

# RHYTHMS IN THE PROCESS OF DRAWING UP CRUSADING PROPOSALS IN THE PENINSULA

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Date of receipt: 14<sup>th</sup> of October, 2013  
Final date of acceptance: 11<sup>st</sup> of February, 2015

## ABSTRACT

This study presents some of the traits of the new Christian proposals for the legitimization of the war against the Muslims. These elements appeared somewhat earlier in the kingdom of Aragon than in León. This promptness is linked not only with a greater opening to European influences, but also to the need to attract foreign contingents for the conquest. Meanwhile, the Leonese kingdom had assembled a theory of legitimization, based on its claims to links to the Visigoth monarchy, so that it resorted to a greater extent to the crusading register when difficulties arose in the epoch of Alfonso VI, especially from 1086 on.

## KEYWORDS

Crusade, Medieval War, Kingdom of Aragon, Kingdom of Leon, 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries.

## CAPITALIA VERBA

Cruciata, Bellum Medievale, Regnum Aragonum, Regnum Legionis, Saecula XI et XII.

I have twin aims here. On one hand, I wish to analyse the development of the perception of medieval war in the Iberian Peninsula, so as to discuss and, as far as possible, highlight the possible transformations in the ideological components and open new paths to approach the phenomenon in the setting of the categories of crusade. In a way, this consists of highlighting and explaining some modifications in the discourse about war that appeared in the contemporary sources in the Peninsula, and examining whether the elements in this are compatible with the historiographic concept of crusade. Together with this general target, I aim to analyse the reasons for the differences in the chronology of these proposals between Hispanic *regna*. This means studying why they appeared and developed in some settings, while they were more marginal in others as I believe that both chronology and order varied, and did not function in the same way in León as in Aragon.<sup>1</sup>

The concept of crusade is the subject of a thoroughgoing historiographic debate, in which some historians have established a series of conditions *sine qua non*, and have listed a series of requirements that must be met before a conflict can be properly categorised as a crusade.<sup>2</sup> Attempts have been made to conduct a study almost of the genome of the crusade, attempting to determine what defines this reality in the eyes of these historians today. The intention, presumably, is to appraise the concept and determine the pertinence of certain actions, in other words, to establish what historical wars were or were not crusades.

The question is relevant, as it puts a limit to an excessive use of this characterisation. However, I fear that the abundance in the casuistic and the exuberance of the conditions could lead us to have to amend the page for those who lived in the medieval period and convince them that they did not really embark on a crusade. Moreover, some authors have forgotten what the crusade has as a discourse, not very rigid in structure, a more moldable product and affected by the temporary circumstances, modulable and, naturally, with varied aims, notable among which were to legitimate violence and conquest was perhaps delayed.

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1. This study has benefitted from a research Project from the Ministry of Science and Innovation of the Government of Spain (HAR2009-13225).

2. Flori, Jean. "La formation des concepts de guerre sainte et de croisade aux XIe et XIIe siècles: prédication papale et motivations chevaleresques", *Regards croisés sur la guerre sainte: guerre, idéologie et religion dans l'espace méditerranéen latin (XIe-XIIIe siècle)*, Daniel Baloup, Philippe Jaosserand, eds. Toulouse: CNRS-Université de Toulouse II-Le Mirail, 2006: 133-157. One can see other works by the same author, such as *La guerra santa. La formación de la idea de cruzada en el Occidente cristiano*. Granada: Trotta, 2003. Also Bachrach, David. *Religion and the Conduct of War*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003: 108 and following, reviews the development of the religious content in war in the first part of the Middle Ages, assessing the novelties in the crusading dynamic. A restrictive reflection on the Hispanic case appears in Purkis, William J. *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c. 1095-c. 1187*. Woodbridge-Rochester: Boydell, 2008: 120 and following. Also: García-Guijarro, Luis. "¿Cruzadas antes de la primera cruzada? La Iglesia y la guerra santa, siglos IX-XI", *García Sánchez III "el de Nájera" un rey y un reino en la Europa del siglo XI: XV semana de estudios medievales*. Najera: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2005: 290 and following. The debate between Alexander Bronisch (*Reconquista y guerra santa. La concepción de la guerra en la España cristiana desde los visigodos hasta comienzos del siglo XII*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2006) and Patrick Henriot ("L'idéologie de guerre sainte dans le Haut Moyen Âge hispanique". *Francia*, 29/1 (2001): 171-220) merits an analysis in itself. As we shall see, I myself believe that there is a crescendo derived from the necessities for legitimation, which does not imply a lineal evolution.



My analysis focuses mainly on the period from the latter decades of the 11<sup>th</sup> century through to the early 12<sup>th</sup> century. An analysis of the documentation from this period shows a certain divergence, that I believe to be to an extent relevant, between the warlike perceptions we can find in the western territories of the Peninsula and those from Navarrese and Aragonese lands.

It is evident that military operations, like the one against Barbastro in 1064, could have a fundamental impact on the development of the perceptions of war. The Barbastro campaign included knights from France and Burgundy and also the very strong Normans.<sup>3</sup> The chronicler Amado de Montecassino presents the expedition as a Christian action designed to oblige *la chevalerie de li Sarrazin* to submit and some of the traits of these expeditions are found in his narrative, such as the request for divine aid and thanksgiving after the victory, which are also found in other military operations apart from the crusade. It is probable that this action was promoted from Rome, if, as it seems, Alexander II's 1063 bull is connected with this expedition.<sup>4</sup> In any case, the chronicle of Saint-Maixent confirms this religious footing for a military mobilisation for the Christian *nomen*.<sup>5</sup>

It is true that shortly before these years, we find some Aragonese charters that seems to indicate a certain movement. In 1057, a document refers to the Christians and the conquests they have suffered at the hands of the Muslims, possibly at a moment when the hostilities that led to Pueyo de Bolea being handed over had already broken out.<sup>6</sup> All these dynamics could have had antecedents in the previous decade and

3. So says the chronicler Amado de Montecassino, who wrote this work between 1078 and 1086, although we have a French translation from the early 14<sup>th</sup> century (*Ystoire de li Normant*, I, 5; ed. Vincenzo de Bartholomeis, *Storia de' Normanni*. Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1935: 13). On the subject: Ferreiro, Alberto. "The Siege of Barbastro 1064-65: A reassessment". *Journal of Medieval History*, 9 (1983): 129-144. More recently, Sénac, Philippe. "Un château en Espagne. Notes sur la prise de Barbastro", *Liber Largitorius*, eds. Dominique Barthélémy, José María Martín. Genoa: Droz, 2003: 545-562. There is a certain debate about the "crusading" relevance of the campaign. An analysis of this expedition and its interpretation Laliena, Carlos. "Guerra santa y conquista feudal en el Noroeste de la Península a mediados del siglo XI: Barbastro, 1064", *La guerra, la frontera y la convivencia. XI Congreso de estudios medievales*. Leon: Fundación Sánchez Albornoz, 2009: 189-218. A useful review of the historiography of crusading in Ayala, Carlos de. "Definición de cruzada: estado de la cuestión". *Clio e Crimen*, 6 (2009): 216-242.

4. "Epistola", 82 (*Epistolae pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Samuel Loewenfeld. Leipzig: Veit, 1885: 43). We can relate this letter to the one the Pope sent to an episcopal group, perhaps more Gallic than Hispanic, warning against the anti-Jewish behaviour of those *qui contra Saracenos in Hispaniam proficiscebantur* ("Epistola", 101, *Patrologia Cursus completus*. Paris: J. P. Migne editorem, 1884: CXLVI, col. 1386-87; Jaffé, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Philipp Jaffé. Leipzig: Veit, 1885: 3485). In turn, this should be related to one to Wilfred of Narbonne, which seems to be on the same subject ("Epistola", 83, ed. Loewenfeld, "Epistolae"....: 43).

5. *Chronica Sancti Maxentii Pictavensis*, 1062 (*Chroniques des Églises d'Anjou*, eds. Paul Marchegay, Émile Mabille. Paris: Mme. Ve J. Renouard, 1869: 403). The text was concluded in 1141, although a good part of the work may have already been finished in 1126 (Halphen, Louis. "Note sur la Chronique de Saint Maixent". *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 69 (1908): 410-411).

6. A document from 1057 refers to the domain of the *christiani* kings or of the king of the *pagani* and refers to King Sancho III to describe him as *nos christiani* a castle *de manibus sarraçenorum... ad christianis eum reddimus* (Viruete, Roberto. *La colección diplomática del reinado de Ramiro I de Aragón (1035-1064)*. Saragossa: Diputación Provincial de Zaragoza, 2013: 483-484 (doc. No. 120); Ubieto, Antonio. *Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña*. Valencia: Gráficas Bautista, 1963: II: 163-166 (doc. No. 144). The 1058 concession to Sancho de Puibolea in: Viruete, Roberto. *La colección diplomática...: 490-491* (doc. No. 126).



developments affecting the Navarrese kingdom that began in the context of the Battle of Tafalla<sup>7</sup> and that coincided with the fighting, another example of which was the conquest of Calahorra. This is not the traditional language used in the Peninsula to refer to military activities against the Andalusians.

It must be imagined that some of these influences came from abroad, through the presence of both churchmen and laymen,<sup>8</sup> including the queens who married the Aragonese kings of those years, and their entourages.<sup>9</sup> Monasteries and churches from beyond the Pyrenees had some role in the Aragonese kingdom. This was the case of Thomières, where King Sancho sent Prince Ramiro in 1093, or La Sauve-Majeure, which had Arguilaré from 1063.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, ecclesiastical centres and some of the kingdom's castles had been donated to northern religious institutions. We also have evidence of the presence of clergy from north of the Pyrenees at various times. They left their mark on the charters of foundation, as in the dedication of the church of San Juan de la Peña in 1094.<sup>11</sup> The travels, especially royal journeys, could have tightened links with various European areas: García of Nájera, perhaps in 1035, and, possibly, Sancho Ramírez visited Rome. This is testified to in the Pseudo-Silense and a document by the Aragonese king dated 1068.<sup>12</sup> They corresponded to trips by papal legates. Prince Sancho also seems to have made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1092.<sup>13</sup>

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7. Laliena, Carlos; Sénac, Philippe. *Musulmans et chrétiens dans le Haut Moyen Âge: aux origines de la reconquête aragonaise*. Paris: Minerve, 1991: 121. Also, Laliena, Carlos. *La formación del Estado feudal. Aragón y Navarra en la época de Pedro I*. Huesca: Diputación Provincial de Huesca, 1996: 61.

8. To cite two varied examples, Andrew of France (Canellas, Ángel. *Colección diplomática de Sancho Ramírez*. Saragossa: Real Sociedad Económica Aragonesa de Amigos del País, 1993: 69-70 (doc. No. 60); 88-89 (doc. No. 85) or Rembald of Montepestler, who had at least a shop in Jaca (Salarrullana, José. *Documentos correspondientes al reinado de Sancho Ramírez*. Saragossa: Tipografía Escar, 1907: 175-177 (doc. No. 45).

9. Felicia of Roucy, wife of King Sancho Ramírez (about her, Ubieto, Antonio. *Colección Diplomática de Pedro I de Aragón y Navarra*. Saragossa: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1951: 27 and following); moreover, Pedro wives: Agnes of Aquitaine and, although of uncertain non-Hispanic origin, Berta.

10. A. 1093, Canellas, Ángel. *Colección diplomática de Sancho Ramírez...: 148-149* (doc. No. 144). In 1084, Sancho Ramírez had donated the mosques of Ejea to Santa María de Sauve-Majeure (Canellas, Ángel. *Colección diplomática de Sancho Ramírez...: 80* (doc. No. 73) and in 1088, confirmed these donations to Abbot Grimaldo (*Colección diplomática de Sancho Ramírez...: 105* (doc. No. 105). In 1088, the abbot of Sauve-Majeure promised to take in a pauper every year and pray for the Aragonese king (Martene, Edmond. *Thesaurus novus*. Paris: Sumptibus F. Delaulne, 1717: col. 247). The document of Arguilaré in Viruete, Roberto. *La colección diplomática del reinado de Ramiro I de Aragón...: 563-565* (doc. No. 184).

11. Where the bishops Amato of Burdeos and Godofredo of Magalona and the abbots Frotardo of Thomières, Aimerico or Raimundo of San Salvador de Leger appear (Ubieto, Antonio. *Colección Diplomática de Pedro I de Aragón y Navarra...: 227-228* (doc. No. 16). With a degree of prudence, we can also consider the large number of non-Hispanic names that appear in the documents.

12. In mid February 1068, Sancho claimed to be en-route to Rome (*pergebam ad Romam*), although we do not know if he arrived there (*Libro de los Santos Voto y Félix*, Biblioteca Universitaria de Zaragoza, M-420, fol. 11 v; it was published by Salarrullana, José. *Documentos correspondientes al reinado de Sancho Ramírez...: 7-8* (doc. No. 3). Kehr's opinion about this journey and its results has gained a following, Paul. "El Papado y los reinos de Navarra y Aragón hasta mediados del siglo XII", *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón*. Saragossa: E. Berdejo Casañal, 1946: II, 94 and following.

13. In 1092, the *comes* Sancho, the monarch's half-brother, referred to this desire: *ego uolente pergere in uiam sepulchri Domini...* (Biblioteca Universitaria de Zaragoza. Libro de los privilegios. M-423/517, f.1r).



On his return, he and his entourage might have had perspectives they had assimilated far from their homeland.<sup>14</sup>

What I want to point out is the greater development of these perceptions that highlight how the conflict with the Andalusians in the Aragonese kingdom emphasises the religious aspect earlier, so that fine-tuned formulations should be found relatively early, and these acquired notable precision and wealth in a few decades. A deed from Saint-Victor in Marseilles, which contains the donation of Barbastro by Bishop Poncio in 1101, shows the rise of this development, the prelate explaining that his see had recently been seized from the power and hands of the pagans. In fact, it states that it had been *liberata*, thanks to the sword of King Peter I. The letter was confirmed by the archbishop of Arles and, presumably, at the moment of the concession, some monks from Saint-Victor in Marseilles, the monastery that received the donation, would have been present.<sup>15</sup> The document presents various elements, the war against the Muslims, the aim of liberating cities and churches and it also shows the importance of cross-Pyrenean links, emphasising these in the expression of the crusading ideology. Our impression is that a good part of these arguments were on the rise in the kingdom in the mid 11<sup>th</sup> century.

In any case, from the mid 11<sup>th</sup> century on, there is documentation that refers to the *pagani* and texts that emphasise the religious opposition.<sup>16</sup> The above-mentioned document from 1057 and other later ones indicate a period of domination by these *pagani* over the Christians. Laliena has commented on the development of García Sánchez's anti-Muslim sentiment, which flourished after his visit to Rome in 1035.<sup>17</sup> This mood would perhaps show in a clause in his wife's dowry, dated in 1040, as it refers to possible divine concessions in lands held by the Muslims,<sup>18</sup> being an explicit first show of the endeavour that culminated in the battle of Tafalla, very probably in 1043.<sup>19</sup> Shortly after, Calahorra was conquered from the *pagani* (1045) by royal

14. A document from San Juan de la Peña mentions King Peter taking up the cross to go to Jerusalem (it is transcribed by Ubieto, Antonio. *Colección diplomática de Pedro I de Aragón y Navarra*: 113 (doc. No. 6). Íñigo López and his wife had donated property to the abbot of San Juan de la Peña in 1061 because they wished to go to Rome, *ut iremus Romam* (Ubieto, Antonio. *Cartulario de san Juan de la Peña...*: II, 197-198 (doc. No. 158).

15. Ubieto, Antonio. *Colección diplomática de Pedro I de Aragón y Navarra...*: 115 (doc. No. 9).

16. Regarding the use of the term *paganus* to refer to the Muslims, one should recall the precedent in the letter by Oliba of Vic to Sancho III, which also includes the idea of *deletio* of these enemies and that of *restitutio* (*Diplomatari i escrits literaris de l'abat i bisbe Oliba*, ed. Emili Junyent. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1992: 327-331 (doc. No. 16, and also the following)). The use of *pagani* or *terra paganorum* to refer to the Andalusians or al-Andalus is not exceptional.

17. Laliena, Carlos. *La formación del Estado feudal...*: 60 and following.

18. *de partibus terre hismaetarum aut castra aut villas* (Rodríguez, Idelfonso. *Colección diplomática medieval de La Rioja (923-1225)*. Logroño: Diputación Provincial de la Rioja, 1976: II, 24-26 (doc. No. 3).

19. The well-known document from August 1043 refers to a horse that had belonged to Ramiro I and was lost in the fight for Tafalla. I think this is the meaning of the gift received by the King Sancho García from Sanchez Fortuñones (Martín Duque, Ángel. *Documentación medieval de Leire (siglos XI a XII)*. Pamplona: Diputación Foral de Navarra, 1983: 64-65 (doc. No. 33). For this, see Martín Duque, Ángel. "Don García Sánchez III 'el de Nájera': Biografía de un reinado", *García Sánchez III "el de Nájera" un rey y un reino en la Europa del siglo XI: XV semana de estudios medievales*. Nájera: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2005: 30. Ubieto proposes a very early date, around 1038, so much so that it makes the gift of a horse more improbable



action.<sup>20</sup> The novelty of this was not the armed struggle, that we can see in other moments in the past, but rather the way it was justified in the context of religious war. Nor were these developments a novelty, but rather they reveal increasingly narrow ways of expressing the relation between the violent action of the Christians and the religious condition of the Muslims and the perception that was held of this. We do not think that these Aragonese campaigns should be labelled crusades, a question perhaps secondary in relation to what interests us most, namely the slow development of a discourse that explained, justified and promoted this armed activity. This discourse did not appear out of nowhere, but rather had to find its place in societies accustomed to fighting the Andalusians and that gradually absorbed various proposals, each at its own rhythm.

This Muslim presence in the Peninsula was explained along the lines of Christian providentialism and with the sequence of sin, punishment and pardon. Some Aragonese documents explicitly show the royal or official reading of these events. It was the sins of the kings that brought on the invasion and the dislocation of a framework that was originally considered good.<sup>21</sup>

No contemporary texts with this argumentation are found in the Leonese kingdom. However, it does abound in the forgeries, where, for example, we can find references to the *Sarracenorum persecutio*<sup>22</sup> and the situation of domain *in manibus impiorum*<sup>23</sup> or even the situation of churches and sees *destructae a paganis*.<sup>24</sup> These reconstructions reveal how this discourse was incorporated in the medium term and how it was considered to contradict the earlier one. In fact, the discourse was timeless and appropriate for any chronology. In the face of the Muslim invasion, what had to be done was a labour of restoration. This was understood in various ways, but the use of the verb

(Ubieto, Antonio. *Los orígenes de los reinos de Castilla y Aragón*. Saragossa: Universidad de Zaragoza, 1991: 48 and following). See also, Pérez de Ciriza, Fortún. "Monjes y obispos: La Iglesia en el reinado de García Sánchez III el de Nájera", *XV Semana de Estudios Medievales*. Najera: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2005: 197-200 (doc. No. 15).

20. In this document, García Sánchez III (a pseudo-original) claims to have taken *de manibus paganorum* and to have "restored" *iuri christianorum* (Rodríguez de Lama, Idelfonso. *Colección Diplomática Medieval de la Rioja...*: 30-32 (doc. No. 6). The document can be interpolated (Pérez de Ciriza, Fortún. "Monjes y obispos...": 231 (doc. No. 20), although not clearly in this part: Rodríguez de Lama, Idelfonso. *Colección Diplomática Medieval de la Rioja*: 33-34 (doc. No. 7) —perhaps a more reworked script— it is formulated partially differently, to make it more important: *pagana impietate uiolentiaque, aliquatenus repressa, recuperare aliquatenus iam cepimus atque possidere...*

21. In 1063, Ramiro I stated that *instigante diabolo atque peccata parentum antiquorum* [he does not strictly say his] *inuase sunt atque subuerse uniuersa cenobia nec non et ecclesie a Dei incultoribus. Ob quam rem Deo auxiliante illarum restaurationem uoluntarie cupientes agi...* (Viruete, Roberto. *La colección diplomática del reinado de Ramiro I de Aragón...*: 563-564 (doc. No. 184). Obviously these are the registers that arose under the model of biblical kings, whose sins affected all their people.

22. Flórez, Enrique. *España Sagrada*. Madrid: Antonio Marín, 1764: XVIII ap. IV and V, 312-315, supposedly a document by Alfonso III from 867 which refers to the founding of Mondoñedo.

23. Flórez, Enrique. *España Sagrada*. Madrid: Antonio Marín, 1765: XIX, 350.

24. A supposed endowment by Alfonso II to Lugo in 832 (Risco, Manuel. *España Sagrada*, XL, Madrid, Marín, 1796: XL, 371); a document dated 904 refers to a church *disrupta a paganis* (Sáez, Emilio. *Colección documental del Archivo de la Catedral de León, I (775-952)*. León: Centro de estudios "San Isidoro", 1987: 28-29 (doc. No. 17).



*restaurare* emphasised the first constructive meaning.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, there was a more anthropological and Christian version, in the sense that restoring meant recovering the flawless human condition from before the sin, thanks to Christ's sacrifice.<sup>26</sup>

The haste to restore and the sense of the term changed over time, most notably in the chronology that concerns us here. In 1035, when Vermudo III endowed the see of Palencia, he stated his desire to *restaurare* the see and granted it financial powers so the bishop and all the *ordo clericorum* prayed to God for him.<sup>27</sup> No other sense was developed, nor found in the confirmation of charters by Ferdinand and Sancha in 1042.<sup>28</sup> In the reign of Ferdinand, there were warnings that to restore implied the recovery of the situation of the Visigoth period, in the sense that restoring sees meant recovering the past, the old scheme of Visigoth bishopates.<sup>29</sup> Restoration was understood from the Gothistic perspectives, in the idea of returning to the kingdom of a better past. The general perception of endowing in all senses was not forgotten and thus, in 1074, Bishop Pelayo thought that restoring his see required endowing it with the appropriate liturgical equipment, with vestments and books.<sup>30</sup>

The idea of restoration continued evolving for decades and, although in the Leonese kingdom, the term continued to refer to the buildings and their resources, a new meaning developed with links to a mythologised past and, somewhat later, this would incorporate new elements, as in 1089, when Alfonso VI promoted the see of Santa María in Toledo and mentioned how it had been *restaurata* to the faith.<sup>31</sup>

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25. We conserve sentences like *domus ecclesiae restaurare* that appear in documents of Cardeña from the mid 10<sup>th</sup> century. The activity was an obligation for the Christian king as indicated in the pseudo-Silense, who stated that, after his victorious revolt against the Muslims, King Pelayo wished to *restaurare* the churches and their *ornamenta*, in an idea that meant their physical renovation (Pérez de Urbel, Justo; Ruiz, Atilano. *Historia Silense*. Madrid: Centro Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1959: 25, 136).

26. This concept could be applied in a legal sense, with the meaning of recovering a primal freedom, after having living in slavery. This is seen in a document from Sobrado from 930 (Loscertales, Pilar. *Tumbos del monasterio de Sobrado de los Monjes*. Madrid: Dirección General del Patrimonio Artístico y Cultural-Archivo Histórico Nacional, 1976: I, 86-87 (doc. No. 52) or in another, which claims to be from 912, which contrasts the condition of restored freedom with the earlier servile state (Lucas, Manuel. *La documentación del Tumbo A de la catedral de Santiago de Compostela*. León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación "San Isidoro", 1997: 100-102 (doc. No. 24). For the modifications of this and other similar terms, see: Constable, Giles. "Renewal and Reform in Religious Life. Concepts and Realities", *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1982, 37-67.

27. Núñez Contreras, "Colección diplomática de Vermudo III, rey de León". *Historia, instituciones, documentos*, 4 (1977): 484-487 (doc. No. 18).

28. Blanco, Pilar. "Colección diplomática de Fernando I (1037-1065)". *Archivos Leoneses*, 40 (1986): 73-74 (doc. No. 16). Another confirmation is among the documents of the restoration of Oca, in 1075, but, at least, there are some problems of reliability in these documents.

29. This was during the year 1046; Cavero Gregoria; Martín, Encarnación. *Colección documental de la catedral de Astorga, I (646-1126)*. Leon: Centro de Estudios e Investigación "San Isidoro", 1999: 256-259 (doc. No. 306).

30. Ruiz Asencio, José Manuel. *Colección documental del Archivo de la Catedral de León, IV (1032-1109)*. León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación "San Isidoro", 1990: 450-452 (doc. No. 1193). These questions have been dealt with in Isla, Amancio. *Memoria, culto y monarquía hispánica entre los siglos X y XII*. Jaen: Universidad de Jaén, 2007: 104 and following.

31. Año 1089; Gamba, Andrés. *Alfonso VI. Cancillería, Curia e Imperio. II Colección diplomática*. Leon: Centro de estudios e investigación "San Isidoro", 1998: 264-266 (doc. No. 101).



Thus, the process seems to have defined a concept of restoration in line with the new times, with emphasis on the idea of religious conflict and converting places of Islamic worship into Christian churches.

In the Aragonese kingdom, documents from the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century show the development of the idea of the *restauratio* of some ecclesiastical centres that had been destroyed *a Dei incultoribus*. In 1063, the restoration naturally had the full constructive sense and the restoring of rights, but was also linked closely to the activity of those infidels who had broken a trajectory. The foundation that Ramiro I promoted in Arguilaré does not resemble the recovery of a centre, but rather the Christian restoration of a territory. In 1101, Peter I recalled the task of his predecessors *in restaurandis*, referring to the recovery of episcopal sees and other religious centres with specific mention of the earlier Muslim conquest, which had led to the almost complete destruction of the *Christianitas*.<sup>32</sup> Another interesting term is used in the writings from these origins. In the early years of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, it was relatively frequent to understand the process of seizing the new territories as restitution, in other words, as an act of justice with which the asset returned to its rightful owner. In 1102, on referring to the taking of Barbastro, of what stood out was this as a process of returning these cities to Christendom.<sup>33</sup> On considering the conquest of Calasanz, the same coordinates were highlighted as on other occasions, and these would appear to confirm that the conquest was linked to a legitimate change of religion, which is why it is common for these terms to appear more frequently in the context of documents related to ecclesiastical dedications.<sup>34</sup> In contrast, this concept does not appear in the western territories. In the 1088 bull by Urban II, however, the idea of the restitution of the archbishopric of Toledo appears, in the sense of restoring or recovering a prior situation that had been lost. The lines of Papal understanding are indicated in the text: an idealised, obviously Christian, prior situation, sins that triggered the Sarracen conquest and a contemporary restitution that implied a conquest and a return to the primitive situation. All this is understood as a *restitutio* and also a *liberatio*.<sup>35</sup>

It is interesting to compare the discourse drawn up in the western territories with the one in Navarre and Aragon. The perception we obtain from the Leonese sources has other overtones. It is not that they were unaware of the phenomenon

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32. The ecclesiastical centres... *peccata parentum antiquorum inuase sunt atque subuerse* (Viruete, Roberto. *La colección diplomática del reinado de Ramiro I de Aragón...*: 563-565 (doc. No. 184); *christianitatem in Hispania magna ex parte deleta... ad pristinum statum suam sanctam ecclesiam reintegravit* (Ubieto, Antonio. *Colección Diplomática de Pedro I de Aragón y Navarra...*: 345-347 (doc. No. 96).

33. *ut ipse Deus per meritum ipsius, urbes ipsas sancte restituet christianitati* (Ubieto, Antonio. *Colección Diplomática de Pedro I de Aragón y Navarra...*: 374-378 (doc. No. 117).

34. [The *castrum* of Calasanz] *restitutum est sancte christianitati, dedicavit ibi ecclesiam* (Ubieto, Antonio. *Colección Diplomática de Pedro I de Aragón y Navarra...*: 301-301 (doc. No. 128). The *castelli* that God *dignatus est restituere suo sancto nomine et sue christianitati in terra de Osca* (Ubieto, Antonio. *Colección Diplomática de Pedro I de Aragón y Navarra...*: 396-397 (doc. No. 132).

35. *a saracenis eadem civitas capta et ad nihilum christianae religionis illic libertas redacta est, ... christianorum iuribus Toletana civitas est restituta* (Mansilla, Demetrio. *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III (965-1216)*. Rome: Instituto Español de Estudios Eclesiásticos, 1955: 43 and following ("Epístola" 27);... *quod de sarracenorum iure Toletana est ecclesia liberata* (Mansilla, Demetrio. *La documentación pontificia...*: 39 and following ("Epístola" 24).





of the Muslim presence and its effects, but that the interpretation emphasised other considerations, basically the need to recover the state predating the conquest. This appears when the Muslims are mentioned, but also other invaders, for example the pagan Normans. In 1024, when Tui was being restored, the letter from King Alfonso V mentions what they understood as the perfect situation: *Antiquorum etenim relatione cognoscimus, omnem Hispaniam a Christianis esse possessam, et unamquamque provinciam ecclesiis, sedibus et episcopis perornatam*. It was sins that interrupted this state and led to the arrival of the Normans and their devastating effects on the see. Then a violent Christian reaction was provoked and the invaders were expelled.<sup>36</sup> However, despite the marked opposition of the Christians to those, the Normans, who were not, and the explicit reference to violence, these elements do not come close enough together, although it is obvious that this war was of a religious nature.

Ferdinand I and Sancha sustained in a Leonese endowment that it was better to restore than to build. What they wanted to emphasise was that, rather than building new churches, it was better to recuperate assets, temples and ecclesiastical hierarchies: this is the real sense of the *restauratio* even in mid century.<sup>37</sup> The expressed concern of the drafters of this documentation was to press ahead with the restoration, a process understood in this sense as a return to the past, which implied an adequate ecclesiastical structure in all senses. Thus, when praising the reign of the late Alfonso V in 1046, emphasis was placed on his struggle against the Muslims, naturally very explicitly, and the extension and endowment of churches.<sup>38</sup> For those who ruled later, restoration meant rebuilding churches in their heritage and appointing bishops.<sup>39</sup> It is notable that this appreciation included dealing with the effects of other *invasiones*, not precisely of the Muslims. On granting the monastery of Sahagún a *scriptum restauracionis*, the monarchs referred to repairing or returning the monastery to its primaeval state prior to the depredations of the kingdom's aristocrats.<sup>40</sup>

In fact, the political situation in the kingdom of León further reinforced this aspect. At various moments, I have emphasised this way of presenting the recent past, where the *veritas* was questionable by due the aristocratic predations that took advantage of the regencies and monarchic weakness. Around mid century, the Leonese perception, referring to the situation of difficulties, noted those that took place during Alfonso

36. *multas quidem ipsorum inimicorum cervices fregimus, et de terra nostra ejecimus...* (Flórez, Enrique. *España Sagrada*. Madrid: Antonio Marín, 1765: XIX, 391). The document explains that, given its state of prostration, the see of Tui was merged with Santiago. The text *Antiquorum relatione* reappears in a forgery dated from 915 (*España Sagrada...*: XIX, 349). It seems to be from the preface of the *De uiris illustribus* by Ildefonso (Gil, Juan. "Notas críticas a autores medievales hispanos". *Habis*, 14 (1983): 70).

37. *intelleximus quia melius est qui restaurat quam qui hedificat* (7 January 1043; Ruiz, José Manuel. *Colección documental del Archivo de la Catedral de León, IV (1032-1109)*: IV, 170-172 (doc. No. 1007).

38. *gentem muzleimitarum detruncauit et ecclesias ampliavit et valde de omnibus bonis suis ditavit* (28 June 1046, Blanco, Pilar. "Colección diplomática de Fernando I...": 104-107 (doc. No. 31).

39. *fecimus hordinare per illas sedes episcopos ad restaurandum ecclesias et recreandum fidei christianae* (28 June 1046), See: Blanco, Pilar. "Colección diplomática de Fernando I...": 104-107 (doc. No. 31). Also: *et fecimus... per illas sedes ordinare episcopos...* (7 January 1043; Ruiz, José Manuel. *Colección documental del Archivo de la Catedral de León, IV (1032-1109)*...: IV, 170-172 (doc. No. 1007).

40. November, 1049, Blanco, Pilar. "Colección diplomática de Fernando I...": 123-124 (doc. No. 40).



V's minority and those that came after, so that the *tempus persecutionis* was not so much the Muslim oppression, but more the civil wars and disorder that led to notable difficulties, especially for the ecclesiastic patrimony.<sup>41</sup>

In 1074, King Sancho of Aragón referred to his request for prayers for the stability of the kingdom and for victories from God *contra inimicos nominis Christiani*.<sup>42</sup> The monarch was always aware of the *beneficia* received, obviously not only spiritual, but also material. The Aragonese victories meant an expansion of the kingdom.<sup>43</sup> There were frequent references to the royal pretensions that in the future or already in the present to God's help in this task of expanding the kingdom. It was not infrequent for mention to be made in royal circles of the hope that the divinity would grant the conquest of a new enclave or referring to this celestial decision after the conquest had taken place.<sup>44</sup> However, this was explained as a divine concession *ad christianos*.<sup>45</sup> As shown above, these occupations were understood as religious restitution and this is reflected in the documents.

In the same vein, there was an insistence on the conversion of the mosques into churches. Obviously, there was an economic component to this, given that, among the assets granted by the kings, even before the effective conquest, nameless mosques appear on a scale of categories related to their economic endowment for the building of churches for the ecclesiastic institution they have been conferred to, with the idea that these mosques were linked to the assets going beyond those strictly related to a place of worship, including properties that generate incomes, houses or even ovens. When Sancho Ramírez endowed La Sauve-Majeure, he explained his desire for an early conquest *quando Deus... dederit ipsas villas sanctae christianitati*, emphasising the target of converting the mosques into churches.<sup>46</sup>

This conquest was understood as liberation. The existence of the subjugated population was of less interest; the rights underlined were God's and the saints' or even, more specifically, those of their temples. What justified the Christian actions was the liberation of churches and lands. The restitution and restoration of the *Christianitas* was that of the churches, and in function of this, mosques had to be replaced by

41. 7 January 1043; Ruiz, José Manuel. *Colección documental del Archivo de la Catedral de León, IV (1032-1109)*...: IV, 170-172 (doc 1007). For the conflicts with the aristocracy, see Isla, Amancio. *Realezas hispánicas del año mil*. Sada: Edicions do Castro, 1998: 62 and following and 103 and following.

42. Canellas, Ángel. *Colección diplomática de Sancho Ramírez*...: 44-45 (doc. No. 30).

43. Sancho understood that there would be a moment in his reign or that of his successors when his objectives would be fulfilled, *quando Deus ampliauerit eis regnum* (Canellas, Ángel. *Colección diplomática de Sancho Ramírez*...: 148-149 (doc. No. 144) of 1093).

44. *die quod Deus omnipotens donavit nobis Monteson* (dated from 1090). Ubieta, Antonio. *Colección Diplomática de Pedro I*: 219-220 (doc. No. 9) or, very explicit in his thanksgiving, *regnante... gratias Deo altissimo in Monteson* (Ubieta, Antonio. *Colección diplomática de Pedro I*...: 220-221 (doc. No. 10) (January 1092).

45. A letter was written in May 1081 *in Castro Muniones quando Deus dedit illum ad christianos* (Lacarra, José María. *Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del valle del Ebro*. Saragossa: Anubar, 1982: 13-14 (doc. No. 4); also Canellas, Ángel. *Colección diplomática de Sancho Ramírez*: 64-65 (doc. No. 55). In 1089, the Aragonese king hoped for divine assistance for Estadilla to pass *in manus christianorum* (Ubieta, Antonio. *Colección Diplomática de Pedro I*...: 216-217 doc. No. 6).

46. [1091] Lacarra, José María. *Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista*...: 23-24 (doc. No. 12).



Christian temples. It was seen as normal that a church had to be built on the site where a mosque had stood.<sup>47</sup> We know that there was a certain demand for the mosques in conquered cities, causing some tension between religious institutions, as in the case of the mosque in Huesca for use as the site of the episcopal see or another church.<sup>48</sup> The bishop wanted to have *miskidam pro sedem*, and obtained it by imposing a criterion that may seem very firm. The state of the great mosque in Huesca, the *excellentior*, was highly praised as the site for the cathedral. On different occasions, Peter bequeathed other mosques for the construction of such churches, such as the one ceded in Leire for the church of San Salvador<sup>49</sup> or the one he promised to Conques in Barbastro, *ad construendum ibi monasterium*.<sup>50</sup>

The lines written by Bishop Pedro of Saragossa that precede the letter by Gelasius II and were aimed at those who were besieging Saragossa in 1118 includes many of these elements. It states that the endeavour depended on divine clemency, the prayers of the clergy and the audaciousness of the *fortes viri*, in other words, the aristocrats, that its target was to conquer Saragossa for the Christians and liberate the church of Santa María that was held by the *perfidii sarraceni*.<sup>51</sup>

This dynamic must be linked to a memory that highlighted how the Muslims seized the Christian churches.<sup>52</sup> The Muslim conquest was understood as an event, relatively short in time, whose main effect was the elimination of bishoprics, the destruction of monasteries and the profaning of churches. As early as 1044, García de Nájera, revealed the extent to which his offensive action was linked to the understanding of the past. He knew there was a state of desolation of the Christian sacred places, a situation he saw as historical, the result of the violent actions *a barbaris nationibus*.<sup>53</sup> There had been an *occupatio* and even more, a *destructio* of these Christian temples. What his campaigns achieved was the *restitutio* or *recuperatio* of these ecclesiastical centres into the *ius christianorum*.<sup>54</sup>

47. King Sancho Ramírez granted Sauve-Majeure *utriusque ville mischitas ad ecclesias ibi faciendas* in Ejea and Pradilla ([1091], Lacarra, José María. *Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista...*: 23-24 (doc. No. 12). At the end of the period under study here, when Saragossa was conquered, there were many calls for mosques to be converted into churches (Lacarra, José María. *Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista...*: 70-71 (doc. No. 56).

48. December 1096 and 5 April 1097, Ubieto, Antonio. *Colección Diplomática de Pedro I...*: 241-243, (doc. No. 24) and 251-253 (doc. No. 30). Those of Montearagón kept the chaplaincy of the Zuda and Thomières with *illam ecclesiam antiquam sancti Petri* (doc. No. 24).

49. [November-]1097, Ubieto, Antonio. *Colección Diplomática de Pedro I...*: 266-268, doc. No. 40.

50. [April 1099], Ubieto, Antonio. *Colección Diplomática de Pedro I...*: 302, doc. No. 64.

51. 10 December 1118, Lacarra, José María. *Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista...*: 67-69 (doc. No. 54). Gelasius' letter deals with aspects of the crusade which we will not consider for now (Jaffé, Philipp. *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*. Leipzig: Veit, 1885: 665; see Kehr, Paul. "El Papado y los reinos de Navarra y Aragón hasta mediados del siglo XII", *Estudios de la Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón*. Saragossa: E. Berdejo Casañal, 1946: II, 147 and following.

52. *atque ubi Dominici corporis et sanguinis celebrata fuerit sacramenta, nefanda demonum spurcissimique Mahomat colabantur figmenta* (5 April 1097, Ubieto, Antonio. *Colección Diplomática de Pedro I...*: 251-253, doc. No. 30).

53. Rodríguez de Lama, Ildefonso. *Colección Diplomática Medieval de la Rioja...*: 27-29, (doc. No. 4), dated 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1044.

54. 30 April 1045, Rodríguez de Lama, Ildefonso. *Colección Diplomática Medieval de la Rioja...*: 30-32 (doc. No. 6).



It is interesting that these diplomas explain that it was the sins of the ancestors of King García that led to the loss of the kingdom. Thus, the feeling among the Navarese monarchy that they were descended from the Visigoth royalty is perceptible. This is not then an invention of the Pseudo-Silense, but rather a claim established previously,<sup>55</sup> at least in these lands and perhaps reinforced by the ideologists of the times of Sancho the Great. Obviously, this change was related to divine mercy, finally pitying the Christian hardships. Almost by definition, this task required God's benevolence. In other words, carrying it out involved fulfilling a divine plan.

This justified the action of the Navarese and Aragonese kings, who proclaimed their role as Christians, on their military campaigns. It is also relevant that these actions were understood as a gift from God. The phraseology of the time insisted that God gave such and such an enclave to the monarch. This statement that was often used to highlight the day on which the event occurred, but also for the hope that such an event would occur. The reference should not only be understood in its sense of awarding victory and conquest, in other words, as fulfilling the divine will; there was also a significant financial aspect, in other words, that a victory granted also supposed a donation of assets.<sup>56</sup> God had granted the conquered land to the monarch and perhaps for this, Peter I could claim that he donated assets to Saint Ponce de Thomières *ex alodibus meis propriis*, among which was the church of San Pedro in Huesca.<sup>57</sup> It is true that, as mentioned, in some cases it was claimed that the gains had been delivered to the Christians by divine mercy, but this did not contradict the above and King Peter claimed that God had handed over Alquézar *christiane religioni et michi*.<sup>58</sup> It was God who granted the monarch full ownership of these assets.

Thus, mention was made of the various churches liberated by the sword or those it was planned to free.<sup>59</sup> These lands and temples were in the hands of those who were described as *pagani*, establishing the dichotomy between being in their power or *in manus christianorum*.<sup>60</sup> These were sides in a conflict and the writers were aware of the deaths that these liberations meant. In 1096, King Peter referred to a large number of deaths, both pagans and Christians, in the context of the conquest of Huesca.<sup>61</sup>

The aim was military action destined *ad destructionem sarracenorum et dilatacionem christianorum*, but they were still aware of their high losses.<sup>62</sup> On these expeditions, the

55. Remember the manifestation of Vigilano (Isla, Amancio. *Realezas Hispánicas...*: 122).

56. *Deus omnipotens donavit nobis Montesón...* (Ca 1090). Ubierto, Antonio. *Colección Diplomática de Pedro I...*: 219-220 (doc. No. 9); *quando Deus omnipotens donavit nobis eum* [Barastro]; Ubierto, Antonio. *Colección Diplomática de Pedro I...*: 301 (doc. No. 63). Another similar one in 306 (doc. No. 8), comes from Tumbo A in Santiago.

57. 9 May 1097, Ubierto, Antonio. *Colección Diplomática de Pedro I...*: 256-258, (doc. No. 34).

58. November 1099, Ubierto, Antonio. *Colección Diplomática de Pedro I...*: 311-313 (doc. No. 72).

59. Thus, in 1081, Bishop Dalmacio of Roda signalled the moment *quandocumque... plebs christiana poterit eam* [the church of Naval] *ab ismahelitarum oppressione liberare et obtinere*. Durán, Antonio. *Colección diplomática de la Catedral de Huesca*. Saragossa: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1965: 59-60 (doc. No. 43).

60. Anno 1089, Ubierto, Antonio. *Colección Diplomática de Pedro I...*: 216-217 (doc. No. 6).

61. Ubierto, Antonio. *Colección Diplomática de Pedro I...*: 241-243 (doc. No. 24).

62. 10 July 1091, Lacarra, José María. *Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista...*: 18-20 (doc. No. 9).



dead were regarded as having given their lives for their king, but also in God's service,<sup>63</sup> so that the Christians who fought alongside the Muslims against others of their own faith were *falsi christiani*. The participants in these military endeavours received special recognition, as they placed themselves at risk for the faith and to serve Christianity, an action that went beyond mere conquest.<sup>64</sup> The concept has not been fully developed, but is clear that it was there.

The idea of liberation that this conquest implied was also a new concept. This was a notion that was incorporated into the Hispanic tradition and one we see in the papal phraseology. At the end of 1088, Pope Urban used it to refer to the consequences of Christian conquest. Commenting on the conquest of Toledo, the Pope talked about the liberation of its church *de iure Sarracenorum*. While the Muslim invasion had brought the destruction of the church and the loss of the *libertas*, now it was the liberation that returned it, *restituta*, to those who had lost it, a return, as described above, to the pristine condition.<sup>65</sup> It is interesting that while this vocabulary is not found in the western areas, it already appeared in 1069 in the Aragonese setting, when Sancho Ramírez used it to describe the conquest of Alquézar and the efforts made by its conquerors.<sup>66</sup>

This terminology does not appear consistently in the western part of the Peninsula. This does not mean that there was no religious aspect to the peninsular war, as seen in the chronicles and documents from the Astur kingdom (where these have been studied for decades), or in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>67</sup> However, we find no conceptual development comparable to what happened in the eastern areas. The documentation of Alfonso VI still shows the limited spread of these perceptions. During his long reign, actions took place and links were established that should be analysed. The first aspect that should be highlighted is that these proposals are notably absent from the documents that imply links with Cluny, for example, the various royal endowments of the Burgundian monastery, which confirms Cluny's very passive posture regarding

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63. Cis of Flanders had died with some of his sons *in seruicio Dei et meo super defensionem corporis mei in posse sarracenorum* (January 1106), Lacarra, José María. *Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista...*: 39-40 (doc. No. 25).

64. Sancho and his son, recoaling the conquest of Monzón, granted privileges to the Estadillas: *facimus homines de Statella quod posuistis animas uestras ad seruicium Dei et fidei Ispanie cum Ihesuchristus dominus noster, simul cum suis sanctis...* (November, 1090), Lacarra, José María. *Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista...*: 17 (doc. No. 7). However, I have the impression that it should be read *fidei Xptiane* and not *fidei Ispanie*.

65. Mansilla, Demetrio. *La documentación pontificia...*: 39 and following ("Epistola", 24) and 43 and following ("Epistola", 27).

66. *adquisistis castrum Alquezar et tulistis ad sarracenorum pessime gentis et mihi libentissime liberastis* (27 April 1069, Canellas, Ángel. *Colección diplomática de Sancho Ramírez...*: 34-35 (doc. No. 17).

67. Although the basic causes and dynamics of the conflict between Christians and Moors in the Peninsula are similar and there are parallel protocols in any sacralisation of the war, it must be recalled that the processes of ideological justification have their development, obviously depending on the political and military requirements, etc. One should bear in mind José Luis Martín and his concern about seven centuries of Crusade (Martín, José Luis. "Reconquista y cruzada". *Studia Zamorensia*, 3 (1996): 215-241).



this.<sup>68</sup> The tenor of the documents concerns other questions, naturally the care of the deceased, and also seeking its intervention before the divinity.

Situations like the donation of churches in Toledo to Rome or, if anything, even more, the council of Husillos in 1088, did not generate a discourse with a great impact on these religious coordinates that we are collecting. The references in both cases are relatively generic, alluding to the Sarracen invasion and the ruin of the episcopates, or to the specific destruction of the church of San Servando in Toledo.<sup>69</sup>

This conquest had altered a situation. The Sarracen *invasio* had led to the destruction of temples, the abandoning of worship and, of course, the loss of the memory of ecclesiastic divisions,<sup>70</sup> ecclesiastic rights, of any structure of authority or possibility of development.<sup>71</sup> In 1097, those who drew up the narrative about the past thought that the barbarian impetus had dominated the Peninsula and had kept it oppressed for centuries, making any link with the vigorous Christian past disappear. Where the sacraments had been held before, it was said that demons were now called forth. The uniqueness of the Leonese kingdom was the political reading of its military activity. We have cited this above in the anonymous *Historia*, that we know as by the Seminense or the Pseudo-Pedro, where some of these ideas appear in a very structured way.<sup>72</sup> We can see these even more developed in the *Historia Compostelana*. This contrasts a past where the *Christiana religio* flourished until the arrival of the *tempus persecutionis*, when the Muslims made Christian worship disappear, with a new epoch in which the *restitutio* takes place and the Christian faithful returns to an earlier state.<sup>73</sup> It is at this point that we can say that the new parameters were adopted in the western areas.

Some scattered references to these ideologies can be found in some western documents. A Jacobean document from 1065 refers to the historical activity of Alfonso III conquering the lands of the gentiles, *de manu gentilium abstulit* and in

68. In this sense, Cantarino overvalued the role of Cluniacs in the Peninsula (Cantarino, Vicente. "The Spanish Reconquest: A Cluniac Holy War Against Islam?", *Islam and the Medieval West*, Khalil Semaan, ed. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1980: 82-109). More moderate was Erdmann (Erdmann, Carl. *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977: 68 and following). For the role of Cluny in the crusades: Iogna-Prat, Dominique. *Ordonner et exclure: Cluny et la société chrétienne face à l'hérésie, au judaïsme et à l'islam, 1000-1150*. Paris: Aubier, 1998: 324 and following.

69. The text of the council of Husillos in: Gamba, Andrés. *Alfonso VI. Cancillería, Curia e Imperio...*: 256-258 (doc. No. 97).

70. Fita, Fidel. "Texto correcto del concilio de Husillos". *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia*, 51 (1907): 410-413.

71. In 1082, Sancho Ramírez stated how the royal chapels had been postponed by his predecessors: *persecutis gentilium impeditis multis temporibus minus ordinate constiterat* (Durán, Antonio. *Colección diplomática de la Catedral de Huesca*: 61-63 (doc. No. 45)).

72. Isla, Amancio. "La *Historia* y el discurso sobre la guerra". *E-spania*, 14 (2012). 5 January 2013. Université Paris-4 Sorbonne. 4 October 2013 <<http://e-spania.revues.org/21666>>.

73. *Floruerat autem antiquitus in illo loco inter catholice fidei cultores Christiana religio, sed, tempore persecutionis ingruente et superba paganorum tyrannide Christiani nominis dignitatem conculcante, totus fere Christiane religionis cultus longo iam tempore inde euauerat. In toto igitur tempore Sarracenorum et longo etiam tempore post restitutionem fidelium...* (*Historia Compostelana*: I, 2; ed. Emma Falque, *Historia Compostelana*, Turnhout: Brepols, 1998: 8). The author refers to the finding of the apostolic sepulchre, but it is clear that the proposal presents his point of view about the Christian restoration.



which the *intercessio* of the apostle Santiago is highlighted.<sup>74</sup> However, it happens to be manipulated. Perhaps we must consider another, from the regal circles, in which some of the elements that we have highlighted are noted, namely the transfer of the see to Oca. The text makes reference to the church *ab impia ismaelitarum gente destructam*. It is not an extraordinary claim, but may be interpolated.<sup>75</sup>

In fact, in the writings from the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, when the reasons for the alleged state of disrepair that would justify restoration work are highlighted, mention is made of the years without government, the situation of political turmoil that meant that justice was not done. In some cases, the negligence of the hierarchy is emphasised.<sup>76</sup> A document from 1093 incorporates another older one, dated from 1085, and extols the conquering task of the kings. The text emphasises the divine grant of the triumph and thus confirms God's will regarding the endeavour, but there is nothing else.<sup>77</sup> What it subscribes to and admires is Alfonso's activity *expugnans omnes barbaras nationes* with God's help, a dynamic that is also described as seizing these cities from *de manibus sarrazenorum*.

The earliest notable mention in the line we are drawing is from a document from Toledo dated 18<sup>th</sup> December 1086. This is a pseudo-original that, according to Reilly, was embellished in the process of copying it. Gamba considers it suspicious and, in fact, the presence of some confirmants suggests this.<sup>78</sup> Elements that we have highlighted

74. 10 June 1065, Blanco, Pilar. "Colección diplomática de Fernando I...": 187-188 (doc. No. 74); Lucas, Manuel. *La documentación del Tumbo A...*: 191-194 (doc. No. 69). However, there are some problems with the document: being a donation to Bishop Cresconio, a note is added that mentions him in the past (*qui tunc sedem Sancti Iacobi regebat*). This note is undoubtedly posterior. The text is dated in 1063, but, given that Pelayo was then bishop of León, its date is usually put back to 1065, but he was still then not bishop in March of that year. Jimeno still governed in March and April of that year (Ruiz, José Manuel. *Colección documental del Archivo de la Catedral de León...*: 356-358 (doc. No. 1134) and Herrero de la Fuente, Marta. *Colección documental del monasterio de Sahagún*. Leon: Centro de Estudios e Investigación "San Isidoro", 1988: II, 350-351 (doc. No. 641). All this makes the affair somewhat more complex and tends to suggest alteration of the document. It stress the interpretation difficulties because there was not any other witness from the bishop and the titulation of the king is just *Legionensis rex*; the monarch could call himself *princeps* or *rex in Legionem*, but this reference that was not part of the political coordinates of the time is anomalous. The confirmants and date must have been copied in Coimbra, giving rise to a donation that, included in the Livro Preto, does not appear among the documents in Tumbo A. We can accept the existence of this journey, perhaps before Pelayo's ordination, being written some years later and including language that was not necessarily that of the time.

75. This was dealt with by Luciano Serrano, who emphasised the leading roles of Urraca and Elvira, who in July 1074 payed the building of the church of Gamonal, where Oca was transferred to, and granted it to Bishop Jimeno (Serrano, Luciano. *El obispado de Burgos y Castilla primitiva desde el siglo V al XIII*, Madrid: Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, 1935: I, 290 and following). Reilly warned (Reilly, Bernard. *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI (1065-1109)*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988: 98) about some of the problems this letter presented, as we know it, and Gamba coincides with this evaluation.

76. 18 February 1085, Caverio, Gregoria; Martín, Encarnación. *Colección documental de la catedral de Astorga...*: 339-345 (doc. No. 435); *negligentia et impotentia pastorum...*

77. 29 May 1085, Gamba, Andrés. *Alfonso VI. Cancillería, Curia e Imperio...*: 214-218 (doc. No. 83); *stetitque super eam quousque dominus eam illi tribuit in suo dominio...*

78. Carlos Ayala has perhaps a more condescending view (Ayala, Carlos de. "Reconquista, cruzada y órdenes militares". *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre*, 2 (2008): 6). For Gamba, this was an *apócrifo* o *manipulado* ("apocryphal or manipulated") document.



can be found in the text: a historical perception that refers back to a long occupation by a blasphemous people. There is emphasis on this behaviour against places that are holy for the Christians, with a clear allusion to the churches. The theme is combined with that of historical rights, as the city had been the seat of Alfonso's ancestors and thus, the line is maintained that advocates its recovery for historical reasons.

What is evident is that some of these stances against the Moors reappeared in successive years. In 1088 and in the context of the donation of San Servando in Toledo to Rome, the references to the destruction of an extramural sector of the city *a barbaris et paganis* are again highlighted. The same occurred in the script from 1089 referring to the see of Santa María, but here perhaps there is not so much the indication of an event, but more a way of understanding the Muslim presence as the cause of the destruction of the churches.<sup>79</sup> This document from Toledo contains elements that are already familiar, namely destruction by the Muslims, the restoration that implied the buildings being again consecrated as churches, and the granting of mosques. In 1091, the old idea of the destruction of the episcopal sees reappeared and, with it, the need to remedy the situation, although the *sarracenorum ferocitas* was held responsible for it.<sup>80</sup> In other words, a perception that the kingdom was entering more into conflict was making its presence felt, a perception perhaps also more insecure regarding the process of expansion. We find it reasonable to understand that the defeat at Zalaca and the Almoravid menace served to develop these elements.

From the 1090s, it becomes common in Alfonsine documentation to find a request for divine help against the monarch's enemies. It usually takes the form of imploring *super inimicis meis Ysmaheliticis uindictam*<sup>81</sup> or, in a similar vein, *contra gentem paganam oracionum uestrarum instancia possim iuuari*.<sup>82</sup> The idea of a more turbulent war revolving around religious faith became slowly enshrined. In the final years of that decade, Alfonso recalled the great efforts and calamities he had borne, the abundant financial resources and many Christian lives the "liberation" of Toledo *a paganorum perfidia* had cost<sup>83</sup> and in 1100, he urged the Apostle to help him to conquer the *pagani* and submit the Muslim faith to his yoke.<sup>84</sup>

In short, one must wait until around 1085 for these elements to appear that would develop further in later years, a slow movement, of course, if we compare it with what

79. 9 November 1089, Gamba, Andrés. *Alfonso VI. Cancillería, Curia e Imperio...*: 264-266 (doc. No. 101).

80. 10 November 1091, Ruiz, José Manuel. *Colección documental del Archivo de la Catedral de León, IV (1032-1109)*. Leon: Centro de Estudios e Investigación "San Isidoro", 1990: 553-556 (doc. No. 1260). Herrero de la Fuente, Marta. *Colección documental del monasterio de Sahagún*. Leon: Centro de estudios e Investigación "San Isidoro", 1988: III, 199 (doc. No. 885).

81. 13 April 1094, Gamba, Andrés. *Alfonso VI. Cancillería, Curia e Imperio...*: 335-337 (doc. No. 131). This could show the rise of some Cluniac influence. In his letter to Abbot Paterno, Odilo of Cluny had referred to his constant prayers for the expulsion of the *pagani*. Odonis Cluniacensis. "Epistola II", *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne. Paris: Garnier Fratres-J.P. Migne sucesores, 1880: CXLII, col. 941 and the followings. Erdmann had already warned about this. Erdmann, Carl. *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade...*: 68).

82. 14 April 1097, Gamba, Andrés. *Alfonso VI. Cancillería, Curia e Imperio...*: 362-364 (doc. No. 141).

83. 13 February [1098-99] Gamba, Andrés. *Alfonso VI. Cancillería, Curia e Imperio...*: 393-397 (doc. No. 152).

84. 16 January 1100, Lucas, Manuel. *La documentación del Tumbo A...*: 194-196 (doc. No. 70); Gamba, Andrés. *Alfonso VI. Cancillería, Curia e Imperio...*: 400-402 (doc. No. 154).





happened in the eastern part of the Peninsula. I do not believe that the only reason for this delay was a significantly lesser exposure of the Leonese kingdom to the general evolution of Western Europe. I believe that one must think that the crusadist proposals supplied a justification for the war against, and conquest of, the Muslims. However, the Leonese kingdom already had its legitimating discourse, which was the recovery of the kingdom of the Goths, the return to the original kingdom, a full restoration in the sense indicated above. The fact that this crusadist discourse progressed faster in the years after Zalaca-Sagrajas seems to indicate that it encountered greater possibilities to grow to the extent that trajectory of the kingdom and its dynamics encountered difficulties and all the edges became sharper. This would probably require all the ideological strength available to it. The military activity of the monarch and his armies grew in importance in these documents.<sup>85</sup>

Much has been written about the Alfonsine political project and, for our part, we have reinforced its particular reading of it as the recovery of the Visigoth kingdom. From this viewpoint, it did not need to convert a proposal that could substitute the earlier one into a central explanation and one that would lead him to lose many legitimating elements, especially from being so close to the aristocratic turmoil. The king was descended from legitimate Gothic kings and, as such, had full rights to recover what had been their *regnum*. A simple Christian reading opened the rights to any Charlemagne who wanted to wage war in the Peninsula, while the traditional narrative reinforced the rights of the heirs to the Gothic kings. However, the deterioration of this Gothist starting point, the failure of the Alfonsine political project and the upsurge of Muslim pressure encouraged a language closer to others that were frequent at that time. In the eastern territories, to the extent that these Gothist proposals were weaker, while it was necessary to attract human contingents for the conquest and also, clearly, given that they were more open to influences from across the Pyrenees, the crusading proposals were much more quickly assimilated.

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85. Also, 8-May-1107, Gamba, Andrés. *Alfonso VI. Cancillería, Curia e Imperio...*: 478-481 (doc. No. 188).

