostes,
84. Hic sit vestra manus officiosa Deo.
85. Alcaser ut pereat, vobis sociemus, iterque
86. Indigenis terra classibus unda dabit.
87. Haec ad verba Phares in classe fit, improbat una
88. Pars haec dicta, probat altera, scisma manet.
89. Classis dividitur in partes, Marsiliam pars
90. Haec properat, pars haec Alcaser ire parat.
91. Aura datur, mare sulcamus proris, et adimus
92. Alcaser, hic suas carpimus, hostis adest.
93. Hostis adest in equis, saluetur ut una, sed ille
94. Cuspide transfixus, saluus abire nequit.
95. Nam moribundus equum, socios vitamque relinquit.
96. Castra petunt comites, primaque damna gemunt.
97. Ille locus vallo cinctus, fossaque profunda,
98. In muro duplici, turribus innumeris.
99. Armis multimodis, domus haec munita, virisque,
100. Magnanimos reddit, que sua signa colunt.
101. Attamen a muris, postquam pervenimus illuc,
102. Tutius exire non potuere suis.

103. Nam iuxta castrum tentoria ponimus, armis
104. Et munita viris, tutaque classis erat.
105. Ficus, oliva cadunt, nobis properantibus ire
106. Ad murum, quod det fossa repleta viam.
107. Fossa tumet lignis, in nos iurasse videtur
108. Vulcanus, pereunt omnia ligna rogo.
109. Tormentum facimus, murorum saxa rotamus,
110. Sed muros ictus, nilue, parumve movent.
111. Castrum vallamus armato milite, sanguis
112. Funditur, utrinque mortis amara bibunt.
113. Rumor adesse rates nostras clamans quatit urbes
114. Hispanas, in nos arma virosque movent.
115. In nos conspirat Hispania, dirigit in nos
116. Tres Reges, nobis fama revelat idem.
117. Inde metu quatimur, sed nos qui cuncta gubernat
118. Confortat, nobis dat quater octo rates.
119. Custodes dantur classi, nos ag[g]ere fossa
120. Cingamur, excubias ponimus hic et ibi.
121. **U**t nos extirpent equitum tria millia quina
122. Et peditum veniunt millia dena quater.
123. Ex nostris quidam bellum dissuadet, abire

124. Admonet, hinc quenquam soluere vota negat.
125. Non hanc, sed gentem nos debellare iubemur,
126. Quae Christi turbam, quae loca sancta tenet.
127. Turba favent, homines salvare volens Deus omnes
128. Innovat antiqua signa, suosque inuat.
129. Crastina cum visura dies pugnam foret, omnes
130. Conspicimus socios, et numeramus equos.
131. Innumeri pedites muniti viribus armis
132. Adsunt, sed centum vix ter habemus equos.
133. Ex improvise quingenti nocte sub ipsa
134. Dante Deo repetunt nos equites et equi.
135. Aurora est, equites tenuit quos spicula nostra
136. Paulum procedunt, hostica castra notant.
137. Tecta sub hoste latet tellus, ad sidera clamor
138. Tollitur, et clangor undique corda movet.
139. Congressus fit utrinque, cruor fluit, en male nostris
140. Succedit, fugiunt, impius hostis adest.
141. Noster eques cedit, sua nudat pectora, munit
142. Dorsum, castra subit, et venit hostis eo.
143. Scandit equos nocte qui venerat hospes, ad astra
144. Respicit, imporat Omnipotentis opem.

145. Astris lucidius quod splendet in aere signum
146. Est Crucis; id nostrum plurima turba videt.
147. Mens redit hoc viso nostris, en noster in hostes
148. Seuit eques, sternit, effugat, immo necat.
149. Agmen in auxilium nostris venit ecce supernum
150. Dante Deo signum quod dedit ante Crucis.
151. Vestis ei splendens ut Sol, ut nix nova candens
152. Suntque suo rosea pectore signa Crucis.
153. Hostis ut has acies novit sua terga prementes
154. Lumina caligant, et sua corda pavent.
155. Hinc fit quod socius socium laedit, latus hasta
156. Perforat hic, ille demetit ense caput.
157. Sternitur hic, ille pedibus calcatur equorum,
158. Hic hominum quidam praecipitantur aquis.
159. Quid magis? Ex illis ter millia dena perisse
160. Credimus, et Reges tunc cecidisse duos.
161. Quod telis comitum cecidere chorive superni,
162. Ipsorum caedis per loca nosse datur.
163. Illorum stragem, quia terna dicta furentes
164. Nostros vidisse, cum nisi prima datur.
165. Contulit ista Deus nobis in die lacinti,
166. Et Prothi, palma qua celebrata fuit.

167. **G**audemus, Domino canimus, quod talia nobis
168. Fecit, fama novos incutit ecce metus
169. Ut nos confundant, confirmat adesse Galijas
170. Ter denas, petimus, nunc reperimus eas.
171. Qui caelo, qui signa solo dederat, modo fluctus
172. Turbat, et hostiles his periere rates.
173. **O**bsessos iterum petimus, sed viribus in nos
174. Saxa, trabesque rotant, desuper atque rogum.
175. Ledimur, e muro discedimus, eminus arcu
176. Infestamus eos, sanguine tela madent.
177. Imbuitur populi tellus utriusque cruore
178. Inque vicem bibimus pocula dira necis.
179. **S**ic nil proficimus, ars viribus additur, ergo
180. Sub terras fodimus, murus ut ipse ruat.
181. Clam fodimus, contrafodit hostis, nititur ipse,
182. Ut noster maneat irritus iste labor.
183. Rixa fit in fovea, ferro, fumoque, rogoque
184. Hic etiam sanguis fusus utrinque fluit.
185. **U**nde duas turres castri mage turribus altas

186. Ponimus a muris non procul, immo prope.
187. Utraque lignea fit, in castrum despicit, hostem
188. Respicit, ut semper insidietur ei.
189. In mediis castris ut spicula dirigat arcu,
190. Ut sic castrenses mors inopina petat.
191. **I**nde duo muri facimus tormenta; timorem
192. Haec, sicut et turre, hostibus incutiunt.
193. Colloquium petit hostis, heret, timet, Alcaser ergo
194. Deditur, en nostris ostia quaeque patent.
195. Quotquot erant hostes, et eorum res, peregrinis
196. Cedunt, pars inde cuilibet aequa datur.
197. **N**ouit Ulixbonam lux tertia post sacra Luce
198. Festa Iesu Christi subdere colla iugo.
199. Post annos septem decies, binosque sub ipsa
200. Luce, datur nobis Alcacar, immo Deo.
201. Post triduum castris dux tingitur amne lavacri
202. Militibus gladii, terraque, rusque datur.
203. **U**nus, et hoc ipsum est iniuria magna, remansit
204. Alcaser immunis, et nihil inde tulit.
205. Primitus hic etenim, peregrinos movit, ut irent

206. Alcaser, hic et opes hic dedit, atque viros.
207. Et vires, et opes proprias hic in obsidione
208. Castri consumpsit illius, atque viros.
209. Hic ducibus nostris sua concessit, deditque,
210. Cui velut ingrati solvere neutra volunt.
211. Insuper ut castrum captum fuit auxiliisque
212. Consiliisque suis, huic sua iura negant.
213. Decrevitque decem captos exercitus omnis
214. Huic dandos, quos hii detinuere sibi.
215. Est hic Ulixbonae praesul que tot bona nostris
216. Contulit, at recipit pro bonitate malum.
217. Isti porrigitur ab eis pro necthare mirra,
218. Fel pro melle, scelus proprietate sui.
219. Sis patiens his perversis precor optime presul,
220. Ut pro terrenis det tibi summa Deus.
221. **S**uscipe quaeso pie mea metra pater venerande,
222. Vilia metra licet quae tibi lego lege.
223. Hic sunt ter quinae partes, hinc quamque figuram
224. Si primam iungas nomina nostra creas.
225. Haec qui scripta legis, quae cernis in his minus apta
226. Ne risum moveant, corrige, sine, tere.

227. Quae modo metra tenes, partim tenuit prius alter,
228. Qui me promovit, ultimo metra teret.
229. Ne mireris: ei scripsi, gratia cuius
230. Nota mihi fuerat, nec tibi notus eram.

How Alcácer was captured by the Franks¹²⁵⁴

1. **Sloth of the mind despoils the peace of the flesh**
2. And the river that is without movement stinks the more quickly.
3. Unless they have been tended either houses or arable land grows decrepit
4. Neglected, the thorn bush becomes stepmother to its roses.
5. What more? Whatever the foul situation, fearing as much for myself
6. Yet still it is my feeling whatever kind it was.
7. Of that which recently happened to those Signed by the cross, behold
8. I write, though in crude verse, Oh, Christ favour [it]!
9. I write but wherefore? It's possible to turn back any time,
10. And as I've recently been unproductive and with no harvest.
11. But for me will it will be fruitful, by writing I may destroy idleness,
12. Lest inner virtues reap vice.
13. Therefore you who are both three-fold and one God,
14. Inspire me to be able to explain these events to the followers of Christ.
15. And I also ask favour of you, Peter, for whose benefit our songs do their work,
16. [And] by whom the boat of Peter is given to be guided.
17. Behold your name has to be in five figures,
18. So that you rule the five senses by means of reason.
19. These, S. and V. you may repeat so that the twin love lifts you above the stars
20. May it comfort you: this one is the love of a brother [-monk], the other of God.

¹²⁵⁴ Heruclano's title Engl trans., 'Gosuinus' Song of the Conquest of Alcácer do Sal'.

21. You will find seven, if you count both those figures,
22. So that the [Holy] Spirit blesses you with the sevenfold gift.
23. Why do I tarry here? I beg you show favour to my intentions, Christ
24. Who nurtures everything, may you rain on me with your dew.

25. Some pilgrims desiring to fulfil the vows

26. [Came from] different shores of the sea.
27. When you unroll one thousand two hundred years in Christ
28. The homeland [of Christ] also laments ten with seven.
29. They ploughed the seas with countless ships, to the lighthouse
30. Many of them came, they bore earlier damage.
31. In this place a pause was made, the ships came together, the oath was sworn in unison,
32. A commander is picked out, he established the laws that were to be kept by his men.
33. The wind is given, the sea is ploughed by very many ships,
34. Portugal, the land about to be resided in [for a while], stands open for the ships.
35. The port is passed-by, Aeolus is enraged, he rouses
36. Eurus into the fleet, the favourable wind is destroyed.
37. No anchor holds fast its ship because on this one the rope
38. Is broken, here, another anchor sweeps along the bottom, having been cast in.
39. This one is wrecked on the reefs, that one is dashed aground,
40. This ship is dragged along, that one is filled with water.
41. And the remaining came into port, but not without great

42. Lamentation in so much as every ship endured adversity.
43. This one indeed bemoans a mangled stern, that one bemoans a hull,
44. This one bewails the prow and that one the ship,
45. The storm yields, the companions recover, this one weeps for what he has lost,
here
46. That one [goes] gathering the shipwrecked members of his mangled ship.
47. Now the fleet repairs its strengths, its injuries whatever they be
48. Are cured: the shores resounds to a thousand rhythms.
- 49. Eurus weakens, Zephyrus softens, and of anger**
50. As if they were regretful, the seas appear calm.
51. From Porto leaves the fleet, yet there, still stuck
52. On a rock, are two ships and shipwreck they suffer.
53. The rest of the fleet makes for the mouth of the gold-yielding Tagus
54. The port having the name of Ulysses receives it.
55. The Christians are gladdened to arrive there
56. The foreigner is received and hospitality rendered him.
57. The bishop of the land arrives, he bestows gifts upon all the pilgrims
58. He calls them to assembly, he addresses them and pious words he proffers.
59. Oh brethren, servants of Christ, enemies of the enemies of the cross,
60. Scorners of the world and splendour of martyrdom
61. As stands evident, God brought you to shore on our coasts,
62. In order that by means of your arms our yoke may be destroyed.

63. There is close by to us a fortress [which is] above all fortresses injurious
64. For the Christians, that has the name Alcaser.
65. 'Al' is the God, and the Fortress 'caser' Fortress of the Gods,
66. It is reported among the populace, that they worship [and] love.
67. To this place, to our ruin, they send their tributes
68. And arms, when they suppose the season of annihilation to be near.
69. And the soldiers of the fortress give to their king each year
70. One hundred Christians that certainly we ransom.
71. In five lustra five times three thousand people
72. They have captured or given over to slaughter.****
- 73. Christ the king will bestow the kingdoms which should be deserved by us.**
74. Crushing with his hand the frame-of-mind of the enemies,
75. He will know that you are making for the Holy Land this year
76. In ships, as a matter of fact the season and the winds forbid [it].
77. Take counsel of your mariners for whom, of the sea of the north,
78. The swells and the winds of the threatening season is evident.
79. Therefore do ye something lest Satan may come to discover you
80. Pursuing idleness and the evil things that kill anyone.
81. Idleness defiles the virtues and the grace of the mind
82. It erodes, and morals and pious resolution.
83. Therefore, may you be servants of the cross, enemies of the enemies of the
cross,

84. May this be your dutiful blow for God.
85. So that Alcaser perishes, may we unite with you and the passage
86. The land will provide for the natives, [and] the waves will provide for the fleet.
87. At these words a disagreement in the fleet occurs, disapproving one
88. Part this speech, the other approving, the schism endures.
89. The fleet is divided into parts, to Marseilles [this] part
90. Hurries, this part prepares to go to Alcaser.
91. The wind is given, we plough the sea with our prows, and we come
92. To Alcaser, here its women we harry, the enemy appears.
93. The enemy appears on horses, so that one is saved, but he [her rescuer]
94. Pierced through with a blade, cannot get away unharmed.
95. Now the dying man leaves behind his horse, his comrades and his life.
96. His companions make for the fortress, and they lament their first losses.
- 97. That place [is] surrounded by a palisade, and a deep ditch**
98. On a two-fold wall, innumerable towers.
99. With multiform arms and men, this house is defended,
100. It renders bold, those that cherish its banner.
101. Nevertheless, from its walls after we arrived thither
102. By no means were its men able to come out safely.
103. For we erected tents nest to the fortress, by arms
104. And by men defended, and the fleet was protected.
105. Fig trees, olive trees fall for us hurrying to advance

106. To the wall, which would allow the way by means of the filled ditch.
107. The ditch becomes swollen with wood, it seems that against us has
conspired
108. Vulcan, they destroy all the wood in a pyre.
109. We build a siege engine, stones of the wall we whirl
110. But the walls, the blows stir little or not at all.
111. The fortress we surround with armed soldiery, blood
112. Is shed, on both sides they drink the bitterness of death.
113. The report [of] our ships being present being proclaimed shakes the
cities
114. Of Muslim Spain, they move arms and men against us.
115. Muslim Spain unites against us, it sends against us
116. Three Kings, the report reveals to us the very same.
117. Thereupon, we shake with fear, yet He who governs all things
118. Comforts us, He grants to us four times eight ships.
119. Sentries are given to the fleet, we are surrounded by a rampart [and] a
ditch,
120. We place watches here [on the rampart] and there [over the ditch].
- 121. In order that they may extirpate us, five times three thousand of
cavalrymen**
122. And ten times four thousand of foot soldiers come.
123. A certain one out of our men argues against war, [and] to leave
124. He advises, hence he [he tries to] deny anyone fulfilling their vows.

125. Not this [clan], but the clan we are sworn to fight,
126. That which [is] the tumult of Christ, that which holds the holy places.
127. The crowd supports [it], God wishing to save all men,
128. Renews some ancient signs and helps his own.
129. When the following day is about to see the battle,
130. We inspect all the comrades, and we count the horses.
131. Innumerable foot-soldiers armed with strength and weapons
132. Are present, but scarcely three times an hundred horses we have.
133. Out of the unexpected, five hundred in person, during that very same
night
134. Through the granting by God, horsemen and horses repair to us.
135. It is daybreak, the cavalry comprehends to which point our arrows
136. A short distance proceed, they observe the enemy camp.
137. Being covered beneath the enemy the ground lies hidden, to the stars
the clamour
138. Is raised, and the noise stirs hearts on all sides.
139. Battle is joined on both sides, gore streams, behold! It goes badly for our
men,
140. They flee, the pagan enemy prevails.
141. Our cavalry withdraws, the breasts they leave unprotected [as] they
protect
142. [Their] backs, they pass into the camp, and the enemy comes toward
that place.
143. The guest who had come during the night mounted horses, to the stars

144. He gazes, he beseeches the Almighty help.
145. Brighter than the stars gleams in the sky the sign
146. It is of the cross; a great many of our multitude see it.
147. After seeing this, the courage returns to our men, behold our cavalry
148. Attacks fiercely the enemy, it scatters them, it drives them away, indeed
it kills them.
149. A heavenly column of troops comes in our assistance, behold!
150. Where God is imparting the sign that he gave before of the cross.
151. Their robes shining like the Sun, white as new snow
152. And there are on their breasts, the signs of the rose-coloured cross.
153. When the enemy learned of these battle lines pursuing their backs
154. Their eyes cloud over and their hearts are afraid.
155. For this reason it results that comrade strikes comrade, this one with a
spear
156. Pierces a side, that one reaps a head with a sword.
157. This one is laid out, that one is trampled by the hooves of the horses,
158. Here some of the men are thrown headlong into the sea.
159. What more? Three times ten thousand of them perished
160. We believe, and two Kings were slain at that time.
161. Because they were slain by the weapons of their comrades, or of the
heavenly choir,
162. The slaughter of themselves is given to become known throughout the
regions.

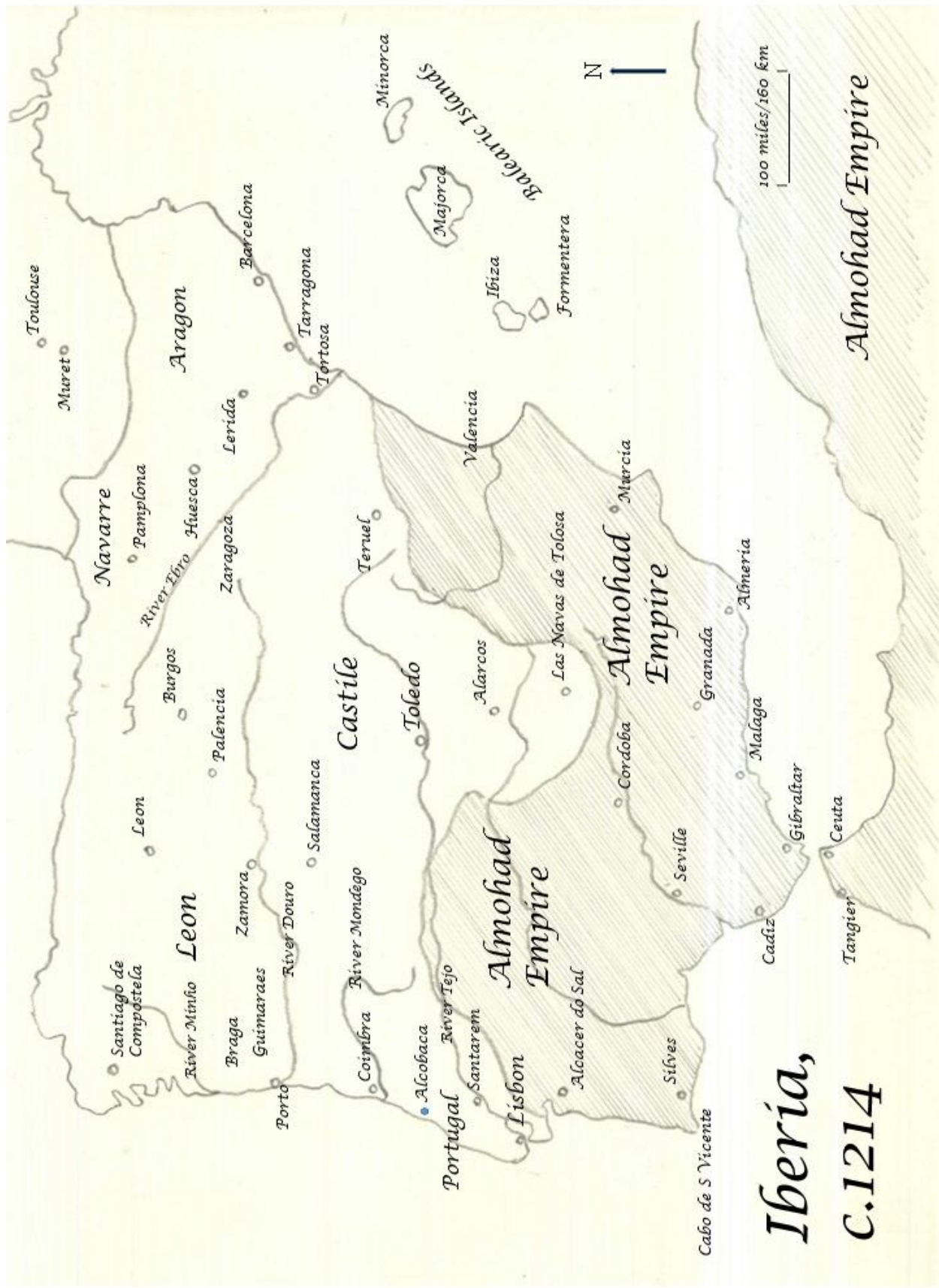
163. Their destruction was wrought in three raging days
164. Our men witnessed it from the very first.
165. These things God bestowed upon us on the day of Iacintus
166. And Prothus, a prize that was celebrated thereon.
- 167. We rejoice, we sing to the Lord, that these things so great for us**
168. He did, behold a report strikes new fear in us
169. So that they may bring us disorder, the approaching of galleys confirms
170. Thrice ten, we search for them, presently we find them.
171. He that had imparted the signs in the heavens and on the earth, the
waves
172. He now stirs up, and here the enemy ships are destroyed.
- 173. We attack the besieged a second time, but with vigour onto us**
174. They hurl from above stones and beams together with fire.
175. We are injured, from the wall we withdraw, out of reach, with the bow
176. We harass them, the arrows drip with blood.
177. The ground is soaked with the gore of people on each side
178. And, in turn, we drink horrible cups of death.
- 179. In such a way we accomplish nothing, a trick is added to our strength,
therefore**
180. Under the earth we dig, so that the wall itself may fall down.
181. Secretly we mine, the enemy counter-mines, he himself strives
182. So that this labour of ours remains useless.
183. A fight takes place in the excavation with iron and smoke and fire

184. Here too the blood spilled on both sides flows.
- 185. So, two towers more lofty than the towers of the fortress**
186. We erect, not far from the wall, indeed close-by [it],
187. Each is made of wood, [each] looks down on the fortress, the enemy
188. [Each] gazes upon, in order that it always lies in wait for them.
189. [Each] aims its arrows with the bow into the midst of the fortress
190. In order that, in such a way, unexpected death may assail the fortress dwellers.
- 191. Thereupon two siege engines we construct at the walls**
192. These like the towers cause the enemy to tremble.
193. The enemy asks for parley, he is in a plight, he fears, Alcaser therefore
194. Is delivered over, behold! all the gates stand open to our men.
195. All of the enemy and their property
196. Yield to the pilgrims, and equal share is attributed to each of them.
- 197. Know that Lisbon, on the third day after the Feast of St Luke**
198. Bowed its neck to the yoke of Jesus Christ.
199. After seventy and two years, on the very [day of]
200. Luke, Alcaser is given to us, or more correctly, to God.
201. After three days, the commander of the fortress is dipped in the water of a bath,
202. To the knights of the sword the land[s] and the farm[s] are given.
- 203. One man, and this itself is a great injustice, remained**
204. At Alcaser unrewarded and won nothing thereupon.

205. Originally, this man, as a matter of fact stirred the pilgrims so that they
went
206. To Alcazer, here this man also gave resources together with men.
207. And strength and his own resources, this man in the siege
208. Of the fortress, spent those together with men.
209. This man to our commanders relinquished and gave his property,
210. To who, as if ungrateful, they are willing to pay neither.
211. In addition, although fortress was captured by his help
212. And his advice, to him they deny his right[s].
213. And he decreed for ten captives out of the entire army
214. To be given to him, which these people kept for themselves.
215. This man is the bishop of Lisbon who so many good things on us
216. Bestowed, whereas he received, for goodness, evil.
217. To this man was extended by them, for nectar, myrrh
218. Bile for honey, wickedness for his right of possession.
219. I pray may you be patient with these perverse [ones], most honest
prelate,
220. In order that, for the worldly [things you have done], God may give you
the highest.
- 221. Receive my verses I humbly ask, Venerable Father,**
222. Crude verses though [they are] which to you I entrust, you read
223. Here there are three times five parts, hence the whole figure
224. If you connect the first [ones] you create our names.

225. You who read these writings, the less adequate things, which you notice
in these
226. Let them not provoke you to laughter, correct them, accept them, [or]
erase them.
227. The verses which you now hold in your hands, somebody else partly
held in theirs before.
228. He who inspired me will erase the verses in the end.
229. Do not be amazed: I wrote for the one whose grace
230. Was well known to me, and I was not known to you.

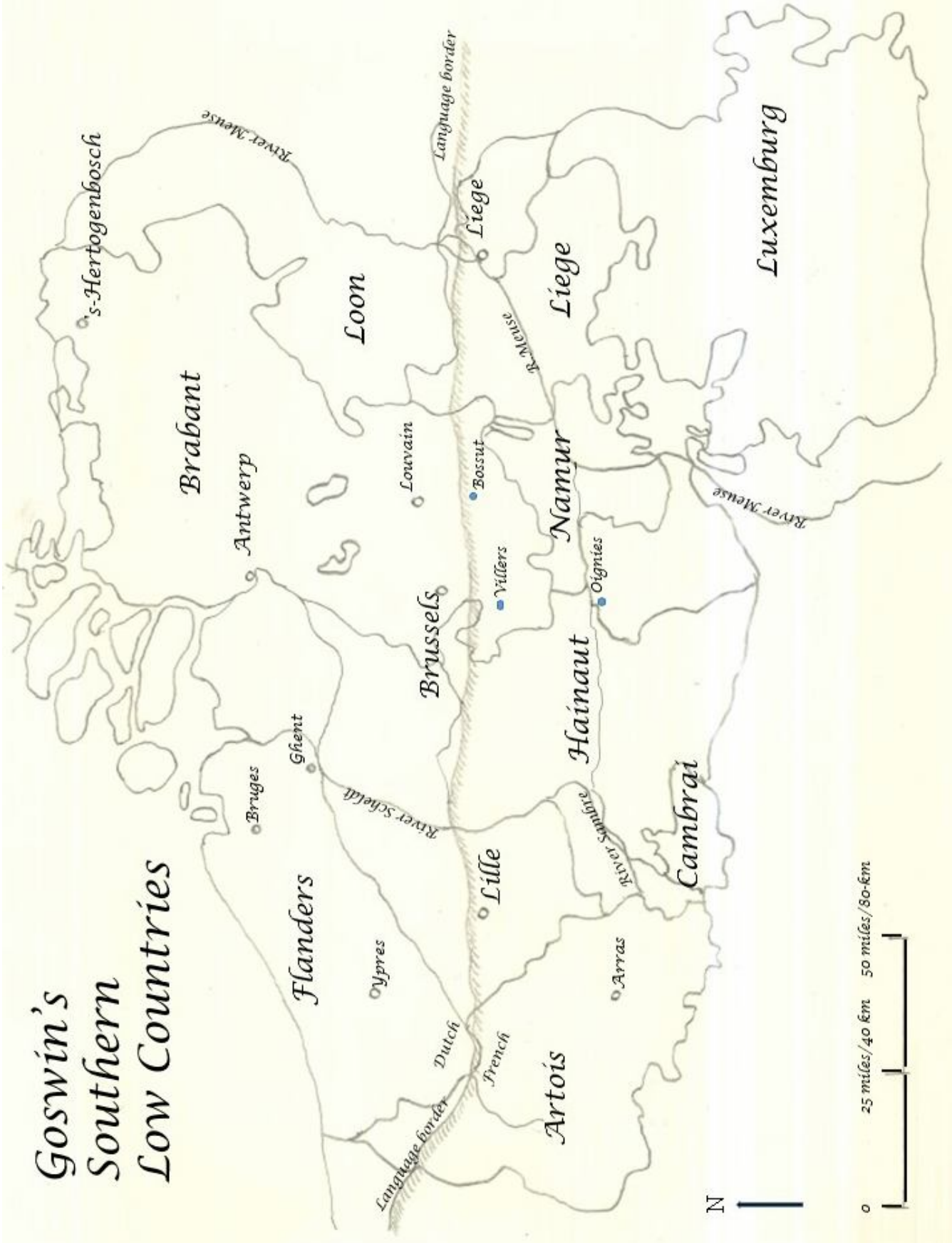
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Goswin's Southern Low Countries



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