The MEDITERRANEAN WORLD of ALFONSO II and PETER II of ARAGON (1162-1213)

Ernest E. Jenkins

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To my parents,
my aunt, and my uncle

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PREFACE

While poring over documents, texts, and studies concerning the Mediterranean world of the high Middle Ages, I gradually realized that my understanding of the developments improved as I broadened the focus of my investigations. This book emanates from my conviction that the thirteenth, twelfth, eleventh, and tenth centuries benefit from the same kind of regional study that the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries frequently receive. What distinguishes those later centuries, of course, is a rise in the availability of source materials. I have endeavored to consider the source materials for an earlier period in light of other resources, gleaned from both primary and secondary sources.

support they have given me for the duration of this project. I truly appreciate the assistance and support of Deepa John and her colleagues at Newgen Imaging Systems. I also thank the anonymous readers of an earlier version of the book for their useful insights and suggestions.

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To Richard J. Schoeck, I owe a special debt of gratitude. Over numerous lunches and conversations he helped me see the forest I might have missed had I focused only on each individual tree. He introduced me to new ways of conceiving of this—or any—project, bringing to bear upon an endeavor the fruit of a lifetime of writing, reading, thinking, and sharing. The gifts of his friendship and his support have been invaluable. He did not live long enough to see this project come to completion, but I am grateful for the perspectives and pathways he shared with me.

My parents, aunt, and uncle have supported and believed in me from the beginning. My debt to them is considerable indeed, and the dedication of this book to them is only a partial reflection of my gratitude to them and for them.

Wherever possible, I have tried to provide English forms for the names in this study. The few exceptions occur when a name has no English equivalent or where a name has become so famous in its original form that an English equivalent would obscure rather than enhance understanding.

CHAPTER 1

THE MEDITERRANEAN
MATRIX OF CONNECTIONS FOR
ALFONSO II AND PETER II

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries represent a time of dynamism and change, a time of development and opportunity, a time of local growth and regional promise. Rulers, nobles, prominent families, merchants, clergy, monks, and others worked to take advantage of new opportunities they found or discovered that they could cultivate. During this period, a kingdom and a series of counties moved from being close neighbors and frequent associates to a closer partnership within the early, growing federated Crown of Aragon. Much of the work to achieve this greater stability and opportunity occurred during the reigns of Alfonso II of Aragon (1162–1196) and his son Peter II of Aragon (1196–1213), and these two reigns of father and son lend this work its primary chronological focus. The early Crown of Aragon underwent a number of changes during this period, particularly regarding its interaction with the Mediterranean world. Internal developments assisted in that transition, and those included such trends as enhancing key alliances among families, working more closely with the papacy and other ecclesiastical officials, enriching connections throughout southern France (also known as the Midi), and reinforcing the collaboration between count-king and nobles. Yet the sources most revealing about the internal workings of the Crown of Aragon are, by themselves, insufficient for appreciating the scope and potential of these developments. Considering a wide array of sources, from diverse times and of diverse types, illuminates more directly the diligence and tenacity with which Alfonso II and Peter II sought to enhance their Mediterranean regional network.

One major theme of this book is that the desire for unity represents a major, significant undertaking for a society undergoing a vast degree of swift change. New commercial and economic opportunities opened up by the agricultural revolution and the attendant revival of Western commerce after the year 1000 offered a powerful locus for these changes and helped spark dynamic advances thence forward. The immediate consequences are well known: a population increase shortly after the year 1000; improved access to foodstuffs and the improved means to distribute them; increased production and productivity; mass transfer of goods, especially those in bulk; and surpluses of food and the ability to store those surpluses successfully.[1] Indeed, these characteristics were important for world history as a whole and helped characterize the transition from villages to cities. Once the cities were present, managing surpluses remained an important consideration. The biblical story of Joseph opening the granaries of Egypt provides an ancient, scriptural analogy to these medieval developments.

Yet a society moving in these directions could produce—and produce quite easily or quickly—marginalized groups. Those groups included those who believed that they had no real stake in the societal advances described in the previous paragraph. Surely they included groups such as the poor and others economically disadvantaged, and eventually the great efforts earlier medieval prelates and others had undertaken to see to their care and assistance—Saint Ambrose of Milan in particular—continued to bear fruit, both in canon law and in the formation of new religious communities. Advances in ecclesiastical circles yielded enhanced positions for some members of the clergy as well as these communities. Many have observed the complex statuses women enjoyed, especially as some of them would lose the chance to marry clergy once the adherents of the Gregorian Reform movement secured, over time, a celibate secular clergy to complement the celibate monastic clergy. That development can serve as an indicator of some broader developments in this regard. Yet the work of women could still yield important benefits, whether within the household, within groups negotiating marriage and diplomatic alliances, within the growing courts of nobles and rulers, or within society generally. One challenge persisted in the midst of all these opportunities: finding ways for women to stabilize and augment their efficacy within their society. Indeed, men not in advantaged positions were encountering similar opportunities and similar challenges.

The additional possibility arose that the interests of women and clergy could converge. They both wished to take advantage of challenges and opportunities. A society also needed to find ways to accommodate the attempts of people to bridge the social gaps that arose among

them whenever necessary. The area of spirituality is a fertile domain for examining these developments.

In the High Middle Ages—as well as the early Middle Ages, late antiquity, and the early church—members of Christian communities took great inspiration from the passage in Acts 4:32–37 where the author of Luke-Acts described the early Christian community gathered in Jerusalem. There the members worked with great unity of purpose and collaborative effort, and all members of the community shared their resources with each other, so successfully that no member went in need. That ideal of sharing, togetherness, and unity remained a powerful point of inspiration during the Middle Ages. The advances and challenges of the High Middle Ages brought the ideal back with renewed emphasis. This ideal helped generate an emphasis upon the term denoting the "apostolic life," the *vita apostolica*. The term *vita apostolica* itself, of course, is a descriptive term that carries with it a wide range of meanings. These meanings focus on such ideals as poverty, sharing, and unity. To these attributes one can add social justice, recapturing the spirit of a former age of success, and imitating the good and worthy examples of the apostles and, in short order, that of Jesus himself. Given the range of these ideals, one challenge that these societies confronted was the degree to which the interests of women, the laity, the poor, and the marginalized could be accommodated within the system and thereby include them more fully and effectively in the fabric of society.

The intellectual preparation for these developments, especially regarding the availability of new and newly translated texts from a number of points in the Mediterranean world, helped make these interests accessible for a number of religious communities. With respect to the availability of texts as well as the production of new ones, members of Jewish, Christian, and Muslim communities would all play crucial roles. This formation of new opportunities for those communities would give all a chance to close those social gaps and, in the process, reinforce the prospect that they (including women and members of new religious groups) had of playing crucial roles in the continued formation and growth of their communities.

Along with the creation of new texts went the creation of new themes, or at least new resources to explore familiar themes. Many scholars investigated opportunities for community enhancement. The possibility of finding and maintaining ways of enhancing community prosperity remained a consistent concern during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Alfonso II, for example, encountered this possibility in March 1167, when he explored an aspect of these regional interests as he and William VII of Montpellier acknowledged a debt they owed

to Guillermo Leiterico, apparently a banker, of 1,500 *morabetinos*. At the beginning of the document, William describes himself as Alfonso's *curator* and *procurator*.[2] Thus, in addition to suggesting ties linking Barcelona to Montpellier—two prominent Mediterranean cities by the twelfth century—William implies a close connection between these two leaders as well. The *morabetin*, additionally, was an Almoravid gold coin, with a consistent circulation during this period.[3]

Financial matters brought Alfonso and officials from Genoa together at Arles in October 1167. There they revised the debt that Alfonso had assumed from Raymond Berenguer IV, owed to these Genoese officials. These debts may have arisen from the assistance the Genoese had provided for the capture of Tortosa, or they may have arisen from other commercial enterprises involving these parties. Raymond Berenguer IV owed each Genoese official a different amount, and given the size of the amounts, the activities that produced them would have been extensive.[4] Thus, this document raises the issue of Mediterranean commerce and connectivity.

Mediterranean communities, both Muslim and Christian, compose the main concern of a document detailing an agreement between Alfonso and Sancho the Strong of Navarre on December 19, 1168, at Sangüesa. They pledged to support each other against the king of Murcia, an important Muslim city in Southern Iberia.[5] This document sheds light on two areas: competition among the rulers of the Northern Iberian kingdoms and the relationships between the Muslim and Christian communities of the Iberian Peninsula. The king of Murcia was Ibn Mardanish. He was the leader of the Iberian Muslims who opposed the advance of the Almohads throughout Iberia. In 1165, Ibn Mardanish suffered a defeat at the hands of Caliph Abu Ya'qub Yusuf (1163–1184). From then until his death in 1172, his power declined, and his supporters began to make their own peace agreements with the Almohads. As long as he provided resistance to the Almohads, they were unable to focus their energies on a major campaign against Toledo and thereby apply pressure to the kingdom of Castile.[6] This agreement between two rulers of Northern Iberia appeared at a time of competition and potential weakness for the Muslim forces. It also appeared in an atmosphere of competition within both Muslim and Christian communities during the twelfth century.

Supporting peace remained a perennial ideal throughout the Middle Ages, and it remains, of course, a key idea indicating stability for communities and prosperity for their inhabitants. It suggests a community and a people enjoying harmonious or at least beneficial relationships with their neighbors and a society enjoying such unity of purpose and organization that there is no need for the society to be at war.

Indeed this characteristic appears in the Beatitudes of Jesus: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they will be called children of God."[7] Peace and peacemakers remained highly respected among Christian communities (as well as Jewish and Islamic communities). Part of the organizational success for the *Rule of St. Benedict*, for example, stems from its flexibility and the attention Benedict gave to ensuring that monasteries inspired by his example would foster peaceful relationships among their members. One can view Augustine's *City of God* as a guide to finding a way back to a position of peace at a time when the urban fabric of Rome was fractured, Christian communities faced divisions among themselves, and the continuity of the Roman tradition appeared to face a very serious threat.[8] For Augustine, the sacking of Rome in 410 only provided a visual, immediate, and communal manifestation of this broader social and spiritual destabilization. Thus, whether dealing with the challenge of fifth-century Rome, the general upheavals of war, or the aftermath of the disintegration of the Carolingian Empire, the responses to war and conflict provoked much thought, speculation, and activity for those dealing with these challenging trends during the early Middle Ages.

These trends, additionally, raise a conceptual ambiguity. When discussing movements designed to respond to these social upheavals such as the Peace and Truce of God, it can be challenging for investigators to understand the specific desires and efforts on behalf of establishing truces and enhancing peace. When the Peace of God movement began in southern France and northeastern Iberia in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, it began at a time of competition among the counts and other territorial leaders. Historians examining it have pinpointed a number of ways to understand and assess the contours of the movement. First, the adherents of the Peace of God wished to enhance peace itself. This frames the most basic level of conceptualization of the desire for peace on either side of the millennium. In stressing this part of the movement, considerations of ways of fostering peace as well as the absence of peace loom large. Peace is the antidote to war, helps provide the antithesis to instability, and encourages cooperation among the inhabitants of a given territory. Peace, therefore, helps stop or prevent war, and it helps enhance the stability of a community. Second, the Peace and Truce movements could be used to help advance the objectives of clerics, especially in the monastery of Cluny. In their view, adherents of the movement had aims that merged very well with the Cluniac reform movement. Monks of Cluny, therefore, used their support, their emissaries, and the houses affiliated with them to spread ideals of reform, of an engaged laity, and of a renewed convergence between the laity and clergy; and to spread the work of fostering peace to curb local disputes and promote the interaction

of all the aforementioned ideals within their societies. Subsequent investigations have revealed interesting connections linking Cluny and the broader efforts of societal reform and connectivity,[9] but the specific origins of support for Cluny and the Peace movement are more tentative and generally complex than many investigators once believed. If indeed that is true, then it is important to consider the role of the Peace and Truce movements related to support and work for reform efforts. This includes the Cluniac era. Third, it now appears that support for the Peace and Truce movements may have had an even stronger local component than investigators once stressed. If the observations in option two are correct regarding the specific articulation linking Cluny and the Peace and Truce movements, then one additional area to examine is what that meant for members of the respective communities. Scholars are gaining a much more nuanced picture of the workings and activities of counts, dukes, and other local rulers in the early Middle Ages. The picture that writers such as Gregory of Tours and Bede present for us actually discloses a dynamic and dynamically developing culture, in which many aspects of the relationship between public and private authorities as well as between secular and regular clergy were still getting worked out. If reform efforts could involve the collaboration of many of the figures outlined here, these efforts could also mean many things for each area, each community, or each region where leaders embraced reform ideals. These reformers therefore could have shared much, especially considering the role of mutual aims when it came to forming and advancing their policies. In this study, I show that such shared aims were critical for the continued development of those communities and that broader considerations such as reform—in many aspects—could give important shape and direction to these varied goals. Regional interests and development add much to these considerations.

The connections among popes, other ecclesiastical officials, and the laity are instructive on these points. During the tenth and eleventh centuries, Cluny had a series of four able and distinguished abbots. During the eleventh century—particularly with Hugh of Semur as abbot of Cluny—the abbots of Cluny enjoyed close personal friendships with a series of reforming popes. Many of these popes were monks who had formative experience working within the Cluniac system, and having allies with this level of capability and consistency was very important during the eleventh century. Even if earlier investigators of the period exaggerated any direct Cluniac influence on the Gregorian Reform movement, it is worth remembering that the participants highly valued the personal connections and friendships they developed, and the reform ethos gave them a foundation of spiritual strength necessary to

enact reforms in the midst of a period rife with both opportunities and challenges.[10]

Though usually discussed in the context of religious theory, organization, and practice, the idea of reform helped create a rather complex movement, even when connected to the conventionally named Gregorian Reform movement. This specific reform movement combined strands of influence from the monastery of Cluny, the practices of the city of Rome, ascetic movements on the Italian peninsula, and new legal concepts stemming from the legal revival often accompanying new practices in administration.[11] Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, for example, saw the pope as an imitator of the apostles, who did not judge but rather were themselves judged. When necessary, however, he linked the pope's ability to judge to spiritual matters and held that the leader of the ecclesiastical community was primarily a teacher of spirituality. This leader, furthermore, was skilled in the practices of humility, charity, and contemplation.[12] Saint Bernard thus played an important role in stressing the spiritual power of the papacy in the midst of its own reform.[13] One can consider his *De consideratione*, a treatise he wrote for Pope Eugenius III, as a call for the exercise of humility along with the exercise of power for the papacy, and that is an exemplar of the broader reform effort.[14]

The traditional explanation for the genesis and continuation of the Peace of God has held that it arose during a time of general instability in western Europe. That instability took a number of forms, whether it was the failure of secular leadership, the beginning of early ideas that would help spark heretical movements some generations later, the excitement and fear attending the turn of the millennium, or the way that lords and nobles exploited the labor contributions of those who worked lands on their estates. The Peace movement, therefore, was an attempt on the part of the clergy to step into this breach and offer techniques of order and support to help contain the conflicts and then reverse them toward the pathways of peace.

Some historians have sought additional explanations for this movement, focusing instead on the events and trends operating in locales. These historians have argued that "many contributions linked the late Carolingian world and the late eleventh century."[15] The changes that occurred, therefore, were not as important as the continuities. What linked eleventh-century society with its Carolingian predecessors included, in particular, the survivability of Carolingian legal traditions. This means that the ways of delivering justice did not change radically around 1000, nor did the importance of reliquaries at Peace councils. Both trends had Carolingian precedents. The narrative sources suggesting that the Peace movement responded to a crisis have remained highly influential. Some

historians have argued that the general climate of chaos often assumed to have been present simply was not, in fact, there. Indeed, some have also discussed the linkages between Peace councils and Carolingian government.[16]

Some of the central themes for this study appear in these considerations, such as the role of collaboration, the survivability of institutions and ways of working with and within these institutions, and the animating force of a tradition. When considered in light of the evidence from charters, narrative sources, and even saints' lives where applicable, this process could help create another example of the formation and activity of a textual community.[17]

Such issues could appear at the beginning of the reign of a ruler, such as Alfonso II, for example. On February 7, 1163, during the year following the death of his father, Raymond Berenguer IV, Alfonso II met with his curia in Barcelona. Early in the charter detailing the meeting, Alfonso indicated that this was the first curia held in Barcelona since his father's death. Fourteen members of the curia are indicated in the document, though the bishops of Girona, Vic, Zaragoza, and Tortosa are given only by their titles. Only Bishop William of Barcelona—first in the list—is indicated specifically among the bishops. This may indicate a prominent role for him among the bishops and among Alfonso's advisers. Also note William Raymond *dapifer*, who was actually William Raymond II, the "Great Seneschal" of Catalonia—*dapifer* is another term for seneschal.[18] This text also indicates that this charter is for all the Christian inhabitants of Barcelona. As Alfonso confirmed those measures, he also said he would remove the "bad usages" so that the Christian inhabitants of Barcelona could live in security.[19] This measure connects to the broader aim of providing justice. Thus, the curia at Barcelona in February 1163 raises a number of issues, including the stability and consistency of Alfonso's advisers during his minority and beyond, their effectiveness in working together, and ultimately, the social and intellectual forces helping to shape justice throughout the realm.

Soon after the February 7 meeting of the curia at Barcelona, another session met there on February 13, 1163. This session presents information about the renunciation by Robert Burdet and his wife, Agnes, of their part of Tarragona. Their renunciation happened in Tarragona itself, and the archbishop of Tarragona and bishop of Barcelona brought this measure to the curia at Barcelona for final approval from Alfonso II and his regency council. Key issues arising within this document include the configuration of the curia, provisions for administering a key city offering opportunities to reformulate an active Christian community in Tarragona, the role of Normans in helping the process happen, and the opportunity

Tarragona provided for continued Mediterranean expansion. Robert and his wife, Agnes, transferred and renounced their part of Tarragona, formerly given to them by Raymond Berenguer IV. Originally Robert was to hold and administer these areas on behalf of the count of Barcelona. Major prelates of Catalonia were present as witnesses, including the archbishop of Tarragona and the bishops of Barcelona and Vic. The presence of the former Norman adventurer Robert Burdet and Agnes, along with Peter of Carcassonne in the witness list, shows that Catalonia was expanding its reach into other areas of the Mediterranean.[20] Indeed, the collaborative aspect of the Second Crusade was an important factor in its success, and some of the places where campaigns of this crusade met with success include Lisbon, Tortosa, and Lérida. Fostering ways to continue these connections—and this success—would occupy the counts of Barcelona during the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Thus the work for peace could include many more dimensions than an interest in stopping or preventing warfare, as important as these were. They appeared within a series of contexts, whether in that of a local dispute, local interest in reform, the diocesan interests of a bishop, the regional interests of an archbishop, the local and regional interests of counts and dukes, and the geographical and spiritual interests of monks, clergy, and laity. While these activities continued, scholars and practitioners continued reading, reflecting upon, and commenting upon classic texts, such as the selection from Matthew in the Beatitudes where Jesus proclaims the blessed status of peacemakers. Thus the local and regional, public and private, sacred and secular interests converge in fascinating ways. The techniques of prosopography, regional analysis, geographic connectivity, and development of spirituality will help explore these convergences. In this way, therefore, it is possible to consider, from a different angle, the importance and animating force of Brian Stock's idea of textual communities, and in this case, the textual communities help form focal points for the continued development of their societies with respect to the dual interests in both reform and peace.

These discussions occurred within an atmosphere of liminality. Liminality is a complex, challenging term, with many connotations. It is worth remembering that *limes*, in classical Latin, indicated ancient Roman boundary markers. These markers could appear within plots of land to indicate where one estate ended and the next one began. They also could have formed fortified boundaries for settlements or cities. Related words reflecting similar concepts include the *limen*, denoting a threshold, door, or (by extension) the beginning or end of an endeavor. Additionally, though *limitaneus* could describe something on the borders, it could also help denote military forces on the frontier.[21] For the medieval period,

the Roman military frontier along the Rhine and Danube Rivers formed one of the classic boundary areas. This is a term useful also for describing the general boundaries separating the Western Roman provinces from the Germanic groups, and more specifically, the Emperor Justinian was interested in creating a *limes* along the North African coast to cement the military success of his general Belisarius against the Vandals in 533.[22]

This attention to terminology helps account for some ambiguity in the term *liminality*, and this is the kind of ambiguity that results when one can interpret a concept in more than one way. In these key terms from classical Latin, the term *limes* could acquire connotations of a boundary or threshold, a threshold passage, the passage itself, or a force of military personnel working in a frontier region. These connotations helped give the term a sixteenth-century meaning of material placed at the beginning of a book or, even more recently, the threshold of awareness.[23] Clifford Geertz has taken this a step further in his consideration of the intersection of ritual, kings, and charisma across societies. Geertz's point that "not every progress is that of a Pilgrim" is a point well taken, for indeed not all journeys take the specific form of a pilgrimage. But it is equally true that pilgrimage can be understood as a metaphor in a number of circumstances, from the inner journey of the mind or the soul of the type that Saint Bonaventure or Ibn 'Arabi would have described to the inner journey and transformation that took place during an actual journey, and the two kinds of journeys would thereby converge. We find this type of journey given classic expression in the *hajj*, or annual pilgrimage to Mecca undertaken by Muslims who are able to make the trip.

Geertz has other key points to make here, though, and these also flow from his wish to separate the specific idea of pilgrimage from the broader concepts of spiritual efficacy and progress. He describes the case of a fourteenth-century narrative poem, the *Negarakertagama*. In its cosmic vision, it provides a way of imagining the organizational structure of Java. Geertz also holds that it gives a good delineation of "Indonesian statecraft." The image of the king is at the center of this conceptualization. Geertz says that the basic principle of Indonesian statecraft—with the court as a copy of the cosmos, the realm as a copy of the court, and the king "liminally suspended" between the two areas—is the key. The king occupies "the center and apex" of the "political mandala" that presents the structure of Indonesian society in the fourteenth century. In this, the king has a liminal position.[24]

The question raised implicitly in Geertz's presentation stems from the ambiguity of the king's position. The king is at the center of the political world Geertz has termed a "political mandala," and with that phrasing, Geertz emphasizes the combined political and spiritual significances of

the imagery he presents. The king, though, may have additional roles not fully explained with the image of the political mandala. For example, if indeed the king is a liminal figure, then the king retains some properties that pertain to the divine realm and the human realm if, as a liminal figure, it is important for the king to retain properties inherent for both groups.

That paradox of containing both natures as well as neither, at the same time, drives much of the commentary on liminality that carries the conception of the term beyond its traditional connotation of a transitory or transitional stage, as important as that is. These additional meanings include liminal as suggesting community; therefore, all those who are in that community share characteristics that mark them as distinctive with respect to other groups, so their liminality is communal. In contrast, liminal can suggest those who are different from their surrounding communities, so much so that those differences mark them out as separate from their neighbors; consequently, their liminality is separate and distinctive. Thus we have the paradox of a term that can mean two related but opposite things. Liminality, therefore, is a complex term. One way of approaching it for the immediate context here is to consider one role of geography in helping to frame and shape Catalan society. At the level of the family and household in modern Javanese society, the social structures present are flexible and focus on the nuclear families providing the basic foundation for social, economic, and emotional support, along with the resources for making decisions.[25] Yet these very social structures have enough flexibility to accommodate collaboration (such as for irrigation projects), representation of families in rituals, and neighborhood cooperation. These last two examples occasionally link people from different religious and economic backgrounds. At the level of the leaders, though, more group cohesion exists; thus complex structures have existed for this society across different levels of societal organization,[26] whether at the royal level during the fourteenth century or the household level during the twentieth. Similarly, the liminal position of Catalonia, geographically and culturally, appears in ways that have opened avenues of investigation for many over the years.

Part of the challenge in addressing medieval social networks consists in striking a balance between metaphorical and analytical discussions of the concept. The metaphorical approach establishes the links and their constancy throughout that society, whereas the analytical approach details how these linkages affect the behavior of the individuals in these networks.[27] For the time period under consideration here, the survivability of evidence does not always allow for a concentrated look at how these networks functioned, but it is possible to sustain a focus on metaphor and

analysis. For attention to both will illuminate the contours of this soci-
ety and demonstrate that it was well attuned to creating and sustaining
sophisticated social networks. Both Alfonso and Peter worked to aug-
ment and reshape the social networks they found.

Distance plays a role here, too: this is true when dealing with a rela-
tively restricted geographical area, such as one indicated by a hamlet or
village; a larger area, indicated by an urban center; or even larger, a col-
lection of settlements including villages, towns, cities, and countrysides.
Distance and relative size also affect the crux of the social networks under
examination, whether households, family networks, or regional societies.
All will receive some consideration here, though I will focus especially
upon family networks and regional societies. Part of the task that Alfonso
and Peter set for themselves was finding ways of harmonizing the family
networks and the regional societies in which these networks operated.

Merging the studies of family networks and regional societies helps
animate the rich, complementary fields of social networks and pros-
opography. Prosopography denotes group biography, and one can focus
its results on a number of different characteristics. Assigning specific
"roles"[28] to members of these networks is not an easy task, given that
some of them, especially Peter II, took advantage of opportunities to
change their objectives as their policies and aims shifted. We also have
to account for the interactions among individuals, groups, and institu-
tions. Although these can be considered separately,[29] part of the aim in
this study is to consider them together. If participants in these societies
thought of their families, for example, as extended kinship groups rather
than as mostly nuclear families the way we do, then it will be important
to widen the scope of investigation as much as possible to accommodate
the developments. Thus this study will incorporate insights gleaned from
two predominant ways of investigating social networks: First, a focus
on the pattern of linkages across the network will help in assessing the
potential for greater cohesion across that network. Second, the focus will
include descriptions of the behavior of individuals trying to advance and
alter their plans for working with that network. This pattern is useful for
detailing patterns of political action.[30]

One can understand the concept of anchorage[31] in various ways:
the Mediterranean area anchors the perspective of the region and the
environment for the range of activities under investigation here. The
regions of the Crown of Aragon and southern France serve as the primary
political and geographical referents within that system. Both Alfonso II
and Peter II provide focal points for the personal anchors in this study.
Content, purposes, and stability[32] will help establish the presence and
durability of the social networks that Alfonso and Peter attempted to

sustain. Linkages among people help establish patterns of reciprocity and patronage,[33] important considerations for medieval societies. These connections and patterns thus assist in working out the larger structures of relationships and the contributions of those relationships to the articulation of the societies in which they arise.[34]

The region where these networks operated, or perhaps the fusion of a series of microregions, is very important. The Mediterranean Sea forms an important connecting component of this study, and indeed, many observers have viewed this sea as a connector of communities over time. Socrates saw the peoples living around the sea as an array of frogs gathered around a pond,[35] and as early as the last four centuries before the Common Era, cities such as Athens and Rhodes took central positions in Mediterranean commerce by specializing in grain trade and banking services.[36] They also specialized in trading such crucial commodities as oil and wine. Cities composed a significant part of the Roman Empire as early as the second century of the Common Era. These cities had areas attached to them that roughly corresponded to the layout of ancient city-states or to lands that Romans assigned to cities in Italy or to cities in the provinces.[37] These cities, additionally, shared strong central governing structures to assist them in allocating resources and organizing communities.[38] Ultimately the Mediterranean gave the Roman Empire its most essential quality of unity, and it also became a vehicle for supporting the interplay of ideas, religious institutions, and commercial life throughout the region.[39]

The shores of the Mediterranean, therefore, focused the political lives of the communities surrounding it. Roads from the provinces brought traffic that converged upon the sea, and a series of major cities were either on the sea or located near to it.[40] Some of the cities were large and prosperous towns supporting commerce and industry, and they served as centers for river and sea traffic. A number of them also supported merchants participating in caravan trade. Other cities, in contrast, were centers of agricultural districts; they could have been provincial capitals or other parts of provinces. These cities also were centers of commerce and could have been located near the intersections of important trade routes. The rivers located near them were usually navigable.[41] The provinces supported a high degree of commerce, and this commercial activity was the source of a significant degree of wealth especially for the large maritime and riverine cities. Inscriptions from the period give names for merchants and details about their businesses. Most of them "dealt in foodstuffs, especially corn, wine, and oil, in metals, lumber, clothes, and pottery." Cultivators living in the Iberian Peninsula produced some of the largest quantities of high-quality olive oil, available for export to

Britain, Gaul, Italy, and other locations.[42] Commerce in the provinces
grew during the early Roman Empire, ably supported by a strong net-
work of roads and rivers in Gaul. Gaul reached a high level of prosperity
during the second century,[43] reaching success with its commercial, agri-
cultural, and industrial ventures. Inscriptions also indicate the presence of
collegia (associations) of merchants and shipowners, whose activities began
early and spread as early as the reign of Emperor Claudius. At the same
time, the prominence of the work of the *collegia* in Ostia, the port linking
Rome to the Mediterranean, grew.[44] Generally during the period of the
early Roman Empire—including its later phases—travel security by both
road and river, "the absence of high customs-duties, and above all the
splendid system of Roman roads produced an efflorescence of provincial
commerce never seen before."[45] Trading networks in the Mediterranean
remained strikingly durable throughout late antiquity and the central
Middle Ages. These networks linked both the Eastern and Western
Mediterranean areas. In the East, the networks maintained a particularly
robust level of activity, and in the West, they remained active even dur-
ing periods of stress in other respects, such as a series of invasions during
the ninth century. Those invasions did not drastically disrupt the general
patterns of commercial activity.[46] Thus the Mediterranean brought much
cultural unity to the experience of the sea, and much of its maritime
activity had its center and origin in the East.[47]

   This unity that the sea supported provided additional benefits. That
unity, which observers have noted for the ancient world, persisted into
late antiquity and the Middle Ages. This was an experience in which
Jewish and Muslim communities participated as well, even if we only
consider the legacy of the early waves of translations that emanated from
Baghdad, for example. That helped set the stage for advances in the
recovery and elaboration of the classical tradition that would occur as
part of the cultural movement called the Renaissance of the Twelfth
Century, the progression of which is then a significant part of that story
here. That is especially important if we view the Renaissance of the
Twelfth Century as a process that helped make more widely available
to members of its societies a series of advances in the classics, transla-
tions, education, scholarship, law, and spirituality.[48] In the midst of these
developments, finding ways to bridge all of the divergences—whether
social, economic, legal, religious, or geographical—represented impor-
tant challenges for rulers of the period. In brief, coordinating the con-
nections among local, municipal, and regional power structures occupied
the energies of rulers during antiquity and the Middle Ages as well as
in fourteenth-century Java.[49] Alfonso II and Peter II both faced such
challenges.

In examining and exploring these opportunities, investigators of this period face their own challenges as well. These cultures under investigation included the intersection of both oral and written traditions, and general—especially abstract—terms and nouns can, over time, develop meanings that extend beyond their immediate context. As writers pursue the layers of meaning in these terms, the range of meanings they can convey may extend far beyond their original usages. Investigators exploring the intersection of anthropological and literacy studies, for example, have indicated that given the development of writing in ancient societies, much of Greek thought correlated such terms as *justice*, *God*, and *good* with "some ultimate principle of rational order in the universe, to the *logos*."[50] This observation can have many ramifications concerning the development of societies generally, including the workings of power structures, religious institutions, political institutions, and networks of organization and communication. The point important for the exploration of literacy and community organization here is that words, terms, and concepts do not appear in isolation from a specific context. With the development of writing, a range of meanings for a term could appear that would carry it potentially far beyond those initial meanings, but there was also a corresponding chance to forge a new relationship among the range of meanings. That development can be observed in the expansion of the range of meanings for one word in the example of one particular verb,[51] but this process applies for nouns as well. The central point anchoring explorations of the significance of vocabulary and the interaction of its meanings is this: given the interplay of meanings, it will be important during the course of this study to ascertain what particular terms meant and when, discern the importance of the meanings involved, and assess the force of those meanings within the contexts in which they arise.[52] Part of the complexity we thus encounter in studying the development of Mediterranean societies, whether in the ancient, medieval, or early modern periods, results from the interplay of possibilities inherent in the experience of a society that used a classical language as a primary vehicle for communication. This brief *excursus* regarding vocabulary and communication leads to a further point regarding the development of societies.

Finding the best principles and expressions of a universal rational order underlie, in part, the work I shall undertake here regarding writers, nobles, leaders, ecclesiastical personnel, and other people during the High Middle Ages. The adaptability and comprehensiveness of the term *utility* (*utilitas*) highlights this search for fitting terms: *utility* fused with *the public* to form *public utility* (*utilitas publica*). Public utility forms an important foundation for the development of public law. As jurists investigated

opportunities available for connecting public law and private law, they also developed concepts for enhancements in ruling and governing. These amenities helped secure social stability. All of these developments point toward the need and desire for expanding the viable options available for communities. They all, moreover, help expand the very notion of community itself. Now these communities could perhaps be organized to help enhance their members' mutual experiences of community—this actually approximates the activity of intentional communities. Thus the convergence of growth and expansion in intellectual matters appeared, as did a corresponding desire for expansion for the means to apprehend, describe, and experience those very convergences. These combinations connect the sacred and the secular, the public and the private, and the individual and the communal. Alfonso II and Peter II worked to strengthen these important political, social, and spiritual convergences within their societies.

Thus, during the first decade of Alfonso II's rule, a series of topics appeared that would greatly influence how he and his son Peter would work to advance their regional advantages, especially throughout the Mediterranean. Clearly the range and stability of the regional diplomatic connections would be important to these rulers. As part of the *reconquista*, gaining Tarragona and Tortosa had proved this, but how these successes happened was important too, for they had involved the assistance of forces from elsewhere, including Genoa and Norman territories. From a wide array of perspectives—commercial, military, or diplomatic—the rulers of Catalonia and Aragon needed to continue forging connections with those who could assist them with these campaigns and initiatives. The Catalans and Aragonese also developed interests in certain key areas, such as the Midi. A partnership with Montpellier was crucial in this process, and it is a mark of the importance of this connection that William VII of Montpellier was a "curator" and "procurator" for the young Alfonso II. This connection to the Midi generally, and to Montpellier in particular, would remain important for both Alfonso and Peter. Agreements among southern French nobles, Northern Iberian rulers, and nobles in the Crown of Aragon all suggest connections transcending the immediate localities. Support from the nobles, especially ones in the curia in Barcelona, could assist in this process. The curia offered an opportunity to foster collaboration in informal and formal ways, and the formal ways would culminate in the development of representative assemblies in Catalonia and Aragon (and ultimately throughout western Europe as well). Creating a more stable, international community lay at the heart of these enterprises, and leaders remained committed to exploring ways to create a more connected Mediterranean community in which they

and their realm could fully participate. Such a community would link the spiritual, commercial, diplomatic, social, and legal dimensions. That work occupied a significant share of their energies and resources. This book explores these dimensions. It demonstrates how, in advancing these areas of development, Alfonso II and Peter II forged greater connections throughout the Mediterranean world. Both rulers experienced setbacks and successes as they pursued their policies. Yet the aim of cultivating such a broader community within the Mediterranean, with the Crown of Aragon at its center, sustained the animating force creating all of these activities. This work advances that proposition as the unifying theme connecting all of the following chapters.

CHAPTER 2

FORGING A REGIONAL COMMUNITY:
ALFONSO II AND THE MIDI

Ample opportunities arose during the twelfth century for rulers in Catalonia and Aragon to strengthen their regional ties to southern France. The twelfth century represented a time of challenge and stress, a time of peril and promise, and a time of economic recovery and political competition. The varied Midi lordships often bore connections to the south of the Pyrenees stronger than the ones to Paris. The nobles in these areas needed allies, especially if they were to compete successfully for social, commercial, and political advantages. Other rulers found this region enticing to help them pursue their aims, especially in safeguarding and augmenting their social and political networks. Rulers of the House of Barcelona developed close connections with nobles in the Midi beginning in the eleventh century. During the twelfth century, however, the expanding alliance networks focused upon Barcelona and Toulouse brought greater social and political volatility to the region.

Stabilizing that volatility included adjusting the alliance networks to serve immediate needs. Lingering unresolved conflicts, whether sporadic or consistent, threatened to weaken regional stability. The concern about regional instability helped generate the complex social world of the Midi for Alfonso II of Aragon and his associates. Alfonso's strategy included two main considerations: enhancing his own influence in southern France and limiting the influence enjoyed by Count Raymond V of Toulouse. Alfonso used his family's rivalry with the House of Toulouse, moreover, to intensify Catalan and Aragonese activities in the Midi during the twelfth century. The success of these policies enabled Alfonso II to forge a regional community across the Pyrenees during the second half of the twelfth century.

The possibility of enhancing these connections grew larger in 1144, for in that year, Count Berenguer Raymond II of Provence died, leaving a very young son, and Raymond Berenguer IV acted as regent on behalf of his young nephew. (Count Berenguer Raymond II of Provence was Raymond Berenguer IV's brother.) The accession of this young heir to the county of Provence threatened the interests of the Baux family, however, who had a claim to the county. The Baux family also had support from the family of the counts of Toulouse, represented by Count Alfonso Jordan. He had his own plans for the area, which involved enlarging his commercial and economic gains over those of Montpellier and its leaders. The disputed claims over Provence drew Raymond Berenguer IV into the challenge of ensuring the region's stability and security. He balanced this with the necessity of securing Provence on behalf of its young heir. The Baux family, moreover, had a rivalry with their traditional allies the counts of Barcelona for commercial advantages throughout the Midi.[1]

Soon the Baux family pressed their claim to Provence more directly. During 1143 and 1144, Stephanie of Baux (a younger sister of Douce of Provence) and her husband, Raymond of Baux, encouraged Emperor Frederick I to recognize Stephanie's inheritance of Provence. Frederick I did not do so, however. Instead he abandoned his former support of the Baux family's claim to the County of Provence. Members of the family believed that on the basis of a privilege they received from Emperor Conrad III in 1145, they could legitimately take up the affairs of administering the county. Members of the family had concluded an additional agreement to transfer the county to a nephew of Raymond Berenguer IV, according to the geographic limits set by a peace treaty between the leaders of Barcelona and Toulouse in 1125. This complex array of agreements and promises prompted Raymond Berenguer IV to entertain the idea of supporting the imperial candidate to the papacy following the death of Adrian IV. This candidate, named Ottaviano of Monticelli, adopted the title Victor IV, and he claimed a close connection with a family network important for Provence and Castile.[2] The growing solidity of this network impelled Raymond Berenguer IV to send emissaries to visit leaders throughout the region. Through their negotiations, he attempted to gain the support of these leaders in his efforts to secure the County of Provence. The conflict resulting from the competition of Alfonso and his advisers, the leaders of Toulouse, and the Baux family undermined the stability of the entire region.

Countering the ambitions of the Baux family in southern France remained an important policy for Count Raymond Berenguer IV during the later years of his reign. In August 1162, Raymond Berenguer IV of Barcelona and his nephew the Count of Provence embarked upon

a journey across the Alps to meet Emperor Frederick Barbarossa at
Turin. They wished to gain his assistance in dealing with the Baux fam-
ily of Provence, a family with whom they had shared an alliance. This
family had recently broken their traditional alliance with the House
of Barcelona and now attempted to assert their control over Provence.
During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Baux family emerged
as one of the most ambitious and potentially influential families of
Provence and the Midi.[3] Provence had been part of the assemblage of
holdings of the counts of Barcelona since Count Raymond Berenguer
III had married Douce of Provence in the early eleventh century. That
had been a profitable match, for among other things, this connection
reinforced Raymond Berenguer III's interests in augmenting Catalan
commercial and political activities beyond Catalonia itself and, espe-
cially in this case, in the Midi.

Members of the Baux family also interacted with scholars who cul-
tivated expertise in the teaching and practice of Roman law through-
out the Midi. In 1164, Louis VII declared that according to Viscountess
Ermengard of Narbonne, the *leges imperatorum* remained operative when
judges decided cases in her territories. At the same time, some schol-
ars learned in the law appeared in Septimania from Bologna: accord-
ing to Azo, Rogerius represented Hugh of Baux in 1162 in the Midi.
Placentinus appeared in Montpellier between 1166 and 1170. Though the
appearance of these luminaries did not cause the resurgence of interest
in Roman law, they certainly accelerated serious interest in and use of it
throughout the region. The career of Placentinus, a respected expert in
and teacher of Roman law, energized this series of interests. His teaching
sustained interests in Roman law in the Midi as well as in Catalonia,[4] and
he concentrated his activities in the region in the years following 1160.[5]
Alfonso II succeeded his father as Count of Barcelona and king of Aragon
shortly thereafter in 1162. As Alfonso grew up and began working with
officials and associates in the Midi, he and his advisers faced a region on
both sides of the Pyrenees exhibiting a convergence of approaches that
included a lively commercial sector and a growing cadre of legal experts.
When Henry II approached Alfonso with an opportunity to advance his
ambitious plans for the Midi further, Alfonso and his advisers could have
ill afforded to ignore this opportunity. An array of factors contributed to
the outbreak of the Great Southern War of the twelfth century, includ-
ing the dispute over the proper succession to the county of Toulouse, the
sharpening conflicts over commercial advantage in the Midi, and the
interests of Henry II to strengthen the Angevin connections to the Midi.
The combination of these factors, ironically, offered the opportunity to
enhance the connections linking peoples and interests across the region.

In the short term, though, they brought dynamics of regional social insta-
bility and political conflict to inhabitants and their leaders.

Regional political stability shattered when Stephanie and Raymond
of Baux reinforced their claim to Provence shortly after 1144. They
attempted to act as Countess and Count of Provence, drawing the oppo-
sition of the Count of Barcelona. Raymond Berenguer IV marched an
army into the county of Provence, forcing those who had allied with
Stephanie and Raymond to return to the House of Barcelona as their
proper lords. Thus Catalan forces—with the assistance of major lords
in the region—ended the rebellious efforts of Stephanie and Raymond
by 1162.[6] That action from the forces of Raymond Berenguer IV,
along with the alliances he had cultivated in support of it, formed one
of the first battles of the Great Southern War of the middle and later
twelfth century.[7] This conflict soon included many of the major fami-
lies and territories throughout the Midi and in nearby areas, such as
the members of the Baux family; the counts of Montpellier; the counts
of Provence, Genoa, and Pisa; and also the leaders of France, England,
and the empire. Emperor Frederick I entertained desires of strengthen-
ing his own position in southern France. He even contemplated reviv-
ing the empire as he envisioned it had existed under Charlemagne and
Otto the Great.[8] While taking part in this expedition to Provence,
however, Raymond Berenguer IV became ill and died in 1162. The
arrangements for the disposition of his territories brought his eldest son
as the next Count of Barcelona and king of Aragon. The very young
Alfonso II—with the assistance and counsel of his advisers—continued
Raymond Berenguer IV's commitment to an intensified Aragonese and
Catalan presence in southern France.[9]

The regency council that governed the Crown of Aragon dur-
ing Alfonso's minority included Archbishop Bernard of Tarragona and
William VII of Montpellier. The archbishop informed Henry II of
England that Raymond Berenguer IV wished Henry to safeguard his
family and his lands. William VII was to be Alfonso's guardian for affairs
in Provence.[10] These arrangements solidified an important alliance sys-
tem. Archbishop Bernard of Tarragona would prove invaluable to Alfonso
as he worked to advance his policies in the region—this would hold for
the Midi as well as Catalonia. Both the archbishop and William VII wit-
nessed a number of documents in which Alfonso and his advisers made
alliances with nobles in the region, and they also likely helped negotiate
a number of these alliances.

Count Raymond V of Toulouse, who figured very prominently in
these affairs, soon tried to take advantage of Alfonso's minority. He had
grand ambitions, for had he managed to dismantle the alliance system that

the House of Barcelona had created in the Midi, he could have emerged as the prominent lord in the region. In fact, this situation opened a chance for him to forge a new principality across a series of Mediterranean coastal lands, anchored in Toulouse, Narbonne, and Provence.[11]

Meanwhile, Alfonso and his advisers worked to stabilize their connections to the Midi. The Viscounts of Béarn had played a consistent, positive role in the affairs of the counts of Barcelona during the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, even fighting with them against Muslim forces when necessary. After the middle years of the twelfth century, Béarn took on a renewed importance for the House of Barcelona. When Gaston V of Béarn died in 1170, a Catalan family helped shape the arrangements for the succession to the territory. William Raymond of Montcada, seneschal of Aragon, performed these negotiations regarding Béarn. A respected figure in Catalan-Aragonese affairs, he served as one of Alfonso's key advisers. William Raymond likely directed many of the activities of Alfonso's regency council, even serving as primary regent. Gaston V's sister Maria was now designated as the new Viscountess of Béarn, but her husband would also be the viscount. Her husband was William of Montcada, son of William Raymond. This agreement served many objectives: it linked Béarn more closely to Barcelona, it signaled the interest of the regency council in keeping strong border alliances—a pattern Alfonso would preserve after his majority—and it marked the Montcada family as a group of major players in the affairs of the Crown of Aragon as well as of adjacent territories.[12] Members of the Béarn family remained important for the Catalan alliance system, for Viscount Gaston of Béarn appeared in a witness list in 1201.[13]

Violence and conflict undermined another important family participating in the Catalan alliance system in the Midi. A key member of the Trencavel family, Raymond Trencavel, was murdered in Béziers in 1167 along with members of his entourage. One chronicler believed that Count Raymond of Toulouse headed a group of conspirators opposing Raymond Trencavel. Alfonso's forces, along with Raymond Trencavel's son, besieged Béziers between 1167 and 1169. By 1169, Roger of Béziers, allied to Alfonso, retook the city. Count Raymond of Toulouse and Roger of Béziers made a peace agreement in November 1171, and Roger promised to marry Raymond's daughter Adalais. These agreements left William VII of Montpellier as the last major lord in the Midi who remained allied to Alfonso II.[14] At this point, Count Raymond appeared to be in a strong position. He had dramatically increased territory controlled by or allied to him by 1172. He had created the principality that his grandfather had in mind, and he had achieved the central strategic position he wished to have in the Midi.[15]

Yet just when Count Raymond presented his most strenuous challenge to Alfonso II in the Midi, his own position destabilized dramatically. In 1171, Humbert of Maurienne, Count of Savoy, presented Henry II with an intriguing offer. In return for money, if Henry agreed to betroth John (his youngest son) to Humbert's elder daughter, she would bring as dower a set of castles that would give John and Henry control of the major access points to Lombardy. John, moreover, would become Count of Savoy if Humbert did not have any sons.[16] Henry's direct interest in the Midi thus grew stronger. If he and Alfonso could have worked together against Count Raymond, they would have created a formidable combination indeed. During these years, Henry and Alfonso collaborated to strengthen their common interests along the Mediterranean coastline. They focused their alliance on weakening the most serious threat both faced in augmenting their positions in southern France. Henry and Alfonso worked together to create a diplomatic isolation of Count Raymond V of Toulouse.

The interest of these leaders in isolating Toulouse had begun to form in the middle of the twelfth century. Aquitaine emerged as an area of key interest during the central Middle Ages. Though some have suggested that the rulers of Aquitaine were interested in consolidating a territorial "state" based upon the Pyrenees or the Mediterranean, it is likely that these rulers achieved regional strength but lacked the means to create a political center for territorial expansion.[17] Aquitaine enjoyed a marked level of prosperity during the twelfth century.[18] This continued affluence during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries attracted the interests of Alfonso II, Peter II, and their advisers. Henry II's invitation to Alfonso to intervene in southern French affairs coincided with an expanding probability of financial benefit from commercial and territorial gains. Alfonso was quite interested in strengthening his position in the area and augmenting any influence he might have had there. If, in the process, he could cement his alliance with the king of England and check the ambitions and possible progress of Count Raymond V of Toulouse, then both of these objectives would have worked to Alfonso's great benefit.

Henry II's invitation for Alfonso II to join his efforts to check the ambitions of the rulers in the Toulousain supported his other major interest, his claim to Toulouse through his marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine. The alliance network Henry created in 1159 to press this claim included Raymond Berenguer IV, Raymond Trencavel of Béziers and Carcassonne, and other allies of Raymond Berenguer IV.[19] Members of this alliance network assisted Henry II during his 1159 expedition to Toulouse.[20] This expedition of 1159 marked a large-scale intervention into the Toulousain

by a large and impressive contingent of forces from such diverse locales as Normandy, Anjou, Scotland, and Wales.[21] This intervention marked the beginning of what William of Newburgh called a "forty years' war" against Toulouse.[22]

As part of that war, from 1161 to 1173, Henry initiated a number of campaigns in the Midi, and Alfonso II participated in several of them. The Trencavel family left the coalition thanks, in part, to their uncertainty during Alfonso II's minority. During the early stages of that minority, Raymond Trencavel sought peace with Toulouse. He concluded a peace agreement with Raymond V of Toulouse in 1163, but Henry II maintained his opposition to Toulouse.[23] Meanwhile, the ascendance of Henry II's son, Henry the Young King, began with results that would have an important influence upon the diplomacy surrounding the efforts to strengthen alliance networks in the Midi. The Young King landed at Southampton in England on the feast day of Saint Bartholomew in August 1172, and the archbishop of Rouen crowned him, along with his wife, at Winchester on August 27.[24] This formed one of the first measures Henry the Young King took to advance his father's plan for the Young King to succeed him. In his pursuit of this desire, Henry II faced the challenge of managing the competitions of his sons against each other. Their disputes contributed much to the complex familial and diplomatic structure pervading the Midi during the second half of the twelfth century.

In the early months of 1173, a new opportunity arose to end the hostilities. Henry II invited Alfonso, Count Raymond V, Sancho VI of Navarre, and others to a court he held at Limoges near the end of February 1173. At Limoges, Henry arbitrated a peace agreement between Alfonso and Count Raymond.[25] Count Raymond, moreover, did homage for Saint Gilles and Toulouse to Henry II, his eldest son Henry, and Richard, who had just been installed as Duke of Aquitaine in 1172. Alfonso II and Sancho VI of Navarre witnessed this ceremony at Limoges, a ceremony that seemed designed to stress the broader Plantagenet advantage against Toulouse.[26] Eleanor of Aquitaine received them personally, and they likely discussed the diplomatic situation along the border with southern France, especially how the County of Toulouse interacted with Navarre, Aragon, and Aquitaine.[27] Alfonso II continued to support the Plantagenet family against Toulouse during the reign of Richard I, even as Alfonso's comparative strength in the Midi grew because of increasing allies and military success.[28] Shortly after the meeting, however, Henry ran into difficulties: he and his eldest son, Henry the Young King, had a disagreement over three Angevin castles that Henry II planned to give John to take with him to his marriage to the daughter of Humbert of Maurienne, Count of Savoy. Count Humbert agreed to a marriage alliance

that would allow his daughter and John to marry; apparently the parties completed this agreement near the time when Henry finished his arbitration at Limoges.[29] After making the agreement with Count Humbert, Henry II wished to give John custody of three castles along with their appurtenances—this was, in part, a response to Count Humbert's wish to know what properties John would bring into the marriage. The Young King, however, refused to agree to his father's plan for the support of his brother and his future marriage. The Young King, moreover, demanded to have Normandy, Anjou, and England from his father. He did not receive these territories, and as a result, he initiated a conspiracy against his father that soon turned into a revolt.[30] The Young King's resultant uprising, joined by Richard, lasted for about one year. The disposition of these castles was not the only reason for the Young King's revolt, for he had another grievance: he was not consulted at the election of Richard of Dover as the new archbishop of Canterbury on June 3. He sent a letter to prevent the consecration and appealed to Rome. Ultimately his complaint did not reverse Richard of Dover's election.[31] Following that disputed election, the bishops appealed to the papacy to settle the dispute, and while that was in process, an insurgence broke out in Normandy.[32] The Young King's revolt also left Count Raymond free to pursue his ambitions in the region.[33] During 1174, additionally, Henry II took a pilgrimage to Canterbury while the Young King was in revolt.[34]

On January 18, 1174, at Zaragoza, Alfonso emerged from his minority, married Sancha of Castile, and began to shape the policies of his government more directly.[35] In the months following Alfonso's ceremony, Count Raymond of Toulouse captured the Viscount of Marseille—one of Alfonso's allies—and requested a large ransom for him. In 1175, Alfonso raided Toulouse and sent another force across the Pyrenees in 1176. In April 1176, Alfonso and Raymond made an agreement to end their conflict. Their agreement provided for the division of Provence along the Durance River, and Alfonso would pay Raymond 3,100 marcs of silver.[36]

Count Raymond, undeterred, continued his activities in the Midi. He occupied the city of Narbonne in 1177, and this move cost him support. By the end of that year, the old alliance against Count Raymond reappeared. War continued until the 1190s, and in the process, Raymond left Narbonne.[37]

Henry II, meanwhile, intensified his interests in the Midi when he purchased the county of La Marche in 1177. Henry met with Count Audemar of La Marche at Grandmont in 1177 to conclude the arrangements, and according to Robert of Torigni, Henry bought the county for six thousand marks; Robert of Torigni added that Henry said despite

the sum he paid for it, the county was really worth twenty thousand marks.[38] For his part, Count Audemar wished to conclude the sale of La Marche so that he could raise money to make a pilgrimage, presumably a pilgrimage to the Holy Land to visit sites important to the life of Jesus.[39] Henry and Count Audemar concluded their agreement in the presence of Archbishop William of Bordeaux and Bishop John of Poitiers, along with other members of the clergy and laity.[40] On that same trip on which he concluded the arrangements with Count Audemar, Henry took custody of the heiress of Châteauroux following his capture of the castle there.[41] These arrangements denote instability in the region in addition to serving as indicators of Henry's territorial ambitions. Pursuing opportunities such as these often coincided with instability, whether in the circumstances attending their appearance or the results of the decisions made as these opportunities arose. Aquitaine connected to the Atlantic seaboard, where one could find wine trade and salt production. Usually it did not garner much of the attention of contemporary historians.[42] Many historians writing in England, however, knew about and were very interested in the turbulent, contested, inland Aquitaine. As they investigated this region, they could examine the volatile intersection of Plantagenet insular and continental policies.

Thus many contemporary observers regarded Henry's purchase of the county of La Marche as a move of critical importance. Robert of Torigni noted Henry's remark suggesting that La Marche was actually worth far more than what he had paid for it. Henry's Grandmont meeting with Count Audemar of La Marche to complete the arrangements for the county's sale suggests the seriousness with which Henry approached the purchase. Count Audemar's sale of La Marche to Henry brought him closer to Eleanor of Aquitaine's network of allies. Attaching himself to Eleanor's ally circle offered Henry the benefit of enhancing his security alongside a regional network of associates. He could draw upon these connections if he needed to strengthen his standing among the highly competitive nobles of the Midi, especially in the aftermath of an unsuccessful revolt against Henry II and an attempt to raise money to go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. If he needed to mend any ruptured relationships with the Plantagenet family after that unsuccessful revolt and build upon the promise of a projected pilgrimage to Jerusalem, his new association with Eleanor provided Count Audemar a means for securing regional stability within a diplomatic setting brimming with instability and danger.[43]

Meanwhile, Alfonso II's diplomatic strength increased during the years following the conference at Limoges in 1173. He also continued to act as a key ally for members of the Plantagenet family as they sought to

sustain and extend their alliance networks throughout the Midi. Late in 1179, Richard traveled to Poitiers with a large army and stopped in the city of Dax. There he discovered that the townspeople had captured and held Count Centulle of Bigorre, one of his opponents. Though he was an opponent of Richard, Count Centulle was also allied to Alfonso II. Alfonso thus persuaded Richard to release Centulle and agreed to serve as a guarantor of Count Centulle's behavior, pledging that Centulle would do nothing against Richard or Henry II following his release. Richard made Centulle surrender the two castles of Clermont and Montbrun as a condition for his release.[44] This was an important nego-tiation for Alfonso. During these years, he was trying to gain predomi-nance in both the Pyrenees and the Midi. His dispute with Raymond V over Provence ended in 1176, however, when Raymond renounced any claims he may have still had in Provence.[45] Alfonso remained active, though: he took Roussillon in 1177 and renewed an alliance with Castile in 1178—this formed an "aggressive alliance" against Navarre.[46] Alfonso also associated himself with Count Centulle, providing him with the Valley of Aran, an important strategic location controlling a key access point between Catalonia and the Midi, in 1175.[47] Thus, with Alfonso's influence spreading throughout the Pyrenees, Richard may have seen his ally as a potential threat, too. His campaign to Dax also was intended to thwart any designs Alfonso may have entertained on presenting a threat to the Angevin position.[48] When Raymond V joined Henry the Young King's rebellion against Richard and Henry II, Richard could rely on Alfonso's assistance.

The series of campaigns in the 1180s displays an acceleration of events and conflicts surrounding the regional disagreements. These campaigns began in the midst of a competition among Henry II and his sons. Henry II's sons competed with each other for supremacy and for what each saw as his proper inheritance. The prospect of Henry the Young King succeeding his father sharpened the contours of this conflict. Soon thereafter, the dissent appeared quickly and plagued Henry II for the rest of his reign.[49] On January 1, 1183, Henry the Young King swore that he would serve Henry II faithfully. Considering he had already initiated a conspiracy with the nobles of Aquitaine against Richard, however, the Young King's January 1183 oath to support his father would cause him problems.[50] Henry the Young King's pattern of shifting alliances, even after he had entered the conspiracy against his father, Henry II, centered upon the Young King's animosity toward Richard.

After dealing with a disputed castle at Clairvaux, Henry II asked his three sons to take oaths of fidelity and allegiance to him. He also asked Richard and Geoffrey to take oaths to Henry the Young King to confirm

their allegiance to him as their overlord—Henry II was preparing the Young King to succeed him. Henry the Young King insisted that Richard swear on the Gospels, however, and in anger, Richard departed ostensibly to strengthen his forces to prepare for war. The Young King then left for Aquitaine, apparently to make peace with the barons there. In the aftermath of these developments, the narrator of Bertran of Born's poem 11 expresses his wish that Geoffrey had been born first—and therefore would be presumptive heir to Henry II—rather than Henry the Young King.[51]

Within this same poem ("*D'un sirventes no.m cal far loignor ganda*"), Bertran of Born included a reference to a *tenso*[52] of the troubadour Giraut of Borneil in which Giraut complains to his lady's chambermaid of her mistress's heartlessness. The narrator of this poem has complaints against Richard, especially as Richard chased his competitors, laid siege to them, took their castles, and unleashed a wave of destruction through the territories of his competitors.[53] In framing this part of his work, Bertran here reflected the activity and his perception of the activity of Richard throughout the region, especially as Richard attempted to check the Young King's advances. Richard also moved to undermine the Young King's position and weaken the corresponding positions of the other participants in the Young King's conspiracy. Apparently Bertran also developed concern for the possibility that the allies of the Young King could have lost their properties across the Angevin Empire, especially between England and southern France. This was in the midst of Richard's attempts to get the best concessions he could from Henry II with respect to his inheritance.[54]

Soon it became clear that the Young King's attempt to position himself as a peacemaker between Richard and the barons was simply a ploy designed to get him away from his father's court. In Aquitaine, the Young King received pledges from many nobles to ally with him instead of Richard. Some of them included his brother Count Geoffrey of Brittany, Counts William and Aimar Taillafer of Angouleme, Viscount Aimer of Limoges, and Geoffrey of Lusignan. His brother Geoffrey could use revenues from Brittany to hire mercenaries. When Bertran composed a poem addressed to Geoffrey, he used the occasion to explore the sources of personal worth in women and men. This exploration represents a search for such qualities as pride, generosity, loyalty, and a zeal for merit from anyone. For Bertran, two capstone attributes helped generate the slightly longer list: love and defense.[55] This list of important traits has a strong ethical component, and as part of that component, they also would be useful in exploring the necessary characteristics for creating and sustaining successful communities, especially those that would embrace groups

of people with divergent interests and with different places of origin. These are the very kinds of questions that members and leaders of those Mediterranean communities, especially in the Midi, Iberia, and North Africa, were asking of themselves and their respective communities in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

The ambiguity of Limoges played into this larger question about community stability, for by the 1180s, it had become a focal point for many struggles. Though Limoges had previously served as an important urban center for Henry II, Henry the Young King made his headquarters there by the 1180s, and many of his allies joined him. Henry II arrived at Limoges with a small force, thinking that the Young King would live up to his agreement and pledge to support him. The Young King did not do so, and Henry II sent out requests for reinforcements. This created an opportunity for Alfonso II to advance his objectives in the Midi as well as support an important ally, and indeed, Alfonso II joined Henry II at Limoges. Henry received assistance from some northern territories, too. So with Alfonso there and with the support of other nobles from the Angevin Empire, Henry had secured the backing of allies from the north and south at Limoges.

On March 1, Henry entered Limoges and laid siege to the castle, and soon after this, Richard left and raided throughout the Angoumois and Saintonge, drawing the marauders toward him and also toward the farther areas of Brittany. The Young King left Limoges, too. He plundered the shrine of Saint Martial to pay for his men and went to assist Taillafer on April 17. When he tried to return to Limoges, the townspeople—angry with him—refused to let him enter the town. Then the Young King went to Grandmont, where he pillaged the abbey. At Uzerche, before May 26, some reinforcements arrived, including Count Raymond V of Toulouse. It is interesting that Bertran apparently wrote poem 13 before Henry arrived in Uzerche.[56]

The Young King had a chance to gain the upper hand against Richard, but Richard surrounded Henry.[57] Were Richard to continue these operations, he would have been difficult to stop.[58] Bertran of Born's statement that the Gascons had agreed to rebel refers to operations of the Gascon mercenaries led by Count Aimar of Limoges.[59]

Both of them besieged the castle of Bertran of Born, and with this intervention, Alfonso helped prevent Raymond from concentrating his activities closer to the center of the young Henry's uprising.[60] Before the end of 1183, however, Henry the Young King died.[61] Alfonso helped Richard besiege Bertran of Born again in Hautefort in 1184, and at the end of this expedition, Alfonso returned to Barcelona.[62] Richard and Alfonso pledged to continue their efforts against Raymond at Najac-de-Rouergue

in April 1185 and pledged that each would not make peace with Raymond without the agreement of the other.[63] Richard, in fact, renewed his hostilities against Count Raymond in 1186; supported by the grant of a large sum of money from his father, he funded more attacks upon Count Raymond's forces.[64] After May of that year, Richard inflicted defeats upon Count Raymond's forces, and he sent emissaries to King Philip of France to ask for his assistance in his campaigns, but Philip did not assist him at that time, wishing to anger neither Henry II nor his sons.[65]

In the early months of 1190, Richard continued defeating Count Raymond's forces. He also noticed, however, that all of the great princes of France had planned to go on a crusade except for Raymond. This left a strong possibility that Raymond would cause trouble for the rest of the leaders of France while they were away. Richard, therefore, believed that he needed to strengthen his alliance with Alfonso. With Navarre and Aragon coming together against Castile, Richard saw a chance to bring Sancho VI of Navarre into his alliance system against Count Raymond. This provides the background for Richard's marriage to Sancho VI's daughter, Berengaria of Navarre.[66]

The marriage of Richard and Berengaria took place in Cyprus at Limassol in 1191. This marriage gave Richard a crucial ally in Sancho VI, as well as Navarrese support for Aquitaine while Richard was away. In fact, this support formed a key part of Richard's alliance system.[67] The County of Saint–Gilles-Toulouse represented one of the most important threats to the stability of Aquitaine. Maintaining the Navarrese alliance provided Richard a way to counterbalance any threats from the Midi with a key ally from Northern Iberia.

Following the deaths of Count Raymond V of Toulouse in 1194 and Alfonso II in 1196, Richard reconsidered his alliance structure in southwestern France.[68] He created a new alliance with Count Raymond VI of Toulouse and also renounced his claim to the lordship over the county of Toulouse.[69] This new alliance "helped stabilise the situation in the South" for Richard, and it suggested a shift of Richard's policies away from expansion toward defense.[70] By 1196, Count Raymond VI had married Richard's sister, Richard restored the Quercy to Count Raymond, and there was a possibility of encouraging river trade along the Garonne between Bordeaux and Toulouse.[71]

Exploiting the commercial advantages of the area attracted many people, including political leaders, merchants, traders, investors, and legal specialists. One group of legal specialists, notaries, benefited greatly from the expansion of commerce during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As prominent Mediterranean cities increased their maritime commercial activities, especially Italian cities, the demand for the expertise of notaries

remained high and consistent. Notaries provided formularies and con-
tracts indispensible for conducting commercial activities smoothly. These
commercial activities helped expand interest in Roman law throughout
Mediterranean communities, and these communities in turn enjoyed
significant economic and commercial success by the thirteenth century.
The shared legal heritage of Languedoc and Italy contributed greatly to
the impressive economic success and cultural connectivity that cities in
both regions enjoyed during this period. They therefore capitalized upon
the commercial advantages they encountered and nurtured.[72] Catalonia
shared this legal and commercial heritage. It had a cadre of notaries work-
ing with formularies and making contracts so that merchants could trade
more efficiently in northeastern Iberia. Alfonso II's interventions in the
Midi had a basis in a recognition of this similarity. He and his advisers
understood that they could accrue many benefits if they took advantage
of the manifold amenities available by expanding commercial activities
along the Mediterranean coastlines.

Merchants, notaries, and lawyers refined their approach to a Roman
business model to help them develop commercial partnerships between
the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. Beginning in the eleventh cen-
tury, these figures revived the use of the Roman *societas* partnership. The
revival of this partnership at that time advanced the commercial revival
of the central Middle Ages.[73] It also made establishing a stable commer-
cial network in and through the Midi highly desirable for any merchants,
nobles, and rulers willing to invest their time, energies, and expertise
into the enterprise. Peter II and his advisers shared recognition of these
advantages similar to that of Alfonso II and his advisers. Both groups also
shared a commitment to building upon the legal and commercial suc-
cesses of their predecessors.

The end of the twelfth century in the Midi also brought the prospect
of a brewing and serious conflict. In writing about Gascony, the chroni-
clers of the twelfth century used some historiographical conventions to
denote the instability that they said reached the region. Thus, for exam-
ple, they drew attention to the *perfidia vasconica* destabilizing the region,
spreading their evil throughout the territories. That phrase—*perfidia
vasconica*—came from Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne*, and Ralph Niger
quoted this term in writing about the area in the 1190s.[74] Writers could
use the aspersion cast upon the inhabitants of Aquitaine, or Gascony more
specifically, to help suggest that widespread destabilizing forces oper-
ated throughout the region. Once writers enabled readers to envision
a series of wide-ranging disruptive factors in the region, these writers
could then cast the region in a negative light. Abbot Henry of Clairvaux
in 1178 and Pope Innocent III in around 1199 therefore referred to the

region in rather derogatory terms, both exasperated by the high visibility of the city of Toulouse in the early growth of the Good Men and Good Women of Toulouse (also known as Cathars) movement.[75] In *Cum Christus*, addressed to the archbishop of Reims between 1174 and 1176, Pope Alexander III discussed his wishes for stemming the rapid spread of heresies in France, and here he was especially concerned about preserving the teaching that Jesus was fully human and fully divine, in contradistinction to those groups who would have stressed one quality over the other—especially the divinity of Jesus.[76]

Suspicions of heresy in southern France went back at least as early as Robert of Torigni's accounts for the 1150s. In 1152, for example, he said that the preaching of a heretic named Henry gained a following in Gascony until a young girl from the area began to preach the orthodox (standard) Catholic teachings and thereby stemmed the progress of the heretical teachings. William of Newburgh said a heresy that reached England in 1165 came from Gascony as well.[77]

William of Newburgh placed his account of the heretical preachers' arrival in England between his telling of the renewal of peace following the 1159 Toulouse campaign and his account of the Council of Tours of 1163. One of the canons of that council held that heresy arose in Toulouse first and then spread to Gascony. The Council of Oxford that condemned the heretics arrested in England met in 1165, not between 1159 and 1163 as William implies. William thus associated a rare appearance of heresy in England with Toulouse.[78]

William's account of the murder of Raymond Trencavel at Béziers and the "revenge massacre" of townspeople there by Raymond's son supports this view of southern France, especially since William placed these events, which occurred in 1167 and 1169, immediately following his account of the 1159 Toulouse campaign. For William, the 1159 campaign is a pivotal event, both for his work and for his view of the history of the region. This region was a very dangerous one and one that could negatively influence events elsewhere, even in England. Thus, for William, "Occitania, the breeding ground of heresy and the scene of shocking bloodshed, was…an alarmingly dangerous part of the world."[79]

Responding to his sense of danger in southern France, Abbot Henry of Clairvaux raised apprehensions regarding the threat of heresy in 1178. Other leaders among the clergy shared his concerns, especially Pope Innocent III at the beginning of his pontificate just 20 years later in 1198. Thus the later desire to reverse the diplomatic alliance structure, as Peter II wished to do by cultivating an alliance with Count Raymond VI of Toulouse, represented a diplomatic gambit and a perilous gamble. Embarking upon this policy was fraught with risk. It was also highly

ambitious, for it could have opened the door to heightened territorial connectivity across the Pyrenees.

As the twelfth century drew to a close, leaders on both sides of the Pyrenees began to rethink and reshape their alliance networks. Richard began to direct more of his efforts to challenging Philip Augustus of France. As he intensified these aims, he realized that ending his involvement in conflicts throughout western and southwestern France could give him the added resources and personnel he needed to strengthen his challenge to Philip.[80] Many of the leading competitors who had been involved in the conflicts throughout southern France died in the concluding years of the twelfth century.[81] New rulers began taking advantage of the prospect of creating new alliances. These new alliances offered the possibility of realigning existing alliance networks and creating new ones at the beginning of a new century. As the thirteenth century began, the new rulers of England and Aragon attempted to refashion their alliance networks in dramatic ways.

Alfonso II's involvement in southern France took varied forms, and all of them represented a deepening commitment to the region. He maintained an extensive alliance network there, focused on key families. They gave him access to supporters and assistance, while he provided them with a crucial counterweight to each other. The reciprocal possibility of a family using this connection to foster its own advancement, such as the Montcada family, only added another incentive for these families on both sides of the Pyrenees to participate. Despite the strenuous efforts of the participants, including Alfonso and his advisers, nobles did maneuver their immediate allegiances to suit their needs. These alliance groupings were not always stable, and Count Raymond V of Toulouse provides the best example of this trend. He challenged Alfonso and agreed to a peace that connected him to Henry II, Duke Richard of Aquitaine, and Alfonso II—only to jeopardize that agreement by occupying Narbonne briefly. Though a general interest in preserving one's interests persisted, facets of Count Raymond's policies appear unusual given the opposition he aroused and the suspicion many harbored against Toulouse because they thought that heretics flourished there. Perhaps Alfonso thought that if he could not remove this threat to stability entirely, he certainly could neutralize it, preventing it from spreading further in the process. Indeed, Alfonso's interventions in the Midi connect to his broader search for stability there. His policies represent a continuation and refinement of long-standing interests of previous counts of Barcelona in the region. The search for allies yielded participants on both sides of the Pyrenees, and in fact, the desire to gain a stronger presence there helped bolster connections to the Mediterranean world that would have benefited Catalonia.

Thus Alfonso's nexus of interests in the Midi reinforced two objectives: first, the enhancement and security of his work in the region, and second, support for his attempts at becoming a more prominent power in the Mediterranean world. That ambitious opportunity, buttressed by strategies in the Midi, contributed to a deeper connection forged between the Crown of Aragon and southern France during the twelfth century.

CHAPTER 3

REGIONAL NETWORKS AND
PILGRIMAGE SPIRITUALITY

From the fall of the Visigothic kingdom in 711 to the central Middle Ages, officials in the Iberian Peninsula searched for ways to strengthen their connections with the wider Mediterranean world. The founding and development of Santiago de Compostela as a pilgrimage site dramatically advanced this process. It also highlighted the centrality of pilgrimage, especially in a climate of reform. The ecclesiastical reform movement of the eleventh century—often called the Gregorian Reform movement— placed particular stress on order and organization. Pope Gregory VII employed the movement to augment the role of the papacy in the general workings of the church. He and his colleagues in the College of Cardinals, as well as other popes, pressed for objectives that would renew and expand ecclesiastical centers of authority. These officials also tried to bring the churches throughout western Europe more fully into consonance with the practices of the church of Rome. The replacement of the Mozarabic liturgy with the Roman liturgy in 1080 in Iberia signaled one of the most striking changes in this regard for Christian communities.

Yet these connections also brought with them additional responsibilities. Leaders and members of these communities had to be responsive to the wishes of church leaders in Rome and had to assist them in addressing problems when they arose. It was also important for them to foster peaceful connections within their territories. Warfare became an endemic problem in Northern Iberia during the twelfth century, as was ensuring stability in the thirteenth. Leaders in Rome as well as in Iberia worked to resolve the resulting series of conflicts, consistently keeping in mind such foundational themes as peace, reform, and community. Alfonso II and Peter II shared interests in all of these issues, and pilgrimage figured prominently among their techniques for resolving conflicts, building

communities, and forging relationships. Pilgrimage was an especially versatile technique. A process emphasizing spirituality, connectivity, and change, pilgrimage emerged as a vehicle both rulers could use for advancing their policies, working in conjunction with church leaders, and fostering unity throughout their territories.

Near the end of the 1190s, King Alfonso II of Aragon embarked upon a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, the most important pilgrimage site on the Iberian Peninsula. As people began using the language of pilgrimage alongside the language of travel to Jerusalem or expeditions of the crusading movement, they also began using similar language to denote travel to Santiago.[1] Alfonso responded to the call of Pope Celestine III to the Christian rulers of Northern Iberia, asking them to stop fighting each other and to unite against the threat that he believed the Muslim communities to the south posed to them. Celestine worked on this issue from a number of angles during his pontificate: he tried to get Alfonso IX of León to work against Almohad communities in Southern Iberia, but Alfonso IX cultivated alliances with them to protect the southern parts of León.[2] He even worked to get the Christian rulers to cooperate with each other as a papal legate to Iberia before becoming pope himself, working while Navarre encountered difficulties with Muslim forces in the early 1170s.[3] Alfonso accepted Celestine's request, however, but decided to visit the rulers himself while on a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. While on his pilgrimage, Alfonso concluded peace agreements and improved relations with several Northern Iberian rulers.[4] Upon returning to his lands, he discovered a famine in Catalonia, and Alfonso participated in relief operations to help those in need. While at Perpignan, he fell ill and died.[5]

Peter II responded to another danger he believed threatened the security of his realm. Where his father offered relief in the midst of famine, King Peter tried to stem an impending disaster he believed would endanger the spiritual health of his realm and its inhabitants. He perceived the spread of heresy as this new threat. King Peter took these concerns further on a trip to Carcassonne in February 1204. There he issued a declaration that the Cathars were heretics. He also asked for papal legates and members of the Cathars to join him to deal with the consequences of the new decision.[6] Peter of Castelnau, a papal legate, began investigating allegations of negligence against Archbishop Berenguer of Narbonne, Peter's uncle. Soon after this investigation began, William Durfort and Peter the sacrist of Vic—two of King Peter's closest allies—began making preparations for a voyage into the Mediterranean.[7] That provides much of the immediate context for Peter's voyage to Rome later in the same

year. It also would have dramatic political consequences for Peter and the Crown of Aragon near the end of his reign.

When King Peter traveled to Rome in November 1204 and was anointed by Peter Gallocia, cardinal-bishop of Porto,[8] he participated in a ceremony sealing a relationship cultivated by three of his predecessors and that also had resonances with the Old and New Testament—*christos* means "anointed one." He went in the later months of 1204 and took a large entourage requiring the use of five galleys.[9] After leaving for Rome, his itinerary included stops in Provence and Genoa before he entered Rome; Genoa appears to have been his last stop on the way to Rome.[10] With the size of the entourage and in view of the stops along the way, King Peter and his associates structured this journey as a pilgrimage. When they stopped in Marseilles in October 1204, King Peter and his brother Count Alfonso of Provence issued wills. The primary concern in Peter's will consisted of settling his affairs just following his marriage to Marie of Montpellier. In that process, he said that in his journey he wished to visit the *limina* of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, thus designating the holy places in Rome and denoting a pilgrimage.[11] The consecration ceremony took place on the feast day of Saint Martin (November 11), and on this day King Peter was anointed by Cardinal-Bishop Peter Gallocia.[12] Bishop Peter had been a close associate of Pope Innocent III for some years by 1204, as evidenced by the dedication of a copy of works of Peter the Chanter in his *Opera et sapientales* from Cardinal-Deacon Lothar of Segni (the future Pope Innocent III) to Bishop Peter near the end of the twelfth century.[13] As a critical component of the consecration ritual, the unction of King Peter has been described as the most novel element of the ceremony,[14] perhaps because it was the first time that a ruler from the Crown of Aragon had joined the oaths of allegiance to the papacy with the anointing rite. Peter swore two oaths to the papacy. In the first one, he promised to act as a *fidelis* for Innocent III and to be obedient to him. He also pledged to support Innocent's successors and the Roman church, protect the church as well, and work against heretics.[15] In the second one, he publicly confessed that Innocent was Saint Peter's successor and vicar, and he offered his realm to the papacy for the remission of his sins and those of his predecessors.[16] Between these two oaths, King Peter received a sword from the pope.[17] The ceremony incorporated rites important in special ecclesiastical services, and these rites also elaborated on some significant themes for spirituality. The rite of unction occupied—and still occupies—a prominent place in Mediterranean spirituality, for as it singles out the anointed person for enjoying a special position within their community, it also links person and community together in a ceremony

that resonates with a search for connectivity. Peter's acceptance of the sword offered from the papacy symbolized his allegiance to the papacy and the power to support the aims of the church in Rome. For both pope and ruler, completing this ceremony represented a major step in refining a series of complex relationships among members of Mediterranean communities.[18] Here the interests of Peter and Innocent III converged.

Both King Peter and Innocent III wished to challenge and stop the growth of groups perceived as heretical. In working with heresy, Innocent III faced one of his most pressing problems, a problem that absorbed much of his time throughout his papacy.[19] Peter maintained an interest in curbing heresy from the beginning of his reign. Peter's interests, however, went beyond countering heresy and any activities he might support within ecclesiastical assemblies: he wanted to go on a crusade, and he chose Majorca as his goal. There had already been Catalan interest in crusading there; Raymond Berenguer III of Barcelona along with a force from Pisa had conquered Majorca in 1115, but the Muslims soon retook it after the Christians withdrew to their homelands.[20] Since Majorca had an important role in Mediterranean trade,[21] and considering Alfonso II had died while trying to arrange for the Christian kings of the Iberian Peninsula to join together in fighting against Muslims,[22] it would be logical for Peter II to support a new crusading enterprise there. As for Innocent, he started communicating with the Muslims in the western Mediterranean early in his pontificate. He addressed the letter *Inter opera misericordie* (dated March 8, 1199) to al-Nasir early in his reign as caliph in Morocco.[23] In it, he informed al-Nasir of a new group to ransom captives.[24] This new group was the Order of the Most Holy Trinity for the Redemption of Captives (Trinitarians).[25] By 1204, Peter had entered these relations. In *Divine legis iniuria*, a letter to Peter dated February 14, Innocent declined his request from earlier in the month to send a legate to Spain.[26] Innocent wrote further that Peter should dedicate his adolescence to the Lord and eagerly be devoted to him, so that ultimately he might come to the eternal kingdom.[27] During the next few months, circumstances changed, for on August 8, 1204, it appeared that Innocent was now willing to support a crusading mission to Majorca. With the letter *Gaudemus in Domino*, he suggested that the parties come to Rome where he could interview them and, presumably, lend his support to the project.[28] Approximately three months later, Peter traveled to Rome for his coronation with an entourage that included Catalan and southern French representatives. At this point, the apparent momentum gathering in 1204 ended, and the enterprise does not appear again in the papal letters. On June 16, 1205, nevertheless, Peter received permission to establish an episcopal see in Majorca,[29] a

concession to seize territories from heretics,[30] and also a mandate that archbishops, bishops, abbots, and other rectors of the church aid him in his struggle against heretics.[31] Why the crusading enterprise collapsed is not clear, but the timing of Peter's consecration in 1204 was likely not an accident, in view of the other contemporary negotiations. It is clear that the ancient practice revived in King Peter's consecration rite signaled an intensification of papal and royal collaboration linking the Crown of Aragon and the papacy. This revival sparked an approach to spirituality joining the countering of heresy, the spread of crusading, and the benefits of collaboration. All these features are hallmarks of fostering connectivity and unity. The history of these three features linked these twelfth- and thirteenth-century participants to practices of spirituality emanating from the Mediterranean past. That shared spiritual heritage animated the search for unity that, by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, helped people craft impressive linkages across Mediterranean societies and communities.

The medieval consecration rite pointed toward both the past and the future: it recalled anointing ceremonies that originated in ancient Egypt, and these ceremonies became important for members of both Jewish and Christian communities. Members of urban communities in the ancient Near East generated the foundations of these ceremonial traditions. The anointing ceremony extended a tradition of anointing rulers that was prevalent in the central and especially the early Middle Ages. The impetus for this practice in the early Middle Ages stemmed from a need to create a symbol of peace and prosperity within the liturgy. The anointing and the consequent use of olive oil recalled Old Testament practices of anointing the kings of Israel, a practice also designed to give expression to immediate concerns for stability and spiritual connections linking Israel and the Divine through the activities of Israel's leader.

Olive oil had long been a prominent commodity in Mediterranean societies, and over time, it became the standard unguent in anointing a ruler. The wild olive is indigenous to the forests of the Mediterranean region, where cool, damp winters and dry, warm summers provide sufficient conditions for cultivating wild olives.[32] Olive oil may even have played a role in supporting the urban revolution in the Aegean area as this area moved out of the Neolithic period, and cities gained corresponding significance throughout this region once that revolution was underway.[33] During the period of the ancient Near East, the use of olive oil began to attain spiritual significance. Olives acquired symbolic meanings during these years, including peace, abundance, and dignity.[34] All three of these characteristics, especially dignity, rendered it important for anointing kings during consecration ceremonies.[35] Thus olive oil could mark

a change in status,[36] especially in view of its distinctive and lingering fragrance.

In ancient societies, the olive and its products provided for a wide range of commodities and uses. It was an unguent and, especially along with grapes and cereals, a key food product for Mediterranean societies. Additionally, it provided a source of light, heat, fuel, and lubrication. Demand for the olive and its products increased during the Roman Empire as the demand in the cities grew higher. Central Tunisia provided a key location for the expansion of olive cultivation, and from the second to the seventh centuries of the Common Era, large plantations in the area produced high quantities of olives for export to Rome as well as throughout the Mediterranean.[37] Much of that increased cultivation came from the high steppes of Central Tunisia, which enjoyed an active and successful agricultural economy in the ancient period, especially during the later Roman period.[38] Archeological finds suggest a high degree of development under risky conditions for the cultivators. For cultivation on such a scale, archeological work has disclosed the presence of over three hundred olive presses in a single area; the demand for these products was high, and to meet this heightened demand, the cultivators were willing to engage in a venture that involved a higher degree of risk.[39] Northern Tunisia was also regarded as a granary for Rome.[40] Apparently during the late Roman period, the farmers successfully took on this greater risk to meets the demands they encountered.

As olive cultivation spread across the Mediterranean in late antiquity and during the ancient period, so too did the use of *amphorae* for its maritime transport.[41] The excavated shipwreck from the first century before the Common Era at La Madrague de Giens, off the southern coast of France near Toulon, provides an example of both the importance of maritime transport and the use of *amphorae*. This ship carried many *amphorae* used for transporting olive oil as well as other commodities, and the *amphorae* from this ship had been produced on the Italian peninsula.[42] Olive cultivation continued to spread across the Mediterranean, including during the Middle Ages.[43] Olive cultivation during the medieval period no doubt built upon these components of earlier success.

The ritual use of olive oil for anointing rulers appears as early as ancient Egypt, for in the Tell el-Amarna tablets (ca. 1500 BCE), a ruler of Syria named Addu-nirari reminded the Pharaoh Amenhotep IV of the day when "'Manahbiria, the King of Egypt, your grandfather, made my grandfather Taku king in Nuhasse, and poured oil upon his head.'"[44] The consecrations of Saul, David, and Solomon helped make unction a key part of Hebrew ceremonies for anointing rulers.[45] These arrangements had special relevance for medieval ecclesiastical officials and rulers, especially

considering that during the early Middle Ages, the Old Testament fur-
nished material scriptural commentators enjoyed using.[46] Musicians
enjoyed using these texts, too, for a series of medieval responsories (litur-
gical chants using versicles and responses) contains texts—arranged into
sections called *historiae*—focused on Genesis and Exodus, with emphases
on such figures as Adam, Noah, Abraham, Joseph, and Moses.[47] Thus
these texts dealing with consecrating rulers appeared in some popular
parts of the scriptures for Christian commentators of the early medi-
eval period, and their work exerted strong influences upon their own
communities. For those who came after them, their work helped form a
foundation for the textual communities that grew up around these texts
dealing with consecration and anointing.[48] The example of the kings of
Israel, especially the consecration of David, provided especially impor-
tant models for early medieval ecclesiastical officials and rulers. Healing
also figured prominently in the activities of these officials. Eustratius told
of the patriarch Eutychius of Constantinople, who worked as a healer
at his monastery while he was in exile in Asia Minor during the sixth
century. His use of holy oil facilitated the wide range of healings he
performed.[49] Thus these early medieval ecclesiastical officials and rulers
sought ways to enhance their own positions within their communities,
providing liturgical and serviceable supports to help foster unity and sta-
bility throughout their communities.

These desires came together as early as the eighth century and assumed
particular importance during the formative years of the Carolingian
dynasty. In the eighth century, two features of the consecration ceremo-
nies combined to help set the predominant features of future medieval
consecration ceremonies. First, Pope Hadrian I asked that the *laudes*, a
litany sung in honor of a ruler especially during a coronation, be sung
to Charlemagne in 774—this appears to have been the earliest examples
of the *laudes* having been sung for a ruler in the early medieval West.[50]
Second, language adopted in connection with these ceremonies empha-
sized, as the participants viewed it, the Old Testament predecessors of
the current rulers. Here the figure of David attains singular prominence:
as a result of the ceremony, the ruler became a "new David" and a new
divine emissary—in other words, a *christus Domini*. The Carolingian
scholar Claudius of Turin linked the careers of David and Jesus in his
discussion of unction and the kings of Israel.[51] Among many other mean-
ings, the distinguished Carolingian scholar Rabanus Maurus described
the unguent itself as a gift of the Holy Spirit.[52] Carolingian interests in
fostering and promoting reform depended heavily upon biblical scholar-
ship, and the library of Charles the Bald serves as an example of royal
patronage of learning, a court brimming with scholars pursuing biblical

scholarship.[53] In the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, Alan of Lille discussed the unguent as signifying a series of advantages: a gift of the Holy Spirit, the grace of God, a miracle, and eternal goodness for the faithful.[54] Consecration with holy oil stressed the ruler's new figurative identity, an identity that helped set the ruler apart from others in order to perform special tasks in service of everyone. The ruler thus became a "priestly king," figuratively bringing together the offices of *rex* and *sacerdos*. The ruler could also become—continuing the stress on new identities—a new Moses.[55]

Consecrations assumed a particular importance for the Visigoths in connection with installing their rulers, especially since the Visigothic kingship was elective. King Wamba (672–680) was an early Visigothic king who enjoyed an anointing ceremony in 672.[56] His anointing ceremony is among the first for which evidence survives from the Visigothic tradition, but it is possible that other rulers had already participated in the rite before Wamba's accession.[57] Instability accompanied his accession: he was elected soon after the death of his predecessor, and initially he did not wish to accept the crown.[58] Apparently his colleagues at the Eleventh Council of Toledo recognized the advantages his election could offer them: as they discussed the benefits of his election, they emphasized the operations of ecclesiastical discipline and grace in helping to bring about this result.[59] Visigothic royal affairs at this time had two particular problems: securing the succession and maintaining allegiance.[60] Wamba faced a challenge to maintaining allegiance as a revolt broke out soon after he became king, though he was able to suppress it.[61] Wamba's accession clearly occurred during challenging and difficult times.

A text attributed to Pope Gregory the Great (590–604) depicts unction in a striking way, with a city as the setting. Gregory's career included many inspiring examples of single-minded devotion, including his reluctant acceptance of the chair of Saint Peter and then his dutiful discharging of the business of the papacy, his relief efforts on behalf of a plague-stricken Rome at the beginning of his pontificate, and his vast output of writings with a special interest in pastoral care.[62] With *In primum regum expositiones*, Gregory's commentary on 1 Samuel, he wrote that Samuel went outside of the city to anoint Saul because the outskirts of the city contained most of its population. The people there were also, by implication, the neediest of the city's inhabitants. As king, and the figurative rector of the church (Gregory thus drew an analogy between the work of Jesus and the work of Saul), Saul would have to help steer his people away from sin. His anointing as king was a sign of performing this health-supporting function, and Gregory ended by quoting from Matthew: "Those who are well do not need a physician, but those who are sick."[63] Gregory

continued the medical images as he commented on 1 Samuel 10:1, where Samuel anointed Saul by pouring oil on his head. Here, the oil became the oil of medicine, which could assist in washing clean the stench of sin and restoring the sickness of mind to health.[64] Finally, in writing on another section of 1 Samuel 10:1 where Samuel said the Lord had anointed Saul king over his heritage, Gregory declared that the benefit of unction is the care of the divine heritage.[65] It is striking that a number of the early medieval anointing ceremonies happened in the context of various instabilities (as with Wamba) before they became more regular fixtures of coronation ceremonies. Though this commentary does not provide a direct correspondence with the underlying ideology of any particular ceremony, it does disclose an important way of viewing the possibilities inherent in an unction ceremony. Indeed it can serve as a significant way of viewing any ceremony, for medieval hearers and readers of such work would have seen an example to follow in a story like this one, and additionally, any biblical story could provide important guidance for conduct.[66] Gregory the Great's reputation remained high during the Middle Ages as a father of the church whose works many consulted frequently.[67] During the twelfth century, Peter Lombard amplified the broad understanding he adapted from Hugh of Saint Victor that unction both cured the sick and, if in accordance with the will of the Divine, augmented virtue in its recipient.[68] Stories of the kings of Israel remained important during the Middle Ages, and in the constitutions issued in 1240, Bishop Walter Cantilupe of Worcester recommended readings from the Books of Kings since the struggles of Saul against the Philistines and David against Goliath represented the struggles of Christians against both vices and demons after joining the church.[69] Holdings of Catalan cathedrals during the early and high Middle Ages suggest continuing interests in scripture and canon law. A tenth-century inventory of the holdings of the Cathedral of Vic revealed a copy of "*regum* I," and by 1238, Bernard of Mur, archdeacon of Tremp in the Diocese of Urgel, had purchased a copy of the *Decretum* of Gratian for his library.[70]

As with the Visigoths, consecration ceremonies became important for the Franks. Indeed, the Franks played a crucial role in using consecration ceremonies during the early Middle Ages. In 751, Pepin sent the last of the descendants of Clovis to a monastery, while he himself became king, founded the Carolingian dynasty, and was anointed as part of the consecrating ceremony.[71] He was anointed by Saint Boniface, a papal legate, and thus became king of the Franks.[72] Coronation rites for kings stemmed from this ceremony, and in 800, another one developed.[73] This was the ceremony in which Charlemagne became emperor, and it included a coronation but no unction, for that had happened earlier after

he became king of the Franks.[74] Louis the Pious was the first ruler of the Franks to have unction and coronation take place within the same ceremony.[75] By the time of Charles the Bald's reign, unction and coronation joined to form a now common rite; it "marked the birth of the fully-fledged sacral-theocratic kingship in Western realms."[76] This rite already had close associations with biblical models, for the texts that Archbishop Hincmar of Reims assembled reflecting royal coronations included references to anointed officials generally and references to Aaron, Moses, and Jesus specifically.[77] Such specific references, especially to Old Testament figures, became common in prayers of this type. Archbishop Hincmar placed great importance upon the roles rulers played in ensuring that laws were made and preserved. From this also flowed his corresponding interest in promoting inauguration-anointings for Frankish kings and emperors.[78] Archbishop Hincmar additionally included Moses, Joshua, Abraham, and David among the worthy predecessors of Louis the Stammerer for Louis's consecration *ordo* in 877.[79] As an example of their continued prominence during the High Middle Ages, such Old Testament references still appeared in a royal coronation ritual from a codex of Cardeña in the thirteenth century.[80] Of the three kinds of unction Peter Lombard discussed in his *Sententiae*, he linked the chrism—the first kind—with conferring grace and demonstrating the significance of conscience. This was the unction appropriate to use for kings and bishops, as well as in baptism.[81] In fact, near the end of the twelfth century, one scholar, commenting upon 1 Peter 2:9, said that through the regenerative activity of baptism, royal election and priesthood created a mission to all.[82]

King Peter's consecration ceremony resembles one other liturgical ceremony. The ceremony of confirmation often followed baptism, and it brought a number of benefits to the confirmation candidates. Confirmation included unction, and this brought the person into the full "order of the laity."[83] Additionally, one received the Spirit in confirmation, and it signaled a gift of the Spirit given by the anointing with the chrism.[84] Liturgical scholars had discussed chrism, baptism, and Eucharist as vital sacraments from the career of Saint Isidore of Seville (d. 636) until the twelfth century.[85] Although confirmation did not receive the kind of detailed elucidation during the Middle Ages that other sacraments received, commentators did note its importance, whether they stressed the role of bishops in administering it or held that this sacrament contained the key mystery necessary for experiencing Christianity.[86] After the 1140s, some commentators, noticing opportunities for expanding their treatment of the subject, explored the significance of confirmation, emphasizing its sacramental benefits.[87] Confirmation, therefore, helped

prepare the confirmand for a sustained life and service in the affairs of the church. This indicates the very kind of preparation that Peter's consecration ceremony offered him, and Innocent and his colleagues hoped that Peter would prove to be an effective ally in their efforts to strengthen and renew the church across the Mediterranean world.

Reform formed a critical component to strengthening and renewing the church. Reform efforts gained attention and strength during the eleventh century, supported by growth of reform ideals and the participation of officials who promoted the movement. Their advances extended into the twelfth century as well. By then, reform would grow in a number of directions and dimensions, including monastic growth and reform, legal advance and reform along with early professionalization, and growth in education and scholarship. For the twelfth century, the reform efforts concentrated on the results of population growth, territorial expansion, advances in agriculture, enhanced commercial activity, and a new money economy.[88] All of these advances gave greater potential influence and vitality to the reform movements that grew during these very years. Proponents of reform wanted to oppose the aims of secular rulers wishing to exercise control over ecclesiastical property. These reformers, moreover, advocated restoring the church to what they saw as an earlier "golden age" of prosperity and freedom.[89]

Prosperity and freedom formed two key reform themes, and they served as key animators for the plans these reformers launched during the central Middle Ages. As the reformers wished to cultivate prosperity throughout their societies, they also worked to enhance the experience of freedom within their societies. "Freedom" is a term subject to a very wide range of meanings and emphases, and the work of investigators on this period illuminates this array of interests. Freedom (*libertas*) suggests a range of activities, anchored in the reform effort, enjoying the support of the papacy. In contrast to those members of the laity who, without the benefit of proper ecclesiastical support or teaching, competed with the church for its property, these leaders and supporters would subject all of their aims and activities to the supervisory and supportive roles of the papacy. In this process, they would enjoy a twofold freedom: first, they would have the freedom to pursue these policies and activities for the betterment of the church (both locally and generally), and second, they would have freedom from the interference of those who would attempt to hinder their efforts. That aspect of the concept of freedom gained strength during and just after the tenth century, when the monastery of Cluny was founded. To protect its property, authorities linked freedoms with immunities, stating for example, that the monks should have strong immunity (from interference) and freedom to conduct their affairs.[90]

Thus, as eleventh-century popes worked to associate themselves closely with rulers in territories throughout western Europe, complex processes operated underneath those surface efforts. Papal initiative and assertion helped local and papal authorities connect with each other; in this case, popes asserted supervisory roles over the activities of rulers and their associates. Yet these very rulers saw something valuable in having this support. In places such as northeastern Iberia, the territorial disputes of the eleventh century offered the prospect of bringing significant change to the communities there.

New relationships among the Iberian states and the Holy See developed during the eleventh century. Popes Alexander II and Gregory VII were keenly interested in three objectives: they wanted to create stronger ties to Spain, they wanted to support expeditions to Spain designed to help expand Christian territory at the expense of Muslim territory on the Iberian Peninsula, and they wanted to support reform. They worked to support reform within society as a whole and also in ecclesiastical institutions. The reform program for ecclesiastical structures gained so many adherents and influence that it became known as the Gregorian Reform, named after Gregory VII.

Though the term "Gregorian Reform movement" suggests a singular focus upon Gregory VII, he was, in actuality, part of a broader reform movement spanning the eleventh century. Much of the genesis for this reform lay with the pontificate of Leo IX and his collaboration with Emperor Henry III to support those ideals both of them shared. This reform had a number of dimensions, including components for legal reform, papal reform, and, most broadly, general ecclesiastical reform.

The reform movement of the eleventh century brought to the church in Iberia a stronger connection to the rest of the church in the West. Pontifical legates played a critical role in this process: from the last 25 years of the eleventh century on, as they brought their Gregorian collections with them, Iberian canon law expertise went from the Visigothic collections straight to the Gregorian texts. They did so without some of the prominent work done in the interim, except for Catalonia. There the connections to the rest of western Europe had remained open, and both knowledge and use of these texts persisted throughout the intervening four centuries. Catalonia demonstrated a consistent opening to the wider developments in the changes in canon law that differentiated it from its neighbors. Many connections linking the Iberian Peninsula to the rest of western Europe, moreover, never fully separated.[91] These texts acquired greater importance during the twelfth century. They assisted in augmenting expertise on a number of levels. They helped refine doctrine and practice, they served both schools and courts, and they helped increase

the technical knowledge of canonists.[92] Texts of canon law appeared throughout the area, especially during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, that demonstrated the range of source materials available and that indicated the legal expertise available to explore the issues arising within these texts.[93]

Proponents of papal reform sought to change the work and scope of the papacy. It would then gain a much more primary and leading position in the church as well as throughout western Europe. At first, the close collaboration with the emperor in the German territories signaled this shared emphasis in reform, especially with the work of Emperor Henry III. The ecclesiastical reform component sought to bring the churches throughout western Europe into accordance with the practices and laws of the church in Rome. Liturgical reform fit squarely into this category, and the Mozarabic rite was a chief alternate rite to the Roman rite that still remained in use. Having *milites sancti Petri* gave the laity a way to enter and support these initiatives, and so in their collaborations with the clergy in the realms and in Rome, their program linked both the papal and the ecclesiastical reform aims.

During the central years of the eleventh century, King Sancho Ramírez of Aragon (1064–1094) and Pope Alexander II reached an agreement that involved King Sancho potentially acting as a *miles* on behalf of the papacy. Sancho Ramírez traveled to Rome and pledged himself as a *miles Sancti Petri*, a "knight of Saint Peter," in 1068.[94] Sancho may have been in need of papal support because the kingdom of Aragon was relatively weak and faced many threats from other stronger rulers.[95] He may also have visited the Holy See more than once. Writing to Urban II, he referred to events that had occurred earlier in Alexander II's pontificate when he said, "When I was 25 years of age, already then, God willing, in honour of blessed Peter I willingly journeyed *ad limina*, handed myself and my kingdom over the power of God and St Peter, and always intended that I would be their servant, although I did not follow through in action as I should have."[96] It appears that the context for this visit was a pilgrimage that Sancho took to Rome: the phrase *ad limina apostolorum*, as well as variants of it, occurs in other texts of the period to indicate visiting the holy sites in Rome related to Saints Peter and Paul, thus implying a pilgrimage.[97] The phrase "*ad limina*" could have a wide range of meanings within the context of pilgrimage, including the support of the bishop of the home diocese for the pilgrimage, a pilgrimage to the tombs of Saints Peter and Paul, or visiting the pope in Rome.[98] Between 1006 and 1008, for example, Bishop Fulbert of Chartres wrote to Pope John XVIII complaining of an impending visit of a Count Ralph to Rome. Fulbert had excommunicated Count Ralph because he had seized church property,

killed a member of the clergy, and captured two other people. Following his excommunication, he decided to travel to Rome—Fulbert describes this travel as *ad limina Sancti Petri* (to the boundary or threshold of Saint Peter) to seek forgiveness and restoration.[99] During these years, there was significant interest on the part of the papacy to protect travelers and pilgrims. At the First Lateran Council, Pope Calixtus II issued a canon to protect pilgrims from violence and unjust financial levies on their travels.[100] In 1059, Nicholas II and a council in Rome issued a canon protecting pilgrims from violence, invoking the reform measures of Peace and Truce to support these measures.[101] Nicholas II and his advisers also saw an obligation (or duty) for the papacy in protecting travelers, especially pilgrims on their way to sacred sites. There is a convergence here of the interests of the papacy, which connects with the growing peace movement.[102] As such, it is a species of a broader reform effort designed to foster and enhance greater peace and security throughout communities in western Europe. Yet the travelers had interests as well. Already in the eleventh century, Robert II "the Pious" of France, Abbot Odilo of Cluny, and Sancho Ramírez of Aragon found it advantageous to travel to Rome seeking spiritual, social, and political benefits. They did so using the technique of pilgrimage, thereby employing a "therapy of distance" to help them achieve their objectives and improve their positions.[103] Indeed, in *Liquidum est* (ca. 1016), as Pope Benedict VIII (1012–1024) asked the bishops of Burgundy and Aquitaine to excommunicate those who would threaten Cluny and its monks, he discussed the journey of Robert the Pious to Rome in support of the monks of Cluny. As a further indicator of Robert's spiritual prominence in his community, he also served as a healer of lepers.[104] Robert advocated freedom and security for the Cluniacs in their persons and their property, and he supported the work Abbot Odilo had been doing—especially since the reign of Pope Gregory V—to get the Cluniac privileges set forth definitively and carefully.[105] Monastic travel increased too, as the process of granting more exemptions to and protections for monasteries enhanced the rate of travel of monastics to and from Rome.[106] The monks, then, had particular interests in gaining exemptions from the papacy that would benefit their own monasteries. Yet their work signaled an interest in connection and communication, and both would facilitate their interactions with the popes and their advisers. They and the other leaders discussed earlier also sought closeness: this would result in closer connections to the papacy and, by extension, a closer relationship to the reforming activities the papacy supported during the eleventh century. All of these groups, therefore, had something to gain: monks, the popes and their advisers, other leaders and their advisers all saw something of value in enhancing the experience of

pilgrimage and the techniques thereby to achieve greater closeness linking all of these parties together. This process represented a convergence of needs, desires, and objectives—and many people lent their efforts and expertise to advance these policies.

Alexander II had a specific goal among his objectives: he had been developing an interest in deepening relations between the papacy and Iberia.[107] He took two major steps in this direction. First, in his letter *Omnes leges* of 1063 addressed to the archbishop of Narbonne, Urban said that those who slew Muslims in the midst of military operations— very likely in Iberia—were released from the general prohibitions against violence and the shedding of blood.[108] Next, with *Eos qui in Ispaniam*, he issued a remission of penance for Christians traveling to Iberia. This letter suggests a series of pastoral concerns as Alexander encouraged those who chose to do so to go on an expedition to Iberia. As he encouraged the participants to make their provisions for the journey carefully, he said that those soon leaving should confess their sins to a bishop or other spiritual father. Once they did this, he announced a remission of the penance that their confessors would have imposed. Thus Alexander dealt with the remission of penance as a pastoral matter.[109] This letter raises a number of challenges for interpretation. Though historians have often assumed that *Eos qui in Ispaniam* directly anticipated crusade concepts, this may not have been the case. First, the letter lacks a date. The text of the letter invites one to connect it with a campaign to Barbastro of 1064, and historians have often made this connection. There is a chance, however, that the letter could date between 1065 and 1067, without a connection to Barbastro. Second, the letter does not mention warfare specifically. It could, therefore, refer to a pilgrimage, even a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. If Alexander was responding to a specific situation, the letter does not include enough detail to pinpoint that situation. Third, the identity of the recipient is unclear. Some have thought that it was intended for a diocese in France, but a recipient in Campania in Italy is more likely. Nothing in the letter, moreover, mentions violence as a feature of the journey. Thus, this letter demonstrates pastoral papal interests for a group of people traveling to Iberia, perhaps on a pilgrimage.[110]

Sancho Ramírez's designation as a *miles sancti Petri* carried another benefit: Aragon was now under papal protection.[111] A *miles sancti Petri*, most specifically, denoted a papal ally willing, if necessary, to engage in battle in support of the reforming aims of the papacy and the stability of the Christian church.[112] The broad implications of this term reflect Gregory VII's expansion of the phrase, merging connotations of military service suggested by *militia Christi* with the overwhelmingly spiritual functions that *militia saecularis* suggested.[113] The *miles sancti Petri*, therefore,

could be expected to pray and fight at appropriate times. Indeed, other Iberian princes entered into this type of agreement, including the future King Afonso I of Portugal and Count Bernard II of Besalú.[114] Count Bernard was one of the few leaders of relatively small counties to enter into a protective agreement with the papacy. He agreed to support the Gregorian Reform program throughout the county of Besalú, and as an indication of this support, he became a "special knight" (*peculiarem militem*) of Saint Peter during the Council of Besalú on December 6, 1077.[115] The papacy had been working for a close collaboration with the Counts of Besalú from the early eleventh century. During those years, the Count of Besalú and his son traveled to Rome and met with Benedict VIII, who placed three churches in the county of Besalú under apostolic protection around 1017.[116]

Language containing references to *milites* engaging in expeditions in support of expanding Christian territory or *milites sancti Petri* working with the papacy continued to gain importance in the twelfth century (and the thirteenth century later on). At the Council of Burgos in 1136, Alfonso VI of Castile approved the idea advocated earlier by Alfonso I of Aragon (r. 1104–1134) that the Confraternity of Belchite be created to support expeditions in defense of Christian territory. Alfonso I founded the Confraternity of Belchite in 1122, and he confirmed its privileges in 1136. Belchite was the site of a castle near Zaragoza and therefore near a boundary area between Christian and Muslim settlements.[117] Alfonso founded the confraternity to assist in the defense of the frontiers of the Christian communities and fight perpetually against the Muslims from al-Andalus. Members could serve temporarily, and those who wished could come to serve for the rest of their lives as they would have done had they taken vows of stability in a monastic community.[118] If any wished to serve at Belchite for one year, then he would receive a remittance of sins similar to that available for a journey to Jerusalem. If a member fasted on Fridays for one year, he would receive a remittance of penance if he agreed to serve at the castle for one month. Anyone who engaged in a battle, presumably in the area of the castle of Belchite, and who had formerly wished to go on a pilgrimage would receive a doubling of any spiritual benefit he subsequently received.[119] Making plans for confraternities in this area occurred in the aftermath of the fall of the taifa kingdom of Zaragoza between 1117 and 1120.[120] These arrangements preserve the challenges discussed earlier in respect of the language of penance and the subsequent interests historians have maintained for the development of crusade indulgences. Again, the matter is complex, especially in view of the gradual development of what has been usually termed the crusade indulgence. The crux of the matter is the inclusion of the remission of

temporal punishment for a sin. This component of crusade privileges did not begin with such a remission, however, since the concern the popes had in the early stages of supporting expeditions was the remission of penance imposed by a confessor prior to the participant embarking upon the journey for the expedition.[121] During the twelfth century, the language reflecting this portion of the developing crusade privileges underwent changes as councils and popes developed greater interests in the sins at the root of the penances assigned. The privileges they issued thus began to include the language of remission of sins, but these remissions often were provided alongside remissions of penance as well.[122] Thus during the twelfth century, despite the advances in the general development of crusade privileges, a fully separate and clearly defined remission of sins did not yet emerge. The development of this indulgence continued well into the thirteenth century, particularly as Saint Thomas Aquinas and his associates brought greater clarity to the issue in the *Supplement* to his *Summa Theologica*.[123] For a member of the Confraternity of Belchite, additionally, the life of service could last for a temporary period or for life. The sort of lifetime service that went along with the monastic vocation also went correspondingly with the vocation of military service to the military orders. Municipal confraternities did not stress an identification of *militia* as part of their activities, but Belchite offered some characteristics of a municipal confraternity. It therefore offered absolution of sins for those who would help defend the city and other characteristics of an international military order with the scope of participants its founders hoped to attract.[124] Presumably, the concerns of municipal confraternities were so specific and concentrated to their urban areas that they did not need to employ the *militia Christi*, with its connotations of a broader scope of service, both in activity and in geographical range.

At least by the 1130s, Alfonso I was keenly interested in Jerusalem and the East, and he took measures to enhance these interests. The Confraternity of Belchite was not the only confraternity he founded and encouraged. He also founded the Confraternity of Monreal, which Alfonso wished to use to help support his interests in the East. He wished for Belchite to have membership to equal that of the emerging military orders in prestige and activity and even stated that he hoped Belchite would help open a pathway to Jerusalem, a phrase he also used to describe his foundation of Monreal—he himself became a member of this confraternity.[125] Alfonso I thought of Monreal, and very likely Belchite also, as a *militia Christi*, and he compared "this holy militia" specifically to the Templars, but for the confraternity at Monreal there was no discussion of specific arrangements regarding the duration of service.[126] Members of the Council of Burgos in 1136, along with and including their discussions

with Alfonso VI, offered remission of sins to those participants who pro-
vided appropriate confessions.[127] The canons of this council have not sur-
vived, but individual documents describing its work have, such as this
one for the confraternity, as well as two documents detailing discussions
to affix the diocesan boundaries between Burgos and Osma, Tarazona
and Sigüenza, and Zaragoza and Sigüenza.[128] Discussions continued on
affixing these diocesan boundaries, such as the talks between Ramiro II
of Aragon (1134–1137) and Alfonso VII of Castile in the aftermath of the
death of Alfonso I in 1134. These negotiations, the rulers hoped, would
help them complete the disposition of the Christian and Muslim popula-
tions along the border territories between Castile and Aragon. Settling
these diocesan boundaries included considerations for the general *libertas
ecclesiae* (freedom of the church) and Ramiro's particular wish that the
church remain free. This pertained especially to having these churches
conduct their own affairs and remain in service to the broader spiri-
tual needs of the realm. Such considerations, therefore, connected the
aims of the popes with the careers of rulers such as Sancho Ramírez
and Peter I.[129] The confraternity at Belchite did not last long, though,
and little evidence has survived for its continued activity beyond 1136,
whether for its activities inspired from Castile or Aragon.[130]

Thus the two confraternities—Belchite and Monreal—demonstrated
characteristics important for the future development of the interactions
of Aragon's rulers with the military and related orders. Alfonso I wished
to use both these confraternities to open up a pathway to the East, and
thus he was indicating a broad interest in the affairs of the East that, at
the least, included Jerusalem as a figurative ideal or, perhaps more likely
if Alfonso was interested in pilgrimage, as an actual destination.

The appearance of the special language of the *militia Christi* suggests
additional connections. The sources detailing the arrangements and
organization for these confraternities indicate little in support of specific
efforts or campaigns directed to the East. Instead, the evidence suggests
spiritual connectivity with the East, expressed in the immediate sense
through the formation of two confraternities offering spiritual benefits
to their members. Given that some of these benefits stress temporary
service in return for benefits of limited durations, the lack of specific
efforts on campaigns is therefore not surprising. Two important trends
emerge from this look at Alfonso I and the creation of two confraterni-
ties in the middle years of the twelfth century. First, from its roots in
the usage of the *Rule of St. Augustine*, *militia Christi* could signify a wider
range of meanings than solely focused on military prowess and mili-
tary service, important as those two attributes would remain. Second, it
would equally remain important to focus attention and energies on tasks

that would serve the double benefit of the members and their respective communities in Iberia, as well as the communities to be supported and perhaps formed in the East.

Papal interest in Iberia grew stronger with the pontificate of Gregory VII, and he employed a number of initiatives to achieve his objectives. One initiative proceeded gradually: some of the textual productions of that reform effort, including those appearing during the pontificate of Gregory VII, strongly influenced the creation of other canon law texts in local areas, such as in France and Iberia.[131] Legal specialists not only transmitted but also revised and reshaped the texts they received, depending upon the contexts and needs of the specialists themselves or of the destination communities.[132] Another set of initiatives proceeded more directly within Gregory's correspondence. Gregory indicated his concern for affairs in Iberia from the opening days of his pontificate. In his letter to Cardinal–Bishop Gerald of Ostia and Subdeacon Rainbald sent from Rome on April 30, 1073, Gregory discussed with them their legation to Gaul, asked them to return to Rome quickly, and mentioned affairs in Iberia. With respect to Iberia, Gregory had participated in an earlier legation regarding Iberia, and Alexander II had referred to it in one of his letters. Gregory now asked Gerald and Rainbald to get support for an expedition Count Ebolus of Roucy planned for Iberia, support that Gregory envisioned would come from their efforts as well as those of Abbot Hugh. Before becoming Pope Gregory VII, Hildebrand had helped negotiate a treaty regarding Spain in a charter he issued to Count Ebolus. As Gerald and Rainbald were to arrange for people to be sent to Iberia, Gregory wished them to proceed by preserving the interests of Saint Peter, according to the terms of the treaty that he had helped negotiate. At the time of the writing of his letter, Gregory did not know how much of the work had been completed, for he asked Gerald and Rainbald to join Abbot Hugh in giving counsel to Cardinal Hugh, and Cardinal Hugh then proceed to Iberia, obtaining support for this venture on behalf of Saint Peter. Gregory also restricted Cardinal Hugh's activities to Spain, noting that while Gerald and Rainbald were carrying out their legation in Gaul, Hugh was to transact no business regarding the church there without the consent of the legates. Gregory also asked the legates to return soon to report on their work and ask Abbot Hugh for his prayers as well as those of his entire congregation at Cluny.[133]

Gregory issued another letter on the same day in which he outlined his historical views with respect to the papal interest in Iberia. Gregory stated that from ancient times the kingdom of Spain had belonged to Saint Peter, that this remained true to Gregory's day, and that even though the land had been occupied by "pagans," the law of righteousness had not been

abrogated: therefore, Spain rightfully belonged to the papacy. Gregory stated, moreover, that in the absence of what he regarded as a lawful government in operation there, a legitimate papal interest remained that emanated from the proprietorship of the churches. Here, Gregory used the language of property to reinforce the broader theological claims he promoted. Thus, when Count Ebolus wished to go to Iberia to liberate it from the "pagans" and work for the honor of Saint Peter, he received papal permission to possess any lands he recovered from the "pagans" on behalf of Saint Peter (that is, on behalf of the papacy).

In keeping with his focus on the amenities in favor of Saint Peter, Gregory urged those willing to join this effort to go remembering the honor of Saint Peter, maintaining their faithfulness to him, and remembering Saint Peter's protection for them and their efforts. Should any go to Iberia independently, they should remember their allegiance to Saint Peter and not engage in any activity that would sever that connection. Gregory envisioned having agreements with all those going on this expedition, but he would rather prevent them from going than run the risk of losing their souls should they fall into error along the way. For Gregory, this contrasts the loss of use of the lands with the potential loss of the souls of his supporters should they forget their duty to support Saint Peter, the papacy, and, by extension, the church. In support of these objectives, therefore, Gregory sent Hugh Candidus to Iberia, apparently with verbal instructions for the conduct of his mission.[134] Gregory continued his work with northeastern Iberia and southern France with *Dilectissimi* of June 28, 1077, with which he sent his legate Bishop Amatus of Oléron to Narbonne, Gascony, and Spain. He sent Amatus to the area to remove and correct any errors in the church, and he instructed the Christians to receive Amatus as if Gregory or even Saint Peter were present. Gregory also asked them to preserve their obedience to Saint Peter.[135]

As he endeavored to enhance his relations with Spain by sending legates to the region and trying to create an expedition to be led by Count Ebolus, Gregory also pursued liturgical reform as a way of creating stronger ties between Rome and his reform efforts.[136] In his letter *Apostolica sedes* to Bishop García of Jaca between 1084 and 1085, Gregory complemented King Ramiro I of Aragon (1035–1064), Bishop García's father. Gregory said that Ramiro had pledged Aragon to the Holy See and that he had acted as another Moses in removing the Mozarabic liturgy in favor of the Roman rite.[137] Little evidence survives to support Gregory's claim concerning Ramiro's apparent subjection to Rome. It is significant, though, that Gregory employed his sense of history to consider such broad trends as Ramiro's apparent subjection of Aragon to the Roman church and then connect this work of Ramiro with his own

immediate concerns about bringing Spain more closely into an effec-
tive alliance with Rome.[138] Gregory discussed that sense of history most
extensively in his letter of March 19, 1074, to Alfonso VI of León–Castile
and Sancho IV of Navarre. Gregory argued a number of points in his let-
ter. He said that the apostle Paul had traveled to Spain; actually, Paul had
indicated his desire to travel there in Romans 15:24 and 28.[139] Gregory
mentioned a legend of seven bishops sent to Spain by Peter and Paul to
provide instruction there. Next, Gregory identified the period of late
antiquity as something of a golden age, where Spain enjoyed a concord
with Rome in religion generally and with the specific use of the Roman
rite. The followers of Priscillian (d. 386), who adopted an ascetic lifestyle
and were eventually accused of Manichaeism, and the Arian Visigoths,
who denied the divinity of Jesus and regarded him as secondary to God
until the Third Council of Toledo in 589, disrupted the ties to Rome.[140]
Then Muslim settlers entered the Iberian Peninsula in about 711, reduc-
ing the geographic spread of the Iberian Christian communities. Gregory
viewed these developments as having sapped resources from the penin-
sula, and they consequently brought Roman Christianity in Iberia to a
state of near disintegration.[141] Thus an operation of recovery, sustained
by the spread of the Roman rite and encouraging the people to be part of
a united community, animated Gregory's views regarding the historical
setting for his initiatives. They would help him get his target communi-
ties in Iberia to recognize the Roman church as their "mother" so they
could act as brothers for each other, receive the rites and observances
of the Roman tradition, and remain connected to the Roman church
founded by Saints Peter and Paul. Gregory hoped that they could join the
recovery efforts already underway.[142] Both Gregory and his predecessor
Alexander II worked to use the Roman rite to encourage standardization
of liturgical practice within Rome itself too, endeavoring to remove the
close associations of previous rites to German influences—having been
inspired by the strong connections of the emperors with the idea and
process of reform—and replace them with rites that suggested an even
closer and more direct connection to Rome. Thus Alexander and then
Gregory worked within a dual reform framework, and Gregory's efforts
to collaborate with Sancho Ramírez fit squarely within this broader dual
reform effort.[143]

Sancho Ramírez of Aragon, in fact, did play an important role in sup-
porting Gregory's efforts to substitute the Roman rite for the Mozarabic
rite in Aragon.[144] Pope Gregory VII contacted Sancho Ramírez early in
his pontificate: he wrote to Sancho on March 20, 1074, thanking Sancho
for a letter he sent to Gregory where he pledged his support and fidelity
to the church and to the papacy.[145] Gregory said that with the office of the

Roman order in force—referring to the substitution of the Roman rite for the Mozarabic rite—Sancho Ramírez could recognize himself as a "son" of the Roman church and that he enjoyed the same friendship with the church as that of the historic kings of Spain. Gregory also encouraged Sancho to be firm in continuing the task he had set for himself; presumably this meant fostering closer connections to the Roman church throughout Aragon and Navarre.[146] The language suggesting familial connections in this letter is notable and important. It evokes, and helps create a context for, the interests Gregory and his circle demonstrated in fostering *milites* and *fideles sancti Petri* during his pontificate. Evidently Gregory thought highly of Sancho Ramírez, for he encouraged him to continue the good work he had begun, preserve his love for righteousness, and continue to exercise his stewardship of his realm faithfully. Gregory even indicated that Sancho's colleagues regarded him with deep respect. Esteemed men with high reputations for spirituality and religious observance told Gregory of Sancho's good work.[147]

Gregory also encouraged an expedition to the Holy Land during his pontificate, but this project fell into abeyance because the Investiture Controversy with Emperor Henry IV occupied increasing amounts of his time and energy.[148] Even within that controversy, hints appeared that Gregory's aims with respect to the *milites* and *fideles* were not restricted to Spain only or to expeditions already underway. Bonizo of Sutri, a papal ally in the Gregorian Reform movement, described Countess Matilda—one of Gregory's most powerful allies—as a "daughter of Saint Peter."[149] His description suggests that he and his associate saw her as a crucial ally for Gregory and a key supporter of his reform efforts. Matilda also participated in an important circle of associates. Anselm of Bec, later archbishop of Canterbury, was a member of this circle. It also included Irnerius of Bologna, who served first as an advocate and then later as judge in Matilda's court, then worked with Emperor Henry V, helped initiate the renewed studies of Roman law in the eleventh century, and (as a result of these studies) encouraged the separation of the study of law from the study of rhetoric.[150] Pope Alexander II's nephew Anselm of Lucca—also important in canon law studies—was Matilda's spiritual father. Matilda's stepsister was Ida of Boulogne, who was also Anselm's closest female friend.[151] Anselm's spiritual network of allies reached farther still. Correspondence between Anselm and Matilda II, wife of Henry I of England, discloses that she persuaded Henry I to restore some of the revenues of Canterbury that had been confiscated while Anselm was in exile from England. When Lanfranc became Matilda II's spiritual adviser, additionally, he spoke of himself as her father and of her as his daughter.[152] Indeed for Anselm, the ideal woman was a wife and mother

who guided, instructed, and supported her husband as well as her chil‐
dren. He praised women for their virtues in wisdom and insight. He
praised men for their fidelity, strength, and bravery, and combined with
the skill of women in instruction and acting as moral guides for their
children, he created an outline of a thriving family ready to contribute to
the overall success of all the communities in which they participated.[153]
All of these people shared interests in reform and order, and though some
of them were officially *fideles sancti Petri* and others were not, all of them
shared similar objectives. One main challenge during the eleventh and
twelfth centuries, therefore, was to find ways to continue the process of
cultivating allies among the *fideles* and *milites sancti Petri* and to find ways
to rely upon their assistance when the popes needed them.

Pope Urban II (1088–1099) continued the work of his predecessors
with respect to allies in northeastern Iberia. Early in his pontificate,
he praised Sancho Ramírez for his activities and made the kingdom
of Aragon into an ecclesiastical tributary of the church in Rome; for
this privilege a regular payment would be due to Rome.[154] Later Urban
renewed this privilege for Sancho Ramírez to Peter I of Aragon in
1095.[155] The papacy, in addition, extended its allies and the strength
of these alliances by encouraging the spread of *milites*. With *In consilio*,
issued in 1059 during the Council of Melfi, Robert Guiscard pledged
to be a *fidelis sancti Petri* for the Roman church, the Apostolic See, and
Pope Nicholas II in particular.[156] Thus Robert Guiscard could pledge
his alliance with the papacy for lands in southern Italy already under his
control and for Sicily, still controlled by Muslims. If the papacy could
claim parts of Italy to be reconquered as the process unfolded, it could
then make similar claims about Spain. In combination with the fealty
Alexander received, the papacy balanced its aims in southern Italy with
those in Spain.[157]

Ecclesiastical authorities trying to maintain a balance of stability in
Iberia through their work in church councils also encountered a series
of challenges during this period. Conciliar interest in maintaining and
supporting doctrinal orthodoxy in the face of perceptions of the spread
of heresy had appeared earlier in the twelfth century. The third canon of
the Council of Toulouse (1119), repeated in the twenty‐third canon of
the Second Lateran Council (1139), condemned those who denied the
sacrament of the Eucharist, infant baptism, the priesthood, and legitimate
marriage agreements. The Council of Tours (1163) enacted measures
against the Cathars (Albigensians), banning them from Christian society
and requiring secular princes to enact sanctions against them as well.
Those measures provided intellectual support for canon twenty‐seven
of the Third Lateran Council (1179), which included a condemnation of

heresy, offered an appeal to fight against heretics, and gave those doing so protection normally enjoyed by crusaders for two years.[158]

The Third Lateran Council continued the twelfth-century conciliar reforming activities when it convened in 1179. The most immediate need Alexander III faced was healing a schism that set him against Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and a series of three antipopes allied to the Holy Roman Emperor.[159] Alexander III summoned the council in 1178, and it met in Rome in March 1179.[160] Heresy posed a problem then, and as part of canon twenty-seven of the council suggests, Aragonese were involved. They and the Cathars (also called Albigensians, as well as "good men" and "good women"), who were active in Albi, Gascony, and Toulouse, are indicated in this canon.[161] It is apparent that at the council there was concern that what was viewed as heresy would spread.

Two additional councils of southern France and northeastern Spain picked up on the work of the Third Lateran Council and incorporated parts of its work into their canons. The Council of Montpellier (1195) denounced Aragonese heretics more specifically, mentioning them along with other heretics and declaring that their activities were anathema to orthodox practice; this was in accord with canons enacted at the Third Lateran Council.[162] The second council was the Council of Girona (1197), convened by Peter II in one of the earliest official acts of his reign. It issued a declaration against heretics in the realm, focusing especially on Waldensians.[163] All of these councils demonstrate the growing problem heresy posed in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

Thus pilgrimage, consecration, and confirmation all offered possibilities in forging closer connections among and within Western Mediterranean communities during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Alfonso II's dramatic peace pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela responded to stresses placed upon Christian communities in Northern Iberia. All of them faced the prospect of resurgent and perhaps expanding Almohad communities in Southern Iberia, especially following the Muslim victory at the Battle of Alarcos in 1195. Ever since the partition of Sancho the Great's kingdom of Navarre in 1035 among his three sons, however, Christian communities in Northern Iberia also faced the prospect of heightened and consistent competition with each other. Whenever this conflict erupted into warfare, it taxed the revenues of these communities, destabilizing their relations with each other and making it extremely difficult to collaborate in countering a threat that all perceived. These concerns provided the genesis of Alfonso's pilgrimage, as did papal interest in seeing those recurrent disputes come to an end.

Alfonso died, however, before he could complete his task. His son Peter II took up the challenge a few years later, but with a shift in focus.

For Peter, the key consideration was demonstrating his alliance with the papacy, an alliance that his predecessors had maintained since the eleventh century. His declaration against the Cathars, first in Girona in 1197 and then in Carcassonne in 1204, signaled his interest in allying himself with the papal and broad ecclesiastical desires to counter the spread of the Cathars in the Midi and elsewhere. Conciliar texts such as canon twenty-seven of the Third Lateran Council (1179) suggested that some of the Aragonese either were already Cathars or were heavily influenced by them. In the midst of religious divergence and political stress, Peter decided to travel to Rome in 1204 for a consecration ceremony with Pope Innocent III and members of the College of Cardinals. Peter also wished to cultivate papal support for his projected crusade to Majorca. Thus, in embarking upon a pilgrimage to Rome, participating in a consecration ceremony there, and gathering support for future activities against the Cathars and Muslims, Peter combined a number of major concerns during the period of his ceremony in Rome in November 1204, a ceremony that carried highly symbolic overtones.

Yet this ceremony also exhibits some additional significance. With his pilgrimage to Rome, Peter was imitating the example of two of his predecessors, with special emphasis upon the career of Sancho Ramírez, the first king of Aragon.

Only two earlier rulers of Aragon had cultivated close relationships with the papacy: Sancho Ramírez and Peter I.[164] Sancho's activities, additionally, may have been influential beyond an immediate governmental circle. Gregory VII commended Bishop Raymond of Roda to Sancho Ramírez between 1076 and 1085, noting that Raymond had traveled to Rome and visited with Gregory. As Gregory commended Raymond to Sancho, he indicated that Raymond was a faithful servant to Sancho and said that Raymond had come to Rome to serve Gregory and his interests.[165] From Gregory's language, it appears Bishop Raymond may have undertaken a pilgrimage to Rome. Gregory did not indicate this definitively, so Bishop Raymond's trip may have been a pilgrimage or it may have been a standard journey. This ambiguity is interesting and, in a sense, telling: what, therefore, is most important is connectivity. Gregory's letter is one of encouragement and support for Sancho Ramírez, and as such, it contains language of connection and support for discernment, as well as perseverance in these endeavors. Pilgrimage and journeys both can help bridge distance across space and time. The concern here is primarily one of space, but it is an attempt also at preserving a relationship into the future, over time. Thus Gregory urged that in relation to himself, Bishop Raymond might always rely upon Sancho Ramírez's assistance and kindness for the duration of their careers.[166] The themes

that emerge here include support and relationship: by extension, these are critical components for the *fideles sancti Petri*. Additionally, Gregory wrote about Sancho and Bishop Raymond in similar terms, terms so similar that there may have been an element of imitation on the part of Sancho and Raymond regarding each other's activities.

Peter's activities closely resemble theirs: like them, he wished to engage Muslims in a program of territorial conquest—hence, his interest in organizing a crusading expedition to Majorca during 1204 and part of 1205. Sancho Ramírez had been responsible for capturing Huesca, and Peter I had been responsible for capturing Zaragoza. Both rulers had other successes, but these were their largest ones. In support of the reconquest, Peter could easily build from the successes enjoyed by his two predecessors. Additionally, Peter's journey to Rome resembles the journey of Sancho Ramírez, for both became papal allies and both journeys can be viewed as pilgrimages. The praxis of imitation, additionally, works on a deeper level. This would have involved first an *imitatio Christi*, with connotations of priest and king.[167] Since the early Middle Ages, rulers had been anointed "in imitation" of Christ.[168] Imitation helped establish connection[169] as well as unity,[170] and unity was just what Peter needed in support of his aims. The rhetoric of *imitatio* exerted a strong influence on writers throughout the medieval period, including writers in the twelfth century.

Ancient Greek thinkers initiated an expansive study of rhetorical theories of imitation, and their examples had a profound effect upon future scholars. For Plato, imitation had various meanings, and they included the state as an imitation of the best form of life. Aristotle discussed it more narrowly, and in the *Poetics* he addressed poetry as an imitation of the actions of people. Cicero advanced the study of this Greek-inspired tradition within a Roman context, a context enlivened by the complexity of late-republican Roman society. Roman, medieval, and Renaissance scholars would therefore look to Cicero as a foundational figure in the study of the rhetorical tradition.[171] Cicero, Quintilian, and Saint Augustine all shared keen interests in education, and with his *De doctrina christiana*, Augustine intensified the linkage of rhetoric, education, and the development of spirituality. In these respects, Saint Augustine, as Cicero and Quintilian did before him, stressed the role of *imitatio*.[172]

During late antiquity, Eastern and Western theologians discussed the ideal of the imitation of Christ as a process of divinization or deification.[173] This is not surprising given that a key role of the process of imitation is to have the participant undergo a process of renewal, have an interior awakening, and thus bring himself or herself closer to the Divine.[174] In this process, one would become able to understand oneself more fully

and compassionately and also treat others with greater understanding, patience, and compassion. This includes the capacity to deal with others directly and consistently. These are some of the key characteristics of the *imitatio Christi*.

The personal reformation of someone in accordance with an intensifying relationship to the Divine was a key component of the spiritual thought and practice of the late antique and the medieval periods.[175] Part of the ensuing challenge taken up by figures during the Middle Ages included how, given this personal pathway toward reformation, it might have been possible to extend this personal transformation to encompass the transformation of a community or a society.

Herbert of Bosham used the concept of *imitatio* with telling effect in his *Vita Sancti Thomae*, his account of the life of Archbishop Thomas Becket of Canterbury. Herbert devoted the entire section of his *Vita* at section 3.6 to the habits Thomas demonstrated as archbishop of Canterbury. As is perhaps common in hagiographical depictions, Herbert gave an expansive description of Thomas's original habits and change of habits in this section. In his discussion, he linked Thomas to Joseph, Elijah, and Jesus, suggesting that Thomas was imitating their examples.[176] His choices of psalms to include here reveals much, too: in describing Thomas's compassion and humility, Herbert used Psalms 35:13 and 69:11, texts with sackcloth as key images.[177]

According to Gervase of Canterbury, there is another way to view and assess the work of Thomas Becket. Within the year after his election as archbishop of Canterbury, Gervase said that Thomas began to "imitate" the saints. Apparently Gervase's consideration of Herbert of Bosham's work helped him gain this insight. Gervase specifically mentions John the Baptist, Benedict, and Augustine as three saints who had a particularly strong influence upon Thomas Becket's style and approach to others and to the work of his office.[178]

Thus, as King Peter tried to build upon the work of his predecessors and prepare a solid foundation for the future, imitating those predecessors helped him create links bringing past and present together in striking ways. His plans may not have borne the fruit he desired, but he and his father demonstrated that pilgrimage played a varied and versatile role in the spiritual life of Mediterranean communities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as they searched for ways to express the connectivity they all desired.

CHAPTER 4

LAW, SPIRITUALITY, AND
THE PRACTICE OF ETHICS

The desires for unity that emerged in considering the pilgrimage policies of Alfonso II and Peter II also influenced their work in the political arena. Enactments providing for the Peace of God and Truce of God occupied the core of these activities. Both movements began in the tenth and eleventh centuries as attempts to deal with local difficulties in southern France, which, in turn, caused breakdowns in local authority and order. These movements began as instruments of ecclesiastical initiative and remained so when they spread into Catalonia early in the eleventh century. Soon thereafter, though, the need for lay and clerical collaboration became important. The Counts of Barcelona, for example, invoked the Peace and Truce in their *generales curiae* sessions to fulfill their aims of preserving order and stability. These counts, moreover, worked in conjunction with the ecclesiastical authorities; such enhanced cooperation continued in Catalonia as a result of the ecclesiastical reforms of the eleventh century. Alfonso and Peter worked with a legislative system tightly focused on the movements of the Peace of God and the Truce of God. Both Alfonso and Peter shared another objective. For measures dealing with the Peace and Truce to work well, they needed the input and support of ecclesiastical officials. This is one reason why these movements began within regional church councils. Those councils offered lay and clerical leaders ways to collaborate to advance shared objectives, including fostering better organization and especially order throughout their territories. The collaboration between bishop and prince, or bishop and count, or bishop and king served as a tangible indicator of the linkage of political and spiritual authority. Reflections upon fostering peace, order, organization, and stability prompted these officials to think more about the obligations members of societies owed to each other. Examining

these obligations and duties led the leaders to explore the intersection of law, spirituality, and the practice of ethics. Stressing the convergence of all three themes brought greater unity to these leaders and to their communities during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Key political leaders placed an accelerating importance on Peace and Truce legislation during the twelfth century. Alfonso II of Aragon included significant Peace and Truce measures during the 1173 meeting at Fondarella. It marked one of his early efforts at strengthening his support throughout his realm as he assumed a more direct role in administering the affairs of the Crown of Aragon. As part of that effort, this was the first assembly to include a clear delineation of lands spanning the breadth of Catalonia; these lands marked the geographical boundaries of its limits.[1] Even in the prologue to the statutes, Alfonso emphasized that he intended this legislation for all his lands, from Salses to Tortosa and Lérida.[2] Alfonso and his advisers crafted a number of measures for this area. Following the example of his predecessors, and along with the counsel of his bishops and other respected men, Alfonso placed all churches and cemeteries under a perpetual peace and protection.[3] He also placed dependent farms of canons and monasteries under a peace. Violators of this owed double the value of any damage they caused as restitution.[4] Movables and immovables pertaining to the support of clergy, monks, widows, and nuns also received protection.[5] These measures stressed the peace and security Alfonso and his advisers wished to foster throughout Catalonia.

Thus, it is likely not an accident that this meeting occurred in the midst of internal instability, for within Catalonia a series of complaints against local magnates arose during the central and later years of the twelfth century. Many of these territories, as direct dependencies of the Count of Barcelona, enjoyed freedom from local control between 1140 and 1200.[6] Yet the experience of many inhabitants demonstrated that local magnates despoiled them of property and opportunities for advancement. Such measures undermined the peace and prosperity of the inhabitants and weakened their relationships with the Count of Barcelona. These considerations prompted them to seek redress from the count. Throughout these areas, therefore, a more exploitative pattern of lordship threatened to overtake an earlier pattern of lordship based particularly upon protection.[7] Inhabitants who believed that their local lords took undue and damaging advantage of them lodged complaints against these exploitive lords with the Count of Barcelona in the late twelfth century.

Residents of the Ribes Valley accused Raymond of Ribes, a prominent castellan, of seizing money and property as well as imposing arbitrary fines between 1162 and 1170.[8] William of Castellvell complained

against his castellan Berenguer (ca. 1160) that Berenguer had "usurped lordly powers, imposed uncustomary taxes, and constrained people to the point of capricious violence."[9] The people of Argençola dispatched a series of complaints against Berenguer of Clariana and his men, including the alleged burning of their lord Berenguer's castle (presumably Berenguer of Argençola) on the reverse of the complaint.[10] During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the proliferation of castles in various regions of France worked to the detriment of counts because the castellans themselves became local lords.[11] Working with these castellans could therefore be a problematic enterprise, especially since dealing with them effectively often meant forming and altering alliances, especially in southern France and Catalonia.[12] Catalonia faced the prospect of replicating the process of growth of local lords coupled with an increase in local violence. Issuing peaces and truces gave Catalan leaders a way to stem the repetition of that pattern in Catalonia.

Alfonso II's peace at Fondarella in 1173 included measures to encourage the major castellans and barons to work together to ensure security and stability for Catalonia. Castellans and barons had to maintain their holdings responsibly and then observe and confirm the statutes. These last two requirements would progress as important steps in the official creation of the Catalan *corts* under James the Conqueror.[13] It is also significant to note that Alfonso's key collaborator was Archbishop William of Tarragona, who also served as a papal legate (1171–1174). The first *capitulum* of the Fondarella statutes indicates that Archbishop William participated in the session's discussions,[14] and his contributions may have played a major role in shaping the final series of *capitula* approved at the meeting. His successor, Archbishop Berenguer of Tarragona (1174–1194), performed a similar service for Count Ermengol VIII of Urgel when he wished to issue Peace and Truce statutes for his county in 1187.[15] This tradition of Peace and Truce legislation remained important for Peter and his associates, and following his accession as king of Aragon, King Peter II tried to continue his father's emphasis upon reform, security, and peace.[16]

The 1200 and 1202 meetings for Peter continued the standard model of collaboration, as Archbishop Raymond of Tarragona (1198–1215) worked with him closely in both years.[17] Peter's predecessors convened many of their curiae sessions within times of stress, as his father had in 1173, for example. It would appear likely that there were some internal problems Peter had to deal with in the early years of his reign,[18] and indeed there was one that may have influenced the frequency of these early meetings as well as the enactment of Peace and Truce statutes during these sessions.

That peace received an alarming threat when a conflict spanning both sides of the Pyrenees disrupted northern Catalonia near the end of the twelfth century. The Counts of Foix and Urgel found themselves on opposing sides of a dispute involving their shared border across the Pyrenees.[19] War erupted between Count Raymond Roger of Foix and Count Ermengol VIII of Urgel in 1197.[20] One year later, Raymond Roger invaded Urgel, pillaging its cathedral, taking its canons prisoner, exacting a large ransom for them, and ravaging the countryside.[21] Many other Catalan leaders soon chose sides as the conflict spread throughout their county.[22] In the 1200 Barcelona curia session, King Peter stated that the Peace and Truce measures would take effect in all of his lands.[23] Interposing the peace would allow King Peter to help settle the conflict throughout Catalonia, the geographical area this measure detailed. In the intervening years, Raymond Roger could not maintain his siege of Urgel, but the details of how this occurred are not entirely clear. The parties ended hostilities on February 26, 1203,[24] and as a sign of their new peaceful relationship, both Raymond Roger and Ermengol VIII accompanied King Peter to Rome in 1204 for his consecration ceremony performed by Innocent III.[25]

If a leader and his advisers could convene a curia session in a time of great stress, it is possible that the 1208 session in Huesca arose in response to this problem. Thus this session began in the aftermath of troubles King Peter encountered in 1205 and 1206, exacerbated by his "unsteady character," his absences from Catalonia, and his subservience to Innocent III after the king's 1204 consecration.[26] The Huesca session of 1208 also contained a provision to emphasize the importance of the Peace and Truce in relation to helping a ruler defend and preserve peace and stability throughout his realm. This appeared in *capitulum* 3, treating the circumstances under which magnates had to give advice to their rulers.[27] Compilers of the record of this session included it in the *Fuero of Jaca*, and by the early thirteenth century, this particular fuero had already attained a highly respected status. That degree of respect reveals much about the importance residents of Northern Iberia attached to the search for peace.

In Iberia, members of municipal communities commonly visited other municipalities to learn about—and even imitate—measures within their fueros if these provisions gained popularity. In 1187, for example, Alfonso II observed that people from Castille, Navarre, and other lands regularly visited Jaca to learn more about the customs that prevailed in the city and also to take these customs back home with them. Indeed, towns with significant numbers of "foreign" inhabitants consulted the *Fuero of Jaca* (from its 1063 redaction and any subsequent revisions) and

incorporated its measures into their fueros. These visitors, additionally, consulted with legal experts in Jaca regarding the best methods to implement these provisions. Communities in Northern Iberia, especially in Navarre, engaged in this practice during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[28]

Both ecclesiastical and secular officials also faced the necessity of creating an intellectual basis for their efforts to preserve stability in their communities. They based these efforts upon the interaction of the two ideals of reform and utility. Legal specialists gained familiarity with utility (*utilitas*) from its prominence in Roman legal terminology.[29] *Utilitas* remained important for societies in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, to a large degree, because reformers had placed it at the center of the ecclesiastical reform movement of the eleventh century.

This reform effort included desires to protect inhabitants from violence. Protection was not a new aim, and rulers had been concerned with this issue for some time. Like his Carolingian counterparts in Francia, Charles the Bald offered protection to inhabitants from the violence of "powerful and lawless men."[30] In the later years of the tenth century, especially between 979 and 994, southern French bishops began looking for ways to foster order and peace more effectively in their dioceses.[31] Bishop Guy of Le Puy, for example, met with knights and peasants in his diocese at Saint-Germain in 975 to get advice about preserving peace. He then decided to support an oath urging people to respect the goods of the church and of the poor.[32] These meetings and discussions helped produce the genesis of the Peace of God movement. It attempted to place designated persons and things under ecclesiastical protection. People to be protected included clergy, monks, and the poor, while things to be protected included buildings and property of churches and anything the poor used to support themselves. As with Bishop Guy of Le Puy, or Archbishop Gumbald of Bordeaux along with his colleagues at the Synod of Charroux (ca. 989–990),[33] bishops provided the early leadership steering this movement and supporting the measures it produced.

As the Peace of God sought to protect certain people and property from armed conflict as well as continue the traditions of connectivity between Carolingian government and its people, the related movement of the Truce of God sought to stop any armed conflict at designated times.[34] The term "peace and truce" (*pax et treuga*) appeared in documents from Catalonia as early as the late tenth century,[35] but the first diocesan attempt at employing the Truce of God came with the Council of Toulouges in 1027 in the County of Roussillon.[36] This council's truce banned violence between Saturday evening and Monday morning.[37] Soon ecclesiastical officials added other times in their efforts to

curb violence.[38] Catalan awareness of the Peace of God increased as the archbishop of Narbonne's activities spread throughout the Midi and its influence extended across the Pyrenees to the dioceses in Catalonia, beginning in the eleventh century.[39]

Problems that Count Berenguer Raymond I of Barcelona (1017–1035) faced helped create new opportunities for officials to work together toward achieving better stability. As he had difficulties sustaining previous Catalan territorial expansion at the expense of Muslim neighbors, castellans within Catalonia began fighting among themselves and pillaging the lands of peasants. Legal stability also suffered in the process: a previous system of courts gave way to private settlement of disputes. Authorities began to turn to the Truce of God to prohibit fighting altogether at certain times to help solve these problems,[40] but it also became clear that collaboration between ecclesiastical and secular authorities was necessary to resolve the disputes and restore order whenever necessary. Count Berenguer Raymond I shared power with his mother, the Countess Ermessenda. She found a colleague in Bishop Oliba of Vic, and their collaboration proved vital for success in the efforts of the leaders of Catalonia.[41] Bishop Oliba advanced the importance of the Peace of God and the Truce of God as tools this group could use for fostering order and stability throughout Catalonia.

Bishop Oliba presided over the meetings at the Council of Toulouges in 1027, a council in the diocese of Vic in 1030, and the Council of Vic in 1033.[42] These early councils enacted a varying array of sanctions for violators of their provisions; those from Toulouges focused on sanctions dealing with church and monastic property, as well as people traveling to and from churches. This council relied primarily upon excommunication as a sanction for violating the peace of these places. The Council of Vic included financial penalties and the ordeal of cold water, and a group including ecclesiastical figures and members of the nobility approved its provisions. Thus by 1030, the Peace and Truce movements in Catalonia had become very flexible, ready to respond to the varied needs of those convening and attending the assemblies.[43]

Bishop Oliba was a member of the family of counts administering Cerdanya-Besalú, and he was also abbot of Santa Maria de Ripoll and Sant Miquel de Cuixà. He created an active career, as abbot, as bishop, and as a promoter of the Peace movement. In fact, Oliba's abbacies of important monasteries on both sides of the Pyrenees[44] give an early manifestation of that trend of forging transpyrenean linkages that will emerge so markedly with the Counts of Barcelona and kings of Aragon in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The bishop also worked with his brother Count Bernat of Besalú to hear a case between Count Hugh of

Empurias and Countess Ermessenda of Barcelona. Bishop Oliba heard the case along with his brother, a group of professional judges, and a group of nobles.[45] Upon his accession as bishop of Vic, Oliba faced challenges similar to those faced by Count Raymond Borrell and, later, Countess Ermessenda. All had to deal with the potential threats posed by the castellans (especially those along the marches) and their knights, particularly in the aftermath of the sacking of Barcelona in 985, the Muslim attack on the city in 1002–1003, and the difficulties Count Raymond Borrell had in controlling the castellans along the marches.[46] After Count Raymond Borrell's death around 1017, Countess Ermessenda administered the affairs of the county with diligence;[47] she also collaborated with Bishop Oliba to curb violence in the area.[48] This process conformed to the kind of shared government with ecclesiastical authorities that Ermessenda and her advisers wished to achieve, and ultimately, Catalonia avoided the tensions between secular and ecclesiastical leaders other areas experienced after the reform movements began.[49] As for Bishop Oliba himself, he did gain a reputation for fostering peaceful relations among his relatives, friends, colleagues, and members of his diocese.[50] At the Council of Toulouges in 1027, several members of the cathedral chapter of Elne joined him, as did a crowd of men and women very interested in the council's work.[51] This is an intriguing detail. Bishop Oliba himself may have attracted such interest, as a prominent member of an important comital dynasty in the area. Oliba may have brought on this interest as a bishop who combined the ecclesiastical and the familial and also inspired trust in his people. This is reminiscent of the story concerning how Saint Ambrose became bishop of Milan. He had worked as a member of a Roman aristocratic family, served as provincial governor of Milan, and then experienced a rapid elevation to the see of Milan in 374 by the acclamation of the city's citizens following the death of his predecessor. Part of the reason why that story circulated and spread beyond both Milan and northern Italy has to do with the trust Ambrose inspired in the populace before he became bishop. It remained with him during his pontificate and also remained a hallmark of both his approach and his effect upon people. Bishop Oliba appears to have had similar gifts. For the Peace (and shortly thereafter, the Truce) of God to work well, then, the collaboration of bishops and counts formed a critical component of the necessary support structure.

Bishop Oliba had another significant connection with the Peace of God and Truce of God movements—he enjoyed a close relationship with personnel from the monastery of Cluny. Cluny's abbot during Oliba's pontificate was Odilo (r. 994–1049). Some believe that Odilo's period as abbot was the greatest period in Cluny's history.[52] Odilo exercised influence in political and ecclesiastical affairs, a distinction he shared

with Bishop Oliba. Additionally, Odilo promoted both the Peace and the Truce of God.[53] Cluny acquired a reputation for supporting these movements, especially in light of the "disorders of lay society" that plagued Southern France in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.[54] Sources that would allow investigators to pinpoint Oliba's relations with Cluny no longer survive. It would have been difficult for Oliba to have overlooked Cluny while he served as abbot of Ripoll,[55] and this proximity suggests that Cluny may have inspired Oliba in his reform efforts.[56] With the strong work relationships he forged with clerical and episcopal colleagues, members of his family, members of his monastic communities, and members of the urban centers where he served, Bishop Oliba's career affords a striking example of the kind of "multiplier effect" that could arise from within a bishop's circle of colleagues and familiars. Some of the members of such a circle could themselves go on to fill other ecclesiastical positions once they became available, while others could continue pursuing the common interests of the members of the circle in their future endeavors, whether with members of the clergy or the laity. The activity that this "multiplier effect" suggests could thus serve as a vehicle for enhancing connections with respect to common policies and objectives.[57]

Largely stemming from the examples of Bishop Oliba, Countess Ermessenda, and Abbot Odilo, the use of the Truce of God spread first in southern France and then in Catalonia during the eleventh century. Odilo intervened to help shape the structure of the Peace and Truce in the Midi, the archbishop of Narbonne provided crucial support, and bishops from such dioceses as Barcelona, Girona, Urgel, and Carcassonne also attended.[58] By the second half of the eleventh century, assemblies at Barcelona in 1064 and Girona in 1068—when papal legate Hugh Candidus traveled to Girona to participate in the proceedings—included Peace and Truce legislation.[59] Count Raymond Berenguer I (1035–1076) along with his wife, Almodis, began the process of incorporating Peace and Truce legislation with comital initiative, along with including wishes of observance and enforcement measures.[60] The use of these enforcement measures raises an interesting issue because though Peace statutes usually upheld *pax et iustitia*, they required repairing damages, not inflicting punishments.[61] Such enforcement mechanisms signal the cementing alliances between secular and ecclesiastical authorities. Raymond Berenguer II (1076–1082) and Raymond Berenguer III (1096–1131) continued these patterns, though of these two counts, the latter remains more important here because of ambitious policies and early work on what would become the *Usatges of Barcelona*.[62] The Truce of God in particular acquired a rather stable position during the middle and later years of the eleventh century.[63]

Future Counts of Barcelona not only maintained interest in these enact-
ments, but they also pursued policies that would allow them to refine the
scope and activities incorporated within the Peace and Truce measures.

In the central years of the twelfth century, Raymond Berenguer IV
(1131–1162) consolidated Catalonia, coordinated activities with the
Templars, and employed Peace and Truce legislation to help settle con-
flicts.[64] This coincided with interest from other parties in the Peace and
Truce. Papal interest in the Truce had stretched back to, for example,
Leo IX in 1049, Nicholas II in 1059, Alexander II in 1068, and Urban II
from 1089 to 1099.[65] The pivotal interest came with Innocent II, starting
with councils at Clermont in 1130 and Reims in 1131.[66] At the Second
Lateran Council, Innocent declared that kings and princes had the power
to render justice in consultation with archbishops and bishops.[67] This
canon suggests, on a larger perspective, papal encouragement of secular
princes and ecclesiastical officials working together to secure stability
in their communities. *Treguam autem*, canon 12 of the Second Lateran
Council, included measures to advance the Truce of God.[68] Truce of God
legislation remained important for the rest of the century. As an example
of this importance, Ivo of Chartres included a *capitulum* for the Truce of
God in his *Panormia*. The text for this *capitulum* includes *Treguam autem*
from the Second Lateran Council.[69]

Peace and Truce measures comprised key features of broader efforts
to achieve ecclesiastical and social reform. Reform represented one of
the most important responses to challenges presented by political and
military instability. This was such a powerful response because it became
manifest in a number of different ways. Many of them continued their
influence down to the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries and thus
entered the thinking of Alfonso II, Peter II, and their advisers.

Pope Leo IX (1049–1054) embraced reform ideals early and helped
reshape the papacy in the process. He used *utilitas* as an anchoring idea for
his reform emphasis, stressing immediacy and propriety.[70] This use also
connected with historical uses of the term going back to Roman law. It
had been important, for example, in detailing the functions of a praetor.[71]
It is also interesting to note that when Leo entered Rome at his acces-
sion as pope, he entered as a pilgrim.[72] This is an important point, and in
detailing its significance, it is worth connecting this account with a simi-
lar story regarding a Count of Barcelona from the late ninth century.

The compilers of the *Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña* included a story
about Count Wifred the Hairy that illustrates the importance the com-
pilers attached to pilgrimage, their wish to indicate this importance for
Count Wifred and his associates near the end of the ninth century, and
the general significance of pilgrimage during the early years of the central

Middle Ages. Thus these considerations would have been very similar to the ones influencing Pope Leo's decision to enter Rome as a pilgrim upon his accession to the pontificate.[73]

According to the compilers of the *Chronicle*—and they were likely following the earlier *Gesta comitum Barcinonensium* here—Count Wifred (father of "the Hairy"), upon receiving the County of Barcelona from the king of France, traveled to Narbonne to confer with one of the king's knights. After a disagreement between the parties, Count Wifred killed the knight, and the knight's associates then moved to seize him. Count Wifred, unwilling to be captured, provoked a fight with the French soldiers preparing to take him. The French soldiers killed him during the ensuing battle.

Following the death of his father, Wifred the Hairy was taken to the king of France, who ordered the Count of Toulouse to take responsibility for the boy's rearing. As he became an adult, one of the count's daughters fell in love with him, and she became pregnant with his child. Her mother concealed the pregnancy, but she also gave Wifred an opportunity to join her family. She said that she would support their marriage if he would recover his county of Barcelona. Wifred agreed to her proposal.

The countess dressed Wifred in pilgrim's clothing for him to travel to and enter Barcelona. He did so, and upon his arrival, his mother recognized him immediately. (This is part of the reason why he earned the sobriquet "the Hairy," for the compilers of the *Chronicle* noted that he had hair on parts of his body where one would not normally find such hair.) Shortly thereafter, she called for an assembly of nobles who had known the elder Count Wifred to meet her son. They pledged their loyalty to the younger Count Wifred when they met him, especially as they remembered what had happened to his father. He eventually married the daughter of the Count of Toulouse, and she joined him in Barcelona. Wifred also returned to the king of France "and received the County of Barcelona from him."[74]

The major turning point of this story occurs when the Countess of Toulouse dressed the young Wifred in pilgrim's clothing. The text suggests that Wifred entered Barcelona wearing this clothing. He, with the encouragement of the countess, could have done so for a number of reasons. First, the countess and Wifred could have expected that he would have been able to travel safely as a pilgrim. This was one of the privileges pilgrims enjoyed, and it became more important as the numbers of pilgrims increased during the early and central Middle Ages.[75] That pilgrims enjoyed a special status was a hallmark of Jewish, Christian, and Muslim communities, stretching back at least to the patriarch Abraham and his journey from Ur to the Holy Land. There were more pilgrims traveling

throughout western Europe and, when possible, to the Holy Land as well. Rulers were also using pilgrimage to strengthen their connections to Rome and to the papacy. Second, Wifred's entry into Barcelona as a pilgrim would have been an indicator of his humility. Demonstrating humility would have been important, especially in his situation. He was returning to a home he had not seen since he had been very young, he was attempting to assume the responsibilities his father had exercised before him, he was trying to work with associates of his father with whom he had not developed relationships of trust beforehand (though his mother could and did help with this challenge), and in resuming his father's former responsibilities, he wished for people he encountered to accept him as their new and rightful leader. To accomplish such an ambitious program, Wifred, especially as a young man, needed to project an image of stability, respect, and trust. Demonstrating humility would go a long way toward helping him fulfill these objectives. Returning to Barcelona as a pilgrim, therefore, displayed the importance of his task and the humility of his approach. It is interesting to note, moreover, that other rulers of the period were taking pilgrimages to help them accomplish similar goals, even a newly selected pope who entered Rome after a period of conflict and strife. Pope Leo wished the people to accept him as their rightful pope. Projecting a composite image of stability, respect, and trust would help him create a key foundation for his work.

To this reform foundation Pope Leo added a focus on canon law. In connection with the reform measures he enacted at the Synod of Reims in October 1049, he stated that he was creating initiatives such as these for the utility of Christianity.[76] Moreover, he believed that exercising the office of pope required him to advance policies he thought necessary for the benefit of his community. If instilling a proper code of behavior was crucial in improving a society, Leo acted from the perspective of one who thought the pope could help direct that process.[77]

Advancing the success of this reform process included adding a conceptual advantage embracing reform and community cohesion. Leo placed *utilitas* at the center of his ideas for ecclesiastical reform, and his emphasis upon *utilitas* advanced his reform efforts and his subsidiary interests in supporting the success of Christian communities. In this process, Leo followed a pattern that other authors in the period employed with respect to Roman terminology, especially in a legal context: they would take Roman legal concepts and broaden the scope of their meanings, thus transforming the subjects they could describe with these terms. A famous example of this process is the transformation of the Roman legal maxim *quod omnes tangit* from a term that described the interests of the parties in Roman cotutorship to an adaptable maxim that helped medieval lawyers

expand the principle of consent.[78] Legal specialists approached the concept of utility with similar flexibility.

These scholars helped give the concept of utility a double significance: it remained an important legal concept, and officials could also use it to suggest necessary courses of action in dealing with the needs of their communities. The concept of *utilitas* thus retained intellectual and social implications. The twelfth-century scholar Thierry of Chartres taught that one could understand utility in three ways: there could be utility in possessions or property, in a body, and in other things.[79] Utility in property included the usefulness and importance of settlements and households, and utility in other things included the broader components of a society, such as the republic itself.[80] When the term appeared in the language of representative assemblies, as it did with Alfonso II and Peter II, it signaled important developments for Catalonia and Aragon.[81]

For his 1200 meeting of the curia in Barcelona, Peter issued the most elaborate prologue to the statutes of any of the curiae sessions. Within this prologue, Peter stated that he acted in accord with public utility.[82] As pointed out earlier, in 1200 Peter had to handle at least one major domestic squabble—the war between the Counts of Foix and Urgel. Such a consideration for public utility would fit well with trying to quell that dispute. There was, additionally, precedent for making such a statement: Alfonso II had made similar statements at curiae meetings in 1173 at Perpignan,[83] in 1173 at Fondarella,[84] and in 1188 at Girona.[85] The statement of Peter II in 1200 not only upheld precedent, but it also reflected some influence of Roman law concerning the responsibility of a ruler, heightened in this case because of domestic instabilities. Both Alfonso and Peter demonstrated interest in the Roman legal tradition by including provisions supporting its use within their Peace and Truce enactments at the end of the twelfth century, specifically in 1192 and 1198.[86] *Utilitas publica* formed an important theme for the early thirteenth century.[87]

Indeed, by the thirteenth century, the concept of *utilitas publica* had undergone a long period of development and transformation, beginning as early as the late Roman Republic. Cicero used it in a number of his works. Considering utility generally, he linked it with natural law.[88] More specifically, he used *utilitas publica* to show how law should connect with the society; law should work in accordance with common utility,[89] and in addition, utility connects with equity.[90] Common utility also relates to the public itself;[91] modern concepts of public welfare and the public good preserve resonances with this terminology. Though Cicero had remained an important figure over the years, renewed interest in his work emerged in the twelfth century. Masters often taught *De inventione* in the schools, and in one commentary from England before 1150, the author substituted

contemporary examples for those classical ones provided in the text.[92] From a manuscript that may date from Paris between 1175 and 1195, we also know that teachers made use of *De officiis*, commenting that it was most useful.[93]

Two Roman jurists continued to examine the concept of *utilitas publica* in the early third century CE. In his *Definitions*, Papinian wrote that the praetors created praetorian law through supplementing or correcting the *ius civile* for the sake of public utility.[94] In his *Edict*, Ulpian explored the quasi-delict of someone pouring or throwing something out of a building onto a public thoroughfare, and he stated that since the praetor (in a praetorian edict) would grant an action for damages suffered from this quasi-delict, no one would oppose it because, in the public interest, people deserved to move about without fear or danger.[95]

Utilitas publica remained a significant term in the early Middle Ages, and indeed other similar terms, such as *utilitas populi*, had a corresponding importance at approximately the same time.[96] As early as the third century, the concept of *utilitas ecclesiae* appeared as an important part of the exercise of ecclesiastical government, beginning with the church in Africa and then extending more broadly to include the rest of the church as well. That process was complete by the middle years of the third century. Soon the idea of the saving mission of the church complemented the general characteristics for church government, and that mission focused on the work of clergy and bishops within the sacramental system. In stating his concerns that the church ordain only as many priests as it needed to discharge its work, Pope Leo I said that too many ordinations would have created a "useless" or insufficient situation for the church.[97] Usage of the term *utilitas ecclesiae* also included concern for the "physical welfare of individuals."[98] During the late years of the fourth century, the development of the term *utilitas ecclesiae* paralleled the corresponding development of the term *utilitas publica*.[99] The papacy employed the term *utilitas publica* from the fifth to the fifteenth centuries, with ideas such as the pope as the *pater reipublicae* because he knew what was useful or suitable, and he had been entrusted with the *cura et sollicitudo* of all churches and thus, by extension, all Christians.[100] Officials in Normandy adopted the Peace of God during the middle of the eleventh century for the sake of public utility.[101] Language such as this would continue to be used in the fourteenth century; Oldradus de Ponte, for example, argued in his *Consilia* that, in addition to previous practice, since a person contributed taxes to the state for the sake of *utilitas publica*, a continuing necessity could exist that would render these payments more regular to support the habitual need of the province.[102] Alfonso X the Learned in the middle of the thirteenth century also held that the king could take more than usual

in emergencies because it was necessary for the common welfare.[103] Papal and secular legal experts advanced theories of emergency in the thirteenth century that touched the king and kingdom (*status regis et regni*); the Roman legal maxim *quod omnes tangit* reinforced these theories.[104] During the earlier thirteenth century, though, popes employed *utilitas publica* particularly, though not exclusively, in accordance with refinements in the uses of papal power. The interests of the papacy and rulers connected well in working through how legal systems were to handle criminals, given that broad questions about this issue had helped spark the dispute between Henry II and Thomas Becket. As Innocent III thought through the issues this dispute raised, he said that for the sake of public utility, crimes should not remain unpunished.[105] An array of measures could thus be employed to justify the use of papal power for the sake of *utilitas publica*, such as opposing treaties entered into by kings, approving the succession, prohibiting trade with Muslims or pagans, excommunicating persons in territories under interdict, confiscating property, and deposing kings.[106]

The deposition of kings raises an important issue, for *utilitas publica* had special consequences for the Iberian Peninsula in the thirteenth century. On July 24, 1245, in the decretal *Grandi*, Innocent IV deposed Sancho II of Portugal and appointed Sancho's brother Afonso, Count of Boulogne, as guardian.[107] Innocent had received complaints from prelates and others in Portugal,[108] much as the Counts of Barcelona had received complaints against unruly castellans during the twelfth century. Innocent summed up Sancho's acts by stating that, by relying on bad counsel, he had violated ecclesiastical liberties and encouraged his officials to imitate his example.[109] Gregory IX had forced Sancho to restore the liberties of the churches he had violated and repair the broken relationships, but Sancho persisted in his wayward course; thus the disorder he faced now resulted from his own negligence and support of wicked counsel.[110] Sancho II became a *rex inutilis* in Innocent IV's eyes, and Sancho's inability to act in accordance with principles of utility played a crucial role in Innocent IV's decision.[111] One would expect for Roman law to have bequeathed some sense of responsibility to medieval rulers,[112] and with the added role of papal supervision, ruling capriciously and destructively could result in deposition; this act stemmed from both canon and Roman law. These developments have two implications. First, in the early thirteenth century, the University of Bologna attracted many students for legal studies; these included Sinibaldo dei Fieschi (the future Innocent IV), Laurentius Hispanus, Vincentius Hispanus, and Johannes Teutonicus.[113] There may have been students at the University of Bologna from Catalonia as early as the late twelfth century[114] and, considering the early career of

the respected canonist Saint Raymond of Penyafort, certainly by 1218.[115] General Catalan interest in Roman law increased during the twelfth century and beyond. A number of ecclesiastical figures expressed interest in the *Digest* in particular, whether through copies they owned themselves or through study of these texts in ecclesiastical libraries, especially in Barcelona. This process continued during the thirteenth century, as interest in Catalonia spread concerning the other components of classical Roman law, especially study of the *Institutes*.[116] The career and influence of the jurist Placentinus, who had worked in the Midi at least twice during the second half of the twelfth century, gave a strong stimulus to this process. All of this represents a growing and deepening interest in and potential use of the two laws (Roman law and canon law). Second, the Crown of Aragon and Portugal remained closely allied with the papacy.

The Peace and Truce of God movements played central roles in providing stability for rulers and their communities. These movements were so influential, in part, because they worked best when rulers and clergy collaborated to enact their measures and respond to the needs of the people living in their communities. In time these measures would help assist in the origin and growth of representative assemblies as town representatives began to attend these sessions. As facets of the political, religious, and even urban life of medieval communities, the Peace and Truce movements remain significant.

These movements had intricate connections with other fields of interest and endeavor, including the legal foundations supporting thriving communities. Though the medieval jurists took the key language of *utilitas publica* out of the context of criminal law from which it had been forged at least as early as the period of the Roman Republic,[117] their procedure of commentary holds a clue to the development of ideas concerning community in the High Middle Ages. The legal terminology surrounding *utilitas* and *comunis publica* allowed the compilers of texts dealing with the nascent representative assemblies to transform them from the contexts of criminal law and procedure and apply these terms to the broader welfare of entire communities. Much the same holds for canonists too, for with them as well the interest in and development of the language of utility touched upon criminal matters, but the canonists developed a decided bent toward supporting the livelihood of the entire community.

There remains an important connection to another versatile and foundational legal concept. The Roman jurist Ulpian provided one of the most famous definitions of justice in the central years of the sixth century: "Justice is the constant and perpetual resolve to give everyone their due."[118] Though this definition has provided the basic conceptualization of justice for many societies, including those in late antiquity

and throughout the Middle Ages, some scholars have arrived at alternate definitions of justice that have emphasized other worthy traits. During the fourteenth century, for example, an anonymous scholar or his scribe made notes in the scholar's copy of *Lectura* on the *Decretum* of Gratian. One critical note is a quotation that reads, "Justice is love serving only with delight."[119] The quotation, stressing the close linkage between justice and love, is from Saint Augustine's *De moribus ecclesiae*.[120] Connecting justice and love represented a major theme throughout the Augustinian tradition, and its resonance would reverberate from late antiquity and persist through the Middle Ages: we encounter this very association of justice and love continuing to inspire masters and students steeped in the Augustinian tradition in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[121] The signal appearance of this quotation in a legal context helps delineate a view of justice and love linked so that as justice connects with the love of the Divine, it further connects with the source of proper governance. Indeed, jurists active in refining approaches to legal procedure and governance during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were placing greater emphasis upon the needs of and rights due to members of communities, not just to the rulers of these communities.[122] Legal practitioners strove to uphold the interests of justice and serve as effective searchers of facts.[123] Focused thinking on justice had been a major concern of Pope Gregory VII, and thereafter it continued as a major theme among the ensuing sets of ecclesiastical reformers. Many of Gregory's basic concerns for justice lay in settling disputes, but over the years, as these disputes increased in frequency and complexity—both during and following his pontificate—the additional themes to which justice could connect also grew and developed correspondingly.[124]

Another canonist from the circle of reformers during the eleventh and twelfth centuries advanced the aims of reform with his themes and methods. Alger of Liège's work *Liber de misericordia et justitia* (*Book of Mercy and Justice*) represented an important link in the development of terms important for canon law and theology. It also profoundly influenced the practice of working with the sources of canon law. Alger used methods and themes from the work of Ivo of Chartres—especially Ivo's *Panormia*—to explore the significance of mercy and justice. Alger explored these themes, for example, with a "*sic et non*" method, arranging the items under discussion in order according to the other sources expressing similar positions to those in a given section.[125] Ivo's work influenced him in this regard, and this style of argumentation, in turn, continued to influence the work of scriptural scholars and canonists throughout the twelfth century. Like Ivo, Alger emphasized the centrality of *caritas* (love) in his work. Thanks in part to the work of Ivo and Alger, *caritas* began to appear

at the center of discussions on how it might combine with mercy and justice in working with legal matters, and more specifically, this process involved discussions concerning equity.[126] We have returned, therefore, to a point originally made by the Roman poet Horace: "utility is the mother of justice and equity."[127]

Contemporaries examined the benefits of love from within other secular communities, too. There are many examples of these explorations, but here one from someone who very likely knew Peter is of particular interest. In his song "*Aissi cum es genser*," or "Just as the spring is more beautiful," the troubadour Raimon de Miraval (fl. 1185–1213) contrasted themes of love with themes of deceit. In the Provencal, the first line of this song is, "*Ma domna et eu et Amors.*" This triplet of the lady, the speaker, and Love at the opening of the poem establishes the close connection among all three, at least at the outset. Given the melodic structure of what would be the opening line of stanza 2, the word *Amors* receives a slightly more extended treatment than any other word in this line. Were there more notes for this line, the word *Amors* would have a treatment similar to the melismatic treatment of words common when a single syllable receives many notes unfolded over that one syllable. In this line, the word *Amors* receives five notes with an initial descending and then an ascending gesture, while *domna* receives three notes and *eu* receives one. Miraval draws the performer's and listener's attention to the role of Amors not just in this line but also throughout this entire song. At the beginning of the next stanza, this devotion to love produces the related virtues of joy and honor for the speaker.[128]

In the same song, at stanzas 4 and 5, an important motivating and organizing principle is deceit, in contrast to the theme of love. The deceit the speaker describes here, prompting the lady to trickery, is the cause of the breaking apart of the unity the speaker, the lady, and Love had formerly enjoyed. One way to approach the poem is to view it as an explanation of what happens when deceit prevents the growth and development of love. To help alleviate the wake of this disappointment, the speaker seeks mercy. The speaker thus harbors disdain for a lady who gains "merit" by dishonest means.[129] The conceptualization of love that Raimon de Miraval has explored here and elsewhere sheds more light upon the angles of observation available when considering the ramifications of love, whether in emphasizing its role in solidifying personal relationships or in stabilizing social and emotional ties for conducting affairs at a royal or noble court. In both cases, the needs and the desires of the community remain a crucial factor in aligning the conduct of the persons with the development of the social world around them.[130]

Such developments modify a theme we have been pursuing for the Iberian Mediterranean communities of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Members of these communities searched, as previously suggested, for the binding forces that could link communities together. They also searched for ways to create and sustain these links. The discussions on *utilitas* in its varied forms advanced that desire for creating links within and across societies. This had political and, additionally, psychological implications. The eminent Cistercian author Aelred of Rievaulx pursued these themes in his work *Spiritual Friendship* during the early twelfth century, especially as he discussed the growth of a friend in "'virtue and grace.'" Aelred described the friendship as having a basis in mutual affection, just as Cicero would have said in his treatments of friendship. *Utilitas* marked the distinguishing feature of his friend's continued progress, and as the friendship grew deeper, Aelred's friend accepted greater responsibilities in helping to protect Aelred's interests and reputation.[131] Thus such positive attributes as virtue, honesty, discipline, and *utilitas* merged to help create the highest level of human friendship. This friendship, moreover, provided a preview of the love of Jesus, an idea Alcuin championed.[132] Saint Bernard of Clairvaux continued and extended this work, as he explored a number of connections linking friendship, *utilitas*, and love.[133] In fact, in considering the characteristics of the Holy Spirit with the *Rule* of Saint Benedict in mind, Saint Bernard discussed the centrality of love by suggesting that one developed in love in a progression. Growth in love, therefore, is a process. Humility activates and helps sustain that process, and over time, this love drives out fear, much as in the Scriptural passage "Perfect love casts out fear."[134] The intersection of humility and love produces a process by which, in Saint Bernard's description, the Holy Spirit replaces fear with love. Thus humility and love emerged as two key concepts for Bernard. They also decisively shaped his spirituality.[135] As a number of writers were noticing, therefore, the search for love represented one of the best ways of achieving the unity they sought. Interests in pursuing this unity stretched from such diverse sources as the rhetorical explorations of the School of Chartres during the twelfth century, the scholarship and network of Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo during the early thirteenth century, and the work of the versatile scholar Alan of Lille also during the early thirteenth century.[136] The School of Chartes supported a number of trends. At the outset, it had a series of poets active along with a series of scholars, and members of both groups experienced a fusion of their common interests. The recovery of some of Aristotle's works, moreover, dates from the second half of the twelfth century. Members of the School of Chartres also maintained a general interest in the works and approaches of Plato, and

therefore both the recovery of ancient texts and the continuing interest in ancient texts nourished their studies. The characteristics for these studies included interests in human motivation, experience, and psychology. Along with these attributes went an interest in what we would now call the humanistic disciplines within the humanities. It was also a school occupied with nature and naturalism, with focuses on studying nature and gaining a greater acquaintance with its properties. There was, too, a focus on immanence in theological matters, and this feature helps provide fertile ground for the future growth in and exploration of mystical theology. That this would occur alongside a growth in interest on the part of Western merchants and scholars in Eastern affairs is, at the very least, an example of felicitous timing.[137] The kind of simultaneous investigations produced in Genesis and Plato's *Timaeus* that represented a hallmark of the approach of Thierry of Chartes and his colleagues would continue, in various ways, during the Middle Ages as well as in the Renaissance.[138]

Interest both in Cicero and in the rhetorical tradition to which he contributed helped advance the teaching of rhetoric, the development of spirituality, and the development of resources to focus on the process of growth. Saint Augustine took up an idea from Cicero and continued it within his work, including his work on Christian teaching (*De doctrina Christiana*). The idea was the joining of *sapientia* and *eloquentia*, or wisdom and eloquence. This is not surprising, considering the stress that Cicero and Quintilian would have placed on the art of speaking well and on the persuasive qualities present when the speaker is trustworthy and truthful.[139] Saint Augustine, in fact, regarded the "'law of love'" as the key determinant for the interpretation of scripture.[140] Thus, the stress these authors placed on the quality of goodness is shown in the variants of the adjective *bonus* that appear in their descriptions of the speaker as well as the quality of the speech the speaker produced. Others found this pairing important and useful. In the eighth century, for example, Alcuin commended this double emphasis in an account of a dialogue with Charlemagne; this account was created largely under the influence of Cicero's work. As an example of the continuing interest in Cicero's work and methods, Thierry of Chartres used the pairing of *sapientia* and *eloquentia* in his teaching at Chartres during the twelfth century.[141] The persistence of masters and students specializing in advanced rhetorical studies at Chartres during the twelfth century has been challenging to substantiate,[142] but apparently a teaching tradition of wisdom and eloquence influenced many scholars at that time. A series of active chancellors served Chartres during the twelfth century, and scholars teaching there or affiliated with the school—including these chancellors—served as teachers. During the central years of that century Thierry of Chartres,

for example, produced a detailed commentary upon the rhetorical work of Cicero.[143] This work made the themes and methods of the rhetorical tradition available for students and any associates who worked with them.

The School of Chartres nurtured an active teaching tradition that educated students, spread from them to others these students met, and preserved a focus on the practice of rhetoric. During the twelfth century, many students were attracted to scholars more for the reputation of the scholars themselves than for the reputation of the institutions where they taught; the career of Peter Abelard is a good reminder of this trend.[144] Yet it is equally true that for there to have ever been students at Chartres in any capacity and for any length of time, there must have been masters there to work with them. That kernel of teaching at Chartres helped form the strands of influence emanating from that tradition. It then had a lasting effect on those who either studied there or worked with those who had, or with the works they produced. Those who studied at Chartres would have traveled elsewhere eventually and talked with others whom they met. Oral transmission of knowledge remained important in medieval society generally, both within and outside of the classroom. It was meaningful for both speakers and hearers. If masters and students connected to a Chartrain educational tradition discussed their objectives, interests, questions, and findings with each other, they also may have done the same with others outside of their own educational community. In this fashion, they would have influenced both their associates and others beyond who may well have studied elsewhere but shared many of the same interests and fundamental approaches. Even if the interest in Platonic studies was more ephemeral than actual, it is doubtful that Plato would have been the only subject the masters and students would have taken up. Given the close relationships among rhetoric and other disciplines such as law, theology, and poetry that persisted from the classical period through the Renaissance, it would not have been surprising for the masters and students at Chartres to explore interests in rhetorical matters. Thierry of Chartres, for example, wrote a commentary on the rhetorical work of Cicero. Providing glosses or commentaries on commonly studied texts formed a trend that accelerated during the central Middle Ages. It would act as a key activity in university education within and outside of the classroom once the universities began and spread. Glossing also operated in educational communities outside of the university setting altogether. Providing such commentaries was an important way of conveying both ideas and the linkages surrounding those ideas, and their presence here tells us something about the way that contemporaries discussed and explored such concepts as utility, justice, and love.

For all three of these concepts remained vital in societies from the classical period to the Renaissance.

While scholars and students worked with the influence of the Ciceronian encouragement to join wisdom and eloquence, they also began bringing together the studies of grammar and rhetoric. In the early stages of the development of the medieval *trivium*, these were indeed distinct subjects. From late antiquity to the Middle Ages, however, the boundaries between them became much more fluid. Even the study of dialectic was not very separate from the study of both grammar and rhetoric.[145] This trend, combined with the availability of Aristotelian texts, helps explain the growth of interest in exploring the rhetoric of opposites. Peter Abelard had much to contribute to this process, whether by the specific production of *Sic et non* or his general teaching interest in helping students find the complementary and divergent perspectives on an array of topics and then find ways to explore their separateness and their commonalities. This was an important teaching tool, certainly, but it also had ramifications for study and scholarship. Those ramifications would help give sharper definition to the studies of rhetoric, law, and spirituality— just to name three areas—during the central Middle Ages. For example, Cassiodorus in the sixth century, Rabanus Maurus in the ninth century, and Hugh of Saint Victor in the twelfth century all took inspiration for their teaching program from Augustine.[146] All of these scholars had lasting influence during the Middle Ages, and they nourished many fields of study, including rhetoric, law, and spirituality.

The idea of the *mutatio vitae* represents one important component of this language of spirituality. It would represent the change of life that resulted when someone lived in order to bring about a *reformatio ad imaginem Dei*, or a reformation to the image of the Divine.[147] This emphasis extended throughout the systems for reform proposed during the patristic era.[148] Augustine's emphasis upon the spiritual development of the person working within a community—for he placed particular stress upon monks, clerics, and *conversi* who all would have worked within intentional communities—provided a pathway for change stretching from the person to the communities within which these persons worked and lived.[149] These ideals of reformation, paired with corresponding interests in the personal and communal aspects of reform, acted as powerful stimuli for renewal and reform during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[150]

Renewal and reform objectives included a focus upon the inner development of those engaged in these processes. Reformers promoted cultivating stronger affective bonds among members of their communities, and they considered developing the capacities for *caritas* (love) as one of the most important parts of this process. Interest in this concept was not

new during the medieval period, for writers in the ancient period and in late antiquity explored the ranges of meanings that *caritas* could suggest. Cicero discussed *caritas* as the special bond that joined parents and children, and Saint Augustine said that *caritas* linked people together in ties of unity.[151] As the continuity of these trends suggest, the discussions concerning love and its characteristics remained very influential, additionally, throughout the course of the Middle Ages.[152]

Thus medieval writers—especially those steeped in legal, rhetorical, or theological learning—would have familiarized themselves with Saint Augustine's work on love, as well as the many other discussions of it in many different fields. Such scholars in theology as Rabanus Maurus and Hugh of Saint Victor found inspiration in Augustine's work. So did specialists in theology and rhetoric, such as Alcuin and Thierry of Chartres. They took notable inspiration from Augustine's stress on the Ciceronian pairing of wisdom and eloquence.[153] Linking wisdom, eloquence, and utility could give greater psychological impact to discussions of justice and, ultimately, love. As scholars pursued the relationships of justice and love, theological and political figures explored the linkages between justice and peace while they refined the concepts of the Peace and Truce of God. These scholars and their associates benefited from advances in the teaching of rhetoric, the stress on the liberal arts in institutions of learning, the collaborative relationships cultivated by scholars and political leaders, the growth in legal expertise, and the willingness of leaders and scholars to think carefully about the ethical dimensions of discharging their responsibilities.

The growth of love formed a prominent complementary focus of the discussions on utility and community stability. It further enhanced these specific, sometimes technical theological and legal discussions with broader considerations of psychology and even emotion. That raises the related issue of how these emotions, if they could help support the stability of an entire community, could be nourished so that they enhance the stability of individual people. This is a key function of social institutions, and the educational institution (like the nascent universities), the cloister, and the household all represent important institutions designed to channel the attention and energies of their participants in ways that would benefit the larger communities to which they belonged. In the household, for example, many recognized that creating and keeping stable marriage alliances worked to the advantage of many, not least the married parties themselves. Inheritance matters loomed large in these considerations of marriage, and indeed, keeping inheritances together and transmitting them securely from one generation to the next was a key feature of marriage. If these marriages were to work, though, they

had to be created and contracted carefully. The laws governing marriage were undergoing significant investigation and refinement during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and as investigators sought to stabilize the arrangements for marriage, varied parties found ways to dispense with unsatisfactory partners in order to obtain more suitable marriages. Their manifold calculations included reasons of inheritance, personal preference, and diplomatic advantage. They searched for stability, emotional compatibility, and indeed unity, with varying degrees of success. The marriage of Peter II and Marie of Montpellier demonstrates many of these characteristics: it began with great promise and represented an ambitious attempt at forging closer connections on both sides of the Pyrenees. It also yielded both social and political intrigue as Peter and Marie, like many others, encountered difficulties in their marriage. In their attempts to secure fitting marriage partners for themselves, Peter and Marie continued the search for connectivity that animated their colleagues and neighbors.

CHAPTER 5

THE MATRIMONIAL ADVENTURES OF PETER II OF ARAGON AND MARIE OF MONTPELLIER

In examining the marital strategies of Peter II of Aragon and his wife Marie of Montpellier, a set of similar concerns operated throughout such areas as Mediterranean commerce, dealing with heterodox and heretical religious movements, and supporting crusading along with religious reform. Peter and Marie worked to achieve their objectives in different ways. Both wanted to create and keep solid, workable marriage alliances. For Peter, pressing this aim meant looking to southern France to find a suitable marriage partner, as had many Counts of Barcelona before him. He found a partner in Marie of Montpellier, but within two years after their wedding, Peter was already looking for another partner. By then he had initiated divorce proceedings against Marie. Stories surfaced a few years later that, in the midst of the Albigensian Crusade, Peter searched still. This incessant quest characterized his efforts for a suitable marriage alliance. For Marie, keeping a solid marriage alliance meant challenging Peter when he tried to divorce her. Her reliance on an able staff of legal advisers served her well, as did her determination to sustain her own interests. Both Peter and Marie worked in the climate of a region struggling with heresy. Though Peter opposed heresy, he entertained a diplomatic alliance with Toulouse, an area where many heretics lived. This association had dangerous implications, especially for a ruler who did not support heresy himself. Marie opposed any such alliance with Toulouse, especially since Montpellier and its surrounding areas were staunchly orthodox. Crusading affected both too. Peter was interested in positioning himself to take advantage of crusading enterprises in the East and West. Marie had to deal with the consequences of

crusading in southern France, and since the Albigensian Crusade focused on the area surrounding Toulouse, her opposition to a closer involvement with Toulouse was well founded. If Peter created ambitious plans for enhancing his position in southern France and the Mediterranean, Marie created equally ambitious strategies for countering him where his plans endangered her position. The matrimonial adventures of Peter and Marie highlight the complex matters linking individual people and their respective families throughout the Mediterranean in the early thirteenth century.

King Peter's ambitions for territorial and familial advantages across the Pyrenees grew steadily during the twelfth century, and indeed as that century progressed, the Counts of Barcelona enhanced their alliance system throughout southern France. Count Raymond Berenguer III of Barcelona provided an early model, for he worked energetically to advance the position of his family in southern France. He married the heiress to the county of Provence in 1112, and in the following year, she conceded Provence to him.[1] Count Raymond used his marriage as an opportunity to expand his influence throughout the Midi, especially in the area of Toulouse.[2] Raymond Berenguer III himself continued the expansionist policies initiated by Count Raymond Berenguer I in the eleventh century. Raymond Berenguer I's marriage to Almodis of La Marche in 1052 forms the most notable example of his policies.[3] Expeditions to the Balearic Islands during the early eleventh century indicated the potential for diplomatic and commercial benefits available to leaders of Catalonia willing to expand their regional connections.[4]

When Raymond Berenguer III died in 1131, he chose to divide up his realm; his eldest son received the County of Barcelona and became Raymond Berenguer IV (1131–1162), whereas his second son, Berenguer Raymond, became Count of Provence. Berenguer Raymond died in 1144 while participating in an expedition against pirates, and in the minority of his successor, Raymond Berenguer IV was able to resume the title of Count of Provence.[5] During these years, the coalition against Toulouse formed, following the outlines of Raymond Berenguer III's alliance system. During these middle years of the twelfth century, the Count of Foix, the Viscount of Carcassonne, the Lord of Montpellier, and Ermengard of Narbonne all entered the coalition against Toulouse. By the 1150s, this alliance was complete.[6] This alliance was so important for Ermengard of Narbonne that one recent investigator of her career has called it the "lynchpin" of the political alliance in which she participated for much of her life.[7] This relationship offered assistance to Henry II when he invaded southern France in support of his claim to the County of Toulouse through his wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine.[8]

This alliance remained intact for most of the second half of the twelfth century.[9]

As the twelfth century ended, however, the coalitions forged throughout southern France changed dramatically. Richard began to focus more of his energies on countering Philip Augustus of France, and removing himself from conflicts in western and southwestern France would have made that policy easier to achieve.[10] A number of deaths also removed many of the immediate competitors.[11] In 1184, for example, both Count Raymond V of Toulouse and Raymond Trencavel, an Aragonese ally in southern France, died. One of the most important participants, Alfonso II of Aragon, died in 1196. These deaths thus advanced the potential that new and mostly younger rulers in the area might choose to form different alliance patterns. Since, for example, Richard I of England no longer had an interest in checking any political or territorial gains made for Toulouse, a potential emerged to refashion the alliance patterns in the region. In this climate, therefore, Peter II of Aragon, born in July 1178[12] and Count of Barcelona from 1196 to 1213, began to search for both diplomatic and marriage alliances with a wider array of choices available to him than to his immediate predecessors. Eventually he settled on Marie of Montpellier as his choice for a wife, but she became available for marriage only after enduring the death of her first husband and the repudiation of her second husband.

Marie of Montpellier was the daughter of William VIII of Montpellier and his first wife, the Byzantine princess Eudoxia Comnena. She was born in 1181 or 1182.[13] She had already married twice before she married Peter in 1204. Her first husband was Barral, Viscount and Procurator of Provence, who served on behalf of Alfonso II in Alfonso's capacity as Count of Provence. He held this position as early as 1190.[14] Barral, however, died in 1192.[15] Marie's second husband, Count Bernard IV of Comminges, married her in 1197, but in 1201, he renounced her and expelled her from his lands.[16] In the aftermath of this incident, Marie's father, William VIII of Montpellier, appealed to the papacy, alleging that Bernard had failed to treat his daughter with marital affection.[17] In Roman law, *maritalis affectio* (marital affection) originally meant "intent to marry." In 538, the Emperor Justinian noted that his predecessors had considered marriage valid if they had been contracted without documents and thus sprang "from affection alone" (*ex solo affectu*). In his *Decretum*, completed around 1140, Gratian at his *dictum post* C. 27 q. 2 c. 29 emphasized the moral content of *affectio*, linking it with Joseph's fatherhood of Jesus, since Joseph's emotions stemmed from "undivided affection of mind." Indeed, depictions of the Holy Family suggested that a group of relatives living and working together formed a tight, cohesive moral

unit.[18] Pope Alexander III (1159–1181) separated marital affection from consent, holding that this affection had to exist prior to marriage itself. Pope Innocent III (in the early thirteenth century) blended these two positions; he stressed that marital affection helped form consent to marry, and that once married, this same consent bound the partners together so that they would remain married.[19] The charge of a lack of marital affection, therefore, connects with current trends in canon law since Alexander III began to transform the concept of marital affection and Innocent III continued that process. A law school flourished in Montpellier in the late twelfth century and lawyers in southern France demonstrated a high level of expertise precisely in these years.

It is reasonable that William, along with his legal advisers in his court, would produce a fitting charge to describe the conduct of Bernard of Comminges. Since marital affection remained a key component of the affective bonds helping to produce a marriage, charging a lack of it could help form an effective strategy in seeking to end a marriage. Innocent delegated this case to the archbishop of Narbonne and the bishop of Comminges in 1201.[20] He also threatened to excommunicate Bernard if the charges were proven accurate,[21] but the record of subsequent events suggests that Count Bernard did obtain the divorce he sought.

By a system of complex maneuvering, Count Bernard wished to avoid losing his county in an inheritance dispute and also wanted to avoid the appearance of having contracted an invalid marriage. Innocent III's letter outlining William's complaints against Count Bernard appeared near the end of December 1201.[22] William of Montpellier died in 1202. A succession crisis was brewing in Montpellier because, though Marie was the only child of William's first marriage with Eudoxia Comnena, her stepmother—William's second wife, Agnes of Castile—had convinced her to renounce her claims to Montpellier when she married Barral.[23] In the months from 1201 to 1202, William wished to exclude Marie definitively from this inheritance and transfer it to his offspring with Agnes. Innocent III, however, prevented William from transferring the inheritance of Montpellier, effectively settling the inheritance issue in Marie's favor with his decretal *Per venerabilem* in 1202.[24] Apparently Count Bernard obtained a separation from Marie in 1201 from the Roman curia,[25] and he did this to keep the county of Comminges out of any inheritance dispute that may have involved Marie and others within William VIII's circle. Additionally, Bernard alleged that he and Marie had a common ancestor, and he also had not received a proper separation from his first wife, Stephanie, who was still living.[26] The technical term for having a common ancestor is consanguinity: at this time, having a common ancestor was prohibited within seven generations. A witness

testifying on January 28, 1212, for Marie during her divorce case with Peter said that he believed Count Bernard had repudiated Marie because of consanguinity.[27] Thus Bernard relinquished his marriage to Marie for three main reasons: First, he wished to keep the county of Comminges out of impending inheritance disputes in Montpellier resulting from the illness and eventual death of William VIII. Second, he held that his marriage to Marie was invalid because they were related to each other within prohibited degrees of consanguinity. Third, he further suggested that he had not received a proper divorce from a previous wife still living. Between 1201 and 1204, the marriage of Bernard and Marie came to an end,[28] for Marie was free to marry by the middle of 1204.

There was an additional dimension to these arrangements. The Valley of Aran was an important strategic location with access from Catalonia through the Pyrenees to the Midi. In 1201, while traveling through the Pyrenees, Peter gave this valley to Count Bernard of Comminges.[29] Peter may have been contemplating plans for the Midi that involved an alliance with the Count of Comminges, an alliance with the Count of Toulouse, and a marriage with Marie of Montpellier.

Indeed, on June 15, 1204, Marie married Peter II in Montpellier. (Marie was about 23, and Peter was about 26.) William VIII of Montpellier had provided Marie with a substantial dowry, which included Montpellier and its dependencies, 14 castles, and 3 other villages.[30] Marie further conceded control to Peter over all these holdings soon after the marriage. This marriage gave Peter significant advantages. He now became a major lord in southern France, and southern France itself provided close geographical proximity to Catalonia. The castle Peter used most regularly, Lattes (to the southwest of Montpellier), controlled one of the primary access points for the city to the Mediterranean.[31] The port at Lattes flourished after 1140.[32] The addition of Montpellier, a growing city with economic and legal strengths, positioned Peter excellently to augment his standing in southern France; with shrewd choices in personnel to staff some of these holdings, he could have managed them to his financial benefit with respect to Catalonia and Aragon as well. These holdings offered access to refined commercial opportunities at Montpellier. Barcelona had attractive possibilities with the recent reorganization of its waterfront shortly after 1200, featuring markets now surrounding the *fondaco*, a combination warehouse, storage facility, and sleeping quarters.[33] We get a glimpse of the activities at work there from the record of Peter of Aragona settling an account with Perfet, a bailiff of the king in 1203. Peter of Aragona acted as an agent for a group of others, presumably merchants, who had incurred debts to the king while trading at Barcelona's recently reorganized *fondaco*.[34] If the parties could have enhanced Barcelona's connections

with such trading networks across the Mediterranean, then a strong possibility of commercial benefit could have arisen from this marriage. The presence of the refurbished *fondaco* at Barcelona's waterfront highlights the dramatic expansion of its use during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[35] It also suggests the importance of the *fondaco* for the commercial networks throughout Barcelona and beyond. Santa Anna de Barcelona, for example, cultivated a connection with the *fondaco*.[36] This connection also offered the possibility of linking with other locations where canons of the Holy Sepulchre resided, such as Calatayud.[37]

Problems surfaced a few months into the marriage between Peter and Marie, however, and the communication between them began to break down. In 1205, the *ricos hombres* ("worthy" or "honored men") and knights of Zaragoza banded together for mutual support against Peter to secure more moderate policies that would benefit them.[38] Apparently they believed that Peter's renewed relationship with the papacy, sealed with his consecration supervised by Innocent III in Rome in November 1204,[39] would work to their detriment. The inhabitants of Montpellier expressed dissatisfaction with Peter as well. They revolted against him around 1205–1206, destroying some of the castles of Montpellier in the process. Peter imprisoned some of the citizens involved. The bishop of Maguelone intervened to quell the dispute and conclude an agreement that would satisfy all participants.[40] The people became unhappy with Peter because he had agreed in 1205 to provide Montpellier along with many of its dependencies to Count Raymond VI of Toulouse as a dowry for Peter's young daughter Sancha so she could marry Count Raymond's son when she reached maturity.[41] Marie issued a document outlining her disagreements with Peter over this: she stated that he asked her to approve the agreements he had reached with Count Raymond VI of Toulouse regarding the future marriage of their daughter and the young Raymond. Marie, however, believed that these agreements greatly disadvantaged her, and she did not approve them.[42] Peter's relations with Marie soured when they disagreed over this point: according to Marie, after she refused these agreements, Peter said that he would desert Montpellier forever, neither lending it assistance nor wanting the honor, his wife, or any of the other things that pertained to Montpellier. After that exchange, he left her.[43] Perhaps Peter reacted so angrily because he had envisioned this for some time: as early as 1198, he had a meeting at Perpignan that Count Bernard and Count Raymond of Toulouse attended.[44] This suggests that Peter contemplated ending the rivalry that had existed between the Counts of Barcelona and Toulouse,[45] and if he had slowly tried to implement this idea, Marie's firm rejection of it set his plans back considerably. Though

Peter and Marie's son James was conceived during a brief reconciliation in 1207,[46] Peter remained unsatisfied with his marriage and Marie's refusal to agree to his wishes.

Peter then moved quickly to extricate himself from this marriage. Marie of Montferrat, the heiress to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, with the assistance of advisers, offered to contract a marriage with Peter at Acre on September 21, 1206.[47] One of Peter's representatives at this negotiation, Peter of Creixell, had also witnessed a document at Acre in 1204 settling an inheritance matter involving Hospitallers and Templars.[48] The connections linking crusading and the Counts of Barcelona began with the First Crusade, for while Count Berenguer Raymond II was a probable crusader, two sons of his mother Almodis, one by each of two other husbands, did take the cross. Almodis had married three husbands in turn, Hugh V of Lusignan, Pons of Toulouse, and Raymond Berenguer I of Barcelona. Almodis entered—and fostered—a network of families in the Midi and northeastern Iberia who were *fideles sancti Petri*, supported ecclesiastical reform along with the papacy, and participated in the crusading movement.[49]

Another family associated with the House of Barcelona in its connection with Montpellier and Toulouse in the early thirteenth century, the Sabran family, had a member take the cross on the First Crusade. This was William of Sabran, and as this affiliation suggests, he was a close ally of the House of Saint-Gilles. By the end of the twelfth century, the influence of the Sabran family in and around Montpellier was growing, and they would have remained a prominent family to have worked with by the early years of the thirteenth century.[50] Members of the Sabran family appear to have been key participants in the commercial activities of the Midi. They cultivated connections to the Counts of Toulouse as well as landholders with interests along the Rhone River. They had a particular interest in strengthening Rhone River commercial ties.[51] That all of these families were "allies of Saint Peter" (*fideles sancti Petri*) suggests that common policies in supporting religious reform as well as crusading enterprises united them.[52] Other members of the Creixell family worked closely with the Counts of Barcelona in general and with Peter in particular. They appear early in Peter's reign, at least as early as 1197, with the appearance of Dalmau of Creixell in two of Peter's documents from that year.[53] William of Creixell appeared during these early months of Peter's reign as well, when in 1198 he witnessed the arrangements Viscount Hugo of Bas made for a monastery of Saint John.[54] All three of these men—Peter, Dalmau, and William of Creixell—were brothers who had worked with the Counts of Barcelona since the concluding decades of the twelfth century.[55]

In 1206, Innocent III appointed three judges delegate to hear Peter's case against Marie of Montpellier.[56] Peter complained that Marie had a de facto marriage with Bernard; that he and Marie were related to each other within the standard (until 1215) seven degrees of consanguinity, an impediment to contracting a valid marriage; and that Bernard was still living.[57] It is not entirely surprising to find the charge of consanguinity here; from the eleventh century on, as ecclesiastical officials insisted on using it to discourage endogamous marriages, laypersons found that they could use it to dispense with inconvenient unions.[58] At first glance, this new proposed marriage to Marie of Montferrat looks problematic: any dowry her family could have provided for her would not have been contiguous to Catalonia or the Crown of Aragon in any way, and exercising stewardship over any such holdings by anyone from Peter's circle would have involved travel in either of two cases: the dowry could have been located in the family's holdings back home in the County of Montferrat in northwestern Italy or across the Mediterranean within the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. In either case, it would have been important to keep regular lines of communication, but such problems presented by distance had not existed with his union with Marie.

A new union becomes understandable, though, in light of four observations. First, Peter had hoped to support crusading activities in the middle years of his reign, and an alliance with the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem would have given him prestige as well as the possibility of engaging in more crusading activities in both Iberia and the Latin East. Second, if he could have gotten his arrangement with the Count of Toulouse to work, he might have been able to enclose the county of Foix within territories he controlled or were controlled by his allies. The counties of Foix and Urgel on either side of the Pyrenees had perennial problems with border disputes. By encircling Foix with his own allies, Peter could pressure the Count of Foix to curb his enthusiasm for conducting expeditions across the Pyrenees in Urgel. This would make any incursions by the Count of Foix to Urgel or other territories south of the Pyrenees less likely and more dangerous, given Peter's relative strength in the region. Third, the twin repudiations of Peter's rule, one fairly peaceful in Zaragoza and the other violent in Montpellier, signaled that Peter was losing valuable support within his territories. If putting together an effective array of alliances in southern France was fraught with difficulty and if he also had a breakdown of support in Aragon, then he may have been willing to give up all the advantages his marriage to Marie of Montpellier offered to work for another marriage alliance that would not be so costly. Fourth, and most importantly, marrying Marie of Montferrat while maintaining his alliance with Toulouse would have enhanced his

Mediterranean family connections. Three major ruling houses descended from the offspring of the three successive marriages of Almodis of La Marche—to Hugh V of Lusignan, to Pons of Toulouse, and to Raymond Berenguer I of Barcelona.[59] The Lusignan family continued their prominence in France, but they also became an important family in the Latin East—witness their accession to the leadership of Cyprus in 1192.[60] Marie of Montferrat was also related to the Lusignan family;[61] the Counts of Toulouse were related to Pons of Toulouse, and the Counts of Barcelona were related to Count Raymond Berenguer I. Even in the late eleventh century, all these families supported both religious reform and the crusading movement.[62] Almodis had worked to keep the different parts of her family in communication with each other during her lifetime. For example, after she became Countess of Barcelona, Almodis arranged for and attended the marriage of one of her daughters to the ruling family of Toulouse.[63] Peter's projected marriage to Marie of Montferrat would have brought these strands of Almodis of La Marche's family together in a marital/diplomatic alliance, and with that, they could have collaborated on supporting reform, crusading, and providing regional stability. Although forming this two-pronged alliance could have been an opening gambit for creating a Catalan-centered territorial unit spanning the Pyrenees,[64] Peter's diplomatic arrangements demonstrate the connections he was willing to form—and break—to enhance his regional success.

One of the original three judges delegate for Peter's and Marie's divorce case, Peter of Castelnau, was murdered in 1208. This murder helped start the Albigensian Crusade, but it also delayed the proceedings of the case. Innocent III delegated the case again in 1210 to three new judges delegate.[65] In the next year, Peter appointed Bernard Amell as his proctor,[66] and in 1212, Marie appointed Raymond Aerra as her proctor.[67] A proctor was a legal practitioner skilled in arguing a case in court. Shortly after Peter appointed his proctor on May 21, 1211, the case began with the *litis contestatio*[68] at Narbonne on May 25 and 26. Bernard Amell stated that he would prove three assertions: first, that Marie and Count Bernard IV of Comminges had contracted a marriage; second, that an earlier marriage Count Bernard had contracted with a former wife had ended according to canon law, and third, that a degree of consanguinity existed between Peter and another of Count Bernard's former wives. The last charge would help prove consanguinity between Peter and Marie. Marie stated that she would prove the following three assertions: first, that Count Bernard was consanguineous to her; second, that thus he had taken a consanguineous wife; and third, that when he married her, Count Bernard had two wives. Marie's assertions began as exceptions to Peter's claims, and her exceptions formed the basis for her case—interposing an

exception forced a court to deal with a litigant's challenge to allegations made against them first.[69]

At Comminges on October 12, 1211, Master Vitalis, a proctor serving on Peter's behalf, appeared before the bishop of Couserans to present witnesses for him to question concerning two areas: first, the divorce of Count Bernard and one of his former wives, and second, the marriage of Count Bernard and Marie of Montpellier. A series of witnesses testified that this previous marriage of Count Bernard had ended according to canon law. Thus they had divorced. Other witnesses also appeared, saying that they had been present when Count Bernard and Marie married in William VIII of Montpellier's chapel.[70]

On November 22, 1211, Bishop William of Maguelone examined witnesses concerning the marriage of Count Bernard and Marie, and this session yielded testimony regarding their marriage. A canon to the bishop of Maguelone said that Innocent III had confirmed the marriage of Count Bernard and Marie and that a scribe copied this document into William's register. These events happened 11 years earlier (ca. 1200). Another witness said that in the castle chamber of William of Montpellier, he saw the archbishop of Auch and the bishop of Comminges tell everyone that Count Bernard and his previous wife had divorced, and the count now was fit to marry again. This witness did not actually see the marriage, but he added that these events happened thirteen to fourteen years earlier (ca. 1197–1198).[71]

On January 8, 1212, Raymond Aerra (Marie's proctor) brought three witnesses to Abbot Bernard of Vallmagne so he could question them on the consanguinity and affinity alleged to exist between Count Bernard and Marie. Lady Clemencia, a friend of Marie, testified in detail that Marie and Bernard were related. Another lady, Marchisia, supported Lady Clemencia. Lady Marchisia swore that she believed Count Bernard and Marie were related. A third lady, Na of Ports, testified that she knew Count Bernard had married twice before marrying Marie.

Later in the same month, Abbot Bernard of Vallmagne questioned witnesses for Marie further concerning consanguinity between her and Count Bernard. One witness said that Count Bernard and Marie had a common ancestor, Count Raymond of Besançon. This witness also said that he believed that Marie was Count Bernard's wife and that Marie and Bernard had a son and a daughter together. A second witness testified that Count Bernard repudiated Marie because of consanguinity and that he had been present when they married. A third witness had heard of kinship between Count Bernard and Marie. Lady Marchisia, upon further questioning, said that she saw and attended Count Bernard's and Marie's wedding in the castle chapel at Montpellier, along with many

others. She also said, however, that a marriage should not have been contracted between them.[72]

Later in 1212, Raymond Aerra secured an extension to allow Marie time to produce more witnesses, and the judges moved the proceedings to Montpellier so that they could continue in Marie's presence.[73] Marie did provide these witnesses, who appeared from March to April 1212. They all supported her case: some of the witnesses said that Marie had been married to Count Bernard, who subsequently had repudiated her. Other witnesses mentioned another marriage Count Bernard had before marrying Marie, and they said that this lady was still living, casting doubt that Count Bernard had ever divorced her.[74] This reinforced a point Na of Ports made on January 8, 1212, when she testified that Count Bernard had been married twice before marrying Marie. Marie and her advisers were trying to raise doubts in the judges' minds that Bernard had ever properly divorced at least one of these two ladies.

The final sessions took place at Béziers on April 27, 1212. Raymond Aerra brought two witnesses who swore that Count Bernard's marriage to one lady still living was actually still in effect. Bernard Amell, though, brought the bishop of Couserans to testify that Count Bernard and this other lady were related within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity. At this point, Marie asked to have the case sent to the papacy. On the same day, the judges suspended hearing the case and sent it on to Innocent III.[75]

In the midst of the possible end of his marriage to Marie of Montpellier, according to one source, Peter contemplated working for yet another marriage. By the early months of 1213, Peter was fighting in the Albigensian Crusade in southern France, on the side of the citizens and Count of Toulouse against the crusaders. Most of the crusaders were from northern France. Peter had entered this conflict as a papal ally, and apparently he wished to achieve reconciliation among all the parties. As leader of the crusader forces, Simon de Montfort gained territories in southern France at the expense of the Count of Toulouse. Peter hesitated to give Simon his full support. One of his sisters had married the Count of Toulouse, so he had family reasons for favoring Toulouse. Toulouse, however, had a reputation as a haven for heretics. Indeed, the compilers of the *Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña* carefully stated that Peter had never been a supporter of heresy.[76] Since the compilers of this chronicle in 1380 worked from other chronicles and materials contemporary to the early thirteenth century, their comment reveals a continuing interest in clarifying Peter's support for orthodoxy. Peter's new marriage project involved sending emissaries to the court of Philip Augustus in Paris to suggest that Peter and Philip's daughter should marry. In the face of the growing power and influence

that Simon de Montfort and the crusaders wielded in the region by early 1213, Peter sought to arrest their progress by contracting a marriage with their overlord. This project would have undercut the crusaders, and perhaps Peter thought that he might have been able to mitigate the crusader advances if he could have direct influence with Philip Augustus.[77] Peter was not aware, though, that one of the bishops involved with his divorce case, Bishop Guy of Carcassonne, was at Philip's court at the time. Bishop Guy knew of Innocent's disposition of the case, and once that became known, Peter's emissaries dropped these new marriage plans.[78]

Innocent rendered his decision with *Novit ille* on January 19, 1213. He upheld the central points of Marie's case: he found that Count Bernard was in fact related to Marie within three and four degrees of consanguinity and affinity. Count Bernard had indeed married another lady before Marie and had never obtained a proper divorce from her. Thus Innocent absolved Marie from the objections raised by Peter, and he considered the marriage of Peter and Marie valid.[79] Innocent also sent a copy of *Novit ille* to Peter, urging him to take Marie back and treat her with marital affection. He reminded Peter that what God had joined, we also should strive to keep together.[80] It does seem that any possibility for reconciliation between them was remote, for by 1213 Peter was deeply involved in negotiations and operations surrounding the Albigensian Crusade. In his *Decretum* (ca. 1139–1140), Gratian argued that marriage created a " 'social bond' " for the couple, and consent and consummation formed the key features of this bond.[81] For Gratian, marital affection signaled the continuing respect and affection that distinguished a marriage from cohabitation. Gratian's work, though, does point toward an emotional attachment between the spouses, and this is the quality that Pope Alexander III would stress in his work.[82] As he pursued this topic, Gratian included a text from Saint Ambrose where he said that marriage is to be understood as having a spiritual component. In his *Summa* on the *Decretum*, Huguccio said that, regarding this passage, a personal relationship is at the heart of a marriage. For Vacarius, marital consent suggested an " 'emotional bonding of heart and soul.' "[83] Thus, when Innocent III admonished Peter to take Marie back and treat her with marital affection, he was exhorting Peter to be faithful to her and, additionally, to grow.

Peter II's marriage policies ended in a failed attempt at breaking a marriage that afforded him many advantages. The Counts of Barcelona had since the late eleventh century made strategic marriage alliances designed to help them augment their influence and wealth. The prospect of marrying Marie of Montpellier was one of the most attractive marriage opportunities available to Peter. This marriage offered him the possibility of consolidating his holdings, it gave him access to lucrative ports (including Lattes), it enhanced his position in southern France, and it gave

his court stronger ties to a highly competent and skilled court in southern France. Active ports in or near Barcelona and Montpellier greatly enhanced communication and trade throughout the Mediterranean. Counts of Barcelona had long found southern France attractive for arranging marriages and fashioning extended social networks. These are significant strategic advantages, and it is a mark of Peter's ambition that he relinquished them to consider another marriage alliance with Marie of Montferrat. In considering Marie of Montferrat as a possible marriage partner, Peter contemplated an enterprising plan for reconnecting the three major sections of the family of Almodis of La Marche in a marital/diplomatic alliance. This plan also offered some promising prospects: he could have been in an excellent position to support crusading enterprises in Iberia and the Latin East, he could have worked with this family's broad interests in reform and crusading to position himself near the center of many major crusading movements in the West or the East, and he could have enhanced his prestige among his colleagues and family members.

Marie of Montpellier also showed herself more than equal to the challenge that Peter posed to her, especially since she had to struggle to preserve her inheritance. She fostered loyalty as she and her advisers tried to preserve her inheritance that Peter seemed so desperate to break apart for his own ends. She and her advisers demonstrated a considerable degree of expertise as they countered Peter's actions and as they challenged him in the divorce case. With the assistance of Innocent III, they prevailed. Marie had two major concerns: she wanted to prevent Peter from transferring Montpellier into a dowry so that perhaps it could be controlled by someone else, and she resisted Peter's strenuous efforts to link Montpellier with Toulouse in a diplomatic alliance. Peter had ambitious plans, but they did not coalesce to advance his ends. Instead, Marie successfully checked Peter's plans relating to Montpellier, and in so doing, she prevented Montpellier from being drawn into the Albigensian Crusade as an area worthy of crusader attention. Thus it was possible for their only surviving child, James the Conqueror, to inherit Montpellier, Aragon, and Catalonia after the deaths of his parents in 1213. Eventually James would become a formidable presence in the Mediterranean. The careers of his parents demonstrated that the matrimonial adventures of an illustrious couple could link individual people and their respective families in complex ways throughout the Mediterranean in the early thirteenth century. With skill, good advice, and persistence, Marie of Montpellier could challenge the more controversial gambits of Peter II of Aragon and, ultimately, prevail. Both of their careers demonstrate the social, legal, economic, and diplomatic complexities surrounding marital alliances in the Mediterranean world during the early thirteenth century.

CHAPTER 6

MEDITERRANEAN COMMUNITIES IN COMPETITION AND CONFLICT

Peter II's marriage to Marie of Montpellier linked Catalonia with southern France, just as had his great-grandfather Raymond Berenguer III's marriage to Douce, heiress to the County of Provence. Additionally, like Raymond Berenguer III, Peter wished to expand the incipient Crown of Aragon to the north and also to the south. Southern advances would take Peter into Muslim territory and into potential conflict with the objectives of Muslim rulers. Peter II had complex relations with the Muslims, culminating in the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212). To be sure, this was an important phase of the *reconquista*, and it broke the power the Almohad Caliphate enjoyed in Southern Iberia. That caliphate experienced internal pressures and conflicts just at the same time in the early thirteenth century, so this battle also marks the end of the expansions the Muslims were able to enjoy within Iberian territory. Peter's aims mark a notable blending of expansionist policies to the north and the south—a blending that both he in particular and the Counts of Barcelona in general achieved gradually. The marriage to Marie of Montpellier signaled the importance of economic and social ties to the north; soon thereafter, Peter would turn his attention to the conquest of Majorca, expanding his territory into Valencia and joining other Christian rulers of Iberia in the defeat of Muslim forces at Las Navas de Tolosa.

Even though early medieval territories in Catalonia began as an outgrowth of the Carolingian Spanish March, the career of Raymond Berenguer III (1096–1131) marked an intensification of Catalonia's territorial expansion, which involved its Mediterranean neighbors more directly. Indeed, he has been credited with the creation of Catalonia itself.[1] He continued the expansionist policies that Raymond Berenguer I initiated in the eleventh century.[2] Raymond Berenguer III, additionally, married

into the nobility of the House of Provence, thus increasing his stand-
ing among the southern French nobility. Like Raymond Berenguer I's
marriage with Almodis de la Marche, this marriage also created an alli-
ance with a family in the Midi. Raymond Berenguer III forged another
important link with his crusade to the island of Majorca along with forces
from Pisa. According to the *Liber maiolichinus*, between August 30 and
September 7, 1113, Rolandus, one of the consuls of Pisa, proposed during
a meeting of the consuls that the Pisans seek Raymond Berenguer III's
assistance in mounting an expedition to Majorca.[3] He had secured a
grand reputation then, for the author of the *Liber* wrote enthusiastically
of him and his prowess.[4] By September 7, he had received and agreed
to the Pisans' request.[5] In early summer of 1114, a fleet and an army of
groups from Barcelona, southern France, and Pisa sailed for the Balearics.
They captured Ibiza by August and by April 1115 had taken the capital
of Majorca. The Catalan–southern French–Pisan alliance could not keep
their new territory, for Emir Ali ibn-Yusuf took Majorca in 1116.[6] The
Christian expedition, despite the temporary nature of its success in 1116,
played a role in the eleventh- and twelfth-century transformation of the
Mediterranean from a zone dominated by Muslim commercial activity to
one of growing Christian commercial activity.[7]

Raymond Berenguer III's activities continued nevertheless. Like
other Counts of Barcelona, he was able to seize some Muslim castles
and fortresses, and he received tribute payments from the rulers of
Valencia, Tortosa, and Lérida.[8] His success—considering that he forged
the expansion of Catalonia to the north by marriage and east into the
Mediterranean islands by military conquest—attracted the interest of
Pope Paschal II. Paschal II had permitted the archbishop of Pisa to preach
a crusade to the Balearics after Pisans complained to him of Muslim
piracy in the Mediterranean,[9] and he granted crusade status to that expe-
dition and subsequent Christian campaigns on the mainland.[10] This
expedition occurred in the aftermath of the success of a combined Pisan
and Genoese campaign to remove Muslim pirates from Sardinia in 1016,
and during these early years of the twelfth century, the Pisans expressed
interest in launching a campaign against the Muslims of the Balearic
Islands. This comprised the effort to which Paschal II lent his support,
and when the Pisans sailed to Catalonia in 1113, they asked Raymond
Berenguer III to join them and lead their expedition. The author of the
Liber maiolichinus described Raymond Berenguer III in terms that would
evoke both the epic and heroic traditions.[11] To enhance his general sup-
port of these operations, Paschal II sent a papal legate, Cardinal Boso of
Saint Anastasia, on a legation to Spain in 1117. Boso had also partici-
pated in the Balearic campaign.[12] In 1116, the same year that the Christian

forces lost the Balearics, Paschal sent the letter *Devotione tue* to Raymond Berenguer III, congratulating him on his success and encouraging him to proceed against Tortosa.[13]

Raymond Berenguer IV (1131–1162), Raymond Berenguer III's son, took Tortosa in 1148. Earlier he had participated in the capture of Almería on the southern coast of Spain with Alfonso VII in October 1147.[14] That was a very important undertaking, for between the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Almería was one of the most important Muslim ports in the Western Mediterranean. The city enjoyed both general prosperity and an impressive range of commercial interests, for it connected Muslims from southern al-Andalus with other Muslim traders as well as with those Venetian intermediaries who helped expand these trading enterprises throughout al-Andalus and also with the eastern Mediterranean world.[15] This process continued a trend established at least three hundred years earlier as cities attempted to extend the reach of their commercial activities in the eastern Mediterranean. Amalfi, for example, created a settlement in Antioch as early as the ninth century. It became one of the most important Mediterranean ports by the eleventh century, and its flotillas protected the development of its trade. Other regional powers, such as the Levant, North Africa, Sicily, and Iberia, expanded their trading networks at the same time, and all connected to and continued the trade with Amalfi.[16] During the eleventh century, merchants from the city had increased their interactions in the Byzantine commercial system. In Jerusalem, meanwhile, the Hospitaller Order grew out of the hospital that Amalfi had supported.[17] During all of these years, merchants from Amalfi maintained commercial ties with the Jewish communities of Egypt, participating in the trading networks they had fostered.[18] Jews living under Muslim rule enjoyed mobility throughout the Mediterranean, and that brought them into contact with traders from Europe, even at times when Christian and Muslim governments were in open hostility to each other.[19] The records of the Cairo Geniza reveal trading networks from Cairo that connected Egypt and the Muslim countries of southwest Asia; North Africa, Sicily, and al-Andalus; and the Byzantine Empire.[20] By the end of the twelfth century, though the Almohads continued to encourage these regional trading interests, they also placed more restrictions upon the activities of Christian merchants working within such cities as Almería.[21] Alfonso II encouraged trade with Muslims throughout the Crown of Aragon, including his 1169 measure concerning trade with Muslims in and near Zaragoza.[22]

Raymond Berenguer IV next besieged Tortosa with the assistance of the Genoese, taking the city in 1148.[23] In establishing a cathedral church for Tortosa, Raymond Berenguer IV also recalled that Pope Gelasius II

had written to Archbishop Oleguer in 1118, informing him of his wish that Christian forces would take Tortosa. Raymond Berenguer IV styled himself as prince and marquis of Aragon and Tortosa and conceded his gains to the papacy and to Archbishop Bernard of Tarragona (as well as to God and Mary the Mother of God).[24] Gelasius II had also supported a concurrent Aragonese expedition to Zaragoza in 1118.[25] After taking Lérida in 1149, Raymond Berenguer IV captured areas in the Ebro River Valley between Tortosa and Zaragoza by the middle years of the twelfth century.[26] As suggested by the work in and with Almería during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, others also sought to take advantage of the potential for establishing lucrative trading networks through the Iberian Peninsula at the same time; during those years, the Genoese became more interested in Castile and Portugal and worked to increase their trading connections with both kingdoms.[27] The Genoese even sent two galleys at the behest of the bishop of Santiago de Compostela in 1113 to assist in countering the incursions of Muslim forces from territories they controlled along the western coastal areas of the Iberian Peninsula, and in the process, they also hoped to strengthen the stability of the shipping interests of the Christian territories.[28] The end of the Almoravid rule in North Africa helped lend a greater urgency to these growing efforts for trade and commercial advantage.

As the Almoravid position in North Africa weakened, members of the Banu Ghaniya, a prominent family in that dynasty, left North Africa and created a small territory in the Balearic Islands where they could profit from conducting pirate raids on ships traveling throughout the western Mediterranean. They organized themselves under the support of the caliph of the Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad. Abu Ya'qub Yusuf entered into negotiations with the Banu Ghaniya, and they agreed to give him part of the proceeds from their raids. Abu Ya'qub Yusuf worked for an eventual inclusion of the Banu Ghaniya and the Balearics into his North African empire, but his death in 1184 changed that. Upon his death, the Banu Ghaniya decided to create a new Almoravid territory in North Africa, and working for that objective brought them into conflict with the Almohads there. The Almohads forced the Banu Ghaniya to leave Bougie in 1185 and move to the east. The Banu Ghaniya continued searching for allies in North Africa, and they began to make headway with some of the tribes of the central regions of the Maghrib where connections with the Almohads were weak. Thus the intervention of the Banu Ghaniya in North Africa continued into the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, and it was only the deterioration of the Almohad Caliphate in 1233 that brought this intervention to a definitive close.[29] All of these factors thus helped encourage greater interests toward the

south, and indeed, a drive to the south emerged as a critical component of the peninsular strategy of the Counts of Barcelona by the central years of the twelfth century. It is additionally worth noting that people living within these competing Muslim territories could enjoy the possibility of mobility for such reasons as improved living conditions or in search for a community that would integrate them and their adherence to a particular Muslim way of life, especially that of a mystic generally or a Sufi in particular, more fully.[30] This was another general point of divergence between—with respect to the Maghrib and the western Mediterranean—the Muslims of the Banu Ghaniya as well as the Almoravids and the Almohads in North Africa and the Iberian Peninsula.

Meanwhile, a fierce rivalry erupted among the major Muslim groups in al-Andalus. The Almohads (based in North Africa) had captured some important territories throughout al-Andalus during the central years of the twelfth century, including such cities as Seville and Córdoba, but the taifa king of Murcia, Ibn Mardanish, opposed them.[31] Though he and his father-in-law, Ibn Hamusk, were able to take such towns as Jaén, Ubeda, and Ecija, and some of the forces assisting them under Ibn Hamusk were Christian forces,[32] the Almohads defeated them near Granada in 1162. Then Abu Ya'qub Yusuf, the new caliph, pressured Ibn Mardanish further and defeated him again near Murcia in 1165.[33] After that, Ibn Mardanish's support began to dwindle as many of his former supporters began to make peace with and ally themselves with the Almohads. Ibn Mardanish, for example, lost Almería as part of his alliance system when one of the caliph's sons secured the city by besieging it and accepting the surrender of Ibn Mardanish's nephew, whose forces had provided the defense for Almería.[34] Shortly before his death in 1172, Ibn Mardanish counseled his son Hilal to ally himself with the caliph and conclude the conflict. That move completed the Almohad gambit for supremacy over al-Andalus, but it happened after Ibn Mardanish's previous opposition to the Almohads prevented them from launching a major campaign against Toledo and thus making other inroads in Iberia when they otherwise might have done so.[35]

One reason why Afonso Henriques of Portugal was so keenly interested in these campaigns was that he knew the kings of León and Castile were themselves interested in gaining the advantage over him so that they could partition his kingdom. Once he decided that his best course of action was to proceed to the south, he made impressive advances. In 1158, he captured Alcácer do Sal, which occupied a strategically important position south of the Tagus River in a region known as the Alentejo. Alcácer do Sal had been an important location for commercial purposes at least since the tenth century, when 'Abd al-Rahman III had a shipyard

constructed there and al-Mansur used it as a launching point for his campaigns against Galicia in 997. The arsenal that the shipyard helped supply remained active during the central years of the twelfth century.[36] The expansion of territories taken under Portuguese auspices formed an important part of the general efforts of Christian expansion for two reasons. First, this expansion enhanced the territory, and presumably the security, of the Portuguese monarchy. As the twelfth century proceeded, that need for security would become more important in the geopolitical calculations of the rulers of Portugal and their advisers. Second, these rulers along with ecclesiastical officials were securing the arrangements to stabilize the dioceses they were planting in the area of Southern Iberia in the vicinity of the Alentejo. Indeed, the dioceses of Évora and Guarda helped bring additional security along the frontier with Muslim territories, as they also provided opportunities to expand Christian settlements in the area.[37] Thus the operations in the Alentejo in particular and southwestern Iberia in general had significant influence in and beyond the immediate territories involved. Afonso Henriques also had the services of a valiant knight who fought on his behalf, Giraldo Sempavor, who has been known as the Portuguese Cid. Giraldo specialized in surprise attacks at night or in inclement weather, and in May 1169, he captured Badajoz with the assistance of Afonso Henriques and at least one group of Christians from Santarém; their combined strength allowed him to gain the citadel of the city.[38]

This news concerned Fernando II of León greatly because, according to the terms of the Treaty of Sahagún, Badajoz and the other gains made by Giraldo Sempavor were to be reserved for León—no doubt this was a territorial issue. He received Badajoz and left it in the hands of the Muslims, who agreed to hold it on his behalf. After he left, however, they renounced their former agreement and let the Almohads into the city. Giraldo attempted to lay siege to the city but soon switched his allegiance to the Almohads. They beheaded him in 1174 when they suspected him of colluding with Afonso Henriques. Giraldo's death ended a particularly heroic period in the history of Portugal,[39] and in fact, some writers used the epic tradition to describe the exploits of key figures who participated in the battles to enhance Portugal's security during the central and later years of the twelfth century. Some of these writers linked Afonso Henriques, the founder of the Portuguese monarchy, to the example of David and the anointing of Samuel with holy oil.[40] Giraldo's death also left the Almohads in an advantaged position in respect of their broader ambitions for the Iberian Peninsula.[41]

Thus the peninsular drive to the south culminated, during the twelfth century, with the Treaty of Cazola in 1179 by which Alfonso II agreed

with Alfonso VIII to reserve the area of Valencia for conquest by the Crown of Aragon.[42] Some historians have criticized Alfonso for this concession because it restricted Catalan-Aragonese advances to Valencia and reserved Murcia for Castilian reconquest; these historians have therefore believed that Alfonso relinquished too much. This treaty ensured the status of the incipient Crown of Aragon as a colleague of Castile rather than a dependency, for it released the king of Aragon from vassalage owed to the king of Castile since Raymond Berenguer IV had taken the kingdom of Zaragoza.[43] Additionally, it reserved the conquest of Valencia for Aragon and Catalonia.[44] Note also that this treaty appears as the second of a pair of documents issued on the same day (March 20, 1179) at Cazola. In the first one, Alfonso II and Alfonso VIII pledged to support each other for one year against the king of Navarre, and that measure provides a key detail concerning peninsular competition.[45] This agreement connects with an earlier one between Alfonso II and Fernando II of León, whereby both rulers agreed to support each other against the king of Navarre.[46] The Treaty of Cazola, therefore, formed part of a strategy to augment the advantages Castile and Aragon could enjoy from these campaigns while limiting any advantages Navarre might receive.

Thus, at the beginning of his reign, Peter had several territorial advantages crucial for continuing the reconquest. Zaragoza and Teruel now composed parts of Aragon, thanks to the work of Alfonso I and Alfonso II's resettlement; Tortosa came within Catalonia as a result of the work of his grandfather Raymond Berenguer IV; and the possibility remained for the conquest of the island of Majorca because of the work of Raymond Berenguer III as well as the fleet enhancing Barcelona's economic and military presence in the Mediterranean.[47] Actually, officials at the cathedral of Tortosa kept close track of the Counts of Barcelona who had contributed to the restoration of the Christian community there. In their necrology, they noted the deaths of Alfonso II, James I, Raymond Berenguer IV, and Peter II.[48] All of them made important contributions to the refoundation and growth of the Christian community in and near Tortosa. Because of his father's work, Peter could press forward with the desire for a conquest of Valencia, a desire that had persisted since the career of the Cid demonstrated how valuable Valencia might prove if added to Aragon.[49]

Peter himself prepared to mount an expedition to Valencia near the close of the first decade of the thirteenth century. As he prepared for that Valencia expedition, Peter sent forces to his territories in southern Catalonia near Tortosa. This move supported the interests the Counts of Barcelona maintained as they pressed their reconquest activities to the south (especially toward Valencia). In 1208, Peter recalled the role of

Raymond Berenguer IV in capturing Tortosa as he advocated the pres-
ervation of all the Christian communities in the area and support for the
bishops and churches of Tortosa.[50] In another document in which he
granted immunities to churches and monasteries of Tortosa, Peter sug-
gested that the inhabitants enjoyed these immunities against the back-
ground of expeditions against others (very likely he had Muslims in
mind).[51] This document does not give a year in its dating clause, but
considering that the notary Ferrer does appear in it, it is likely that the
document dates from 1208 x 1210.[52] William of Cervera appears in the
witness list,[53] and his presence sheds more light onto Peter's activities and
policies.

William of Cervera had been a longtime associate of Peter. He
appeared in the witness list from the curia at Barcelona on April 1, 1198,
and again at the curia at Barcelona on June 9, 1200.[54] On November 22,
1208, Peter granted Benifasá to William, along with its appurtenances.
Benifasá is located near Tortosa, and Peter stipulated that William hold
this territory according to the *Usatges* of Barcelona.[55] Peter issued this
grant even though his father had "pre-granted" Benifasá to Tortosa. At
that time, in 1195, Alfonso II granted Benifasá to Ponç, prior of Tortosa.[56]
Emphasizing the connections between Tortosa and Benifasá, Alfonso II
included a provision that the tithes and first fruits were to go to the see
of Tortosa.[57] Peter, in fact, appeared in the witness list for this document
along with his notary.[58] Eventually these overlapping grants of Alfonso
and Peter would cause litigation between Tortosa and Benifasá later in the
thirteenth century, and the parties reached a final agreement by 1281.[59]
William of Cervera later entered the Cistercian order (perhaps under the
patronage of Poblet), and in 1229, James I confirmed William's granting
of Benifasá to Poblet for constructing a monastery. Benifasá thus became
a daughter house of Poblet.[60] William was one of a number of settlers
mostly from Catalonia but also from Aragon moving toward the border
with Valencia. Other families came from Lérida and Urgel, while some
also came from Languedoc.[61]

The see of Tortosa continued to play a role in Peter's plans for the
southern areas of his realm. The 1195 grant of Benifasá to the prior of
Tortosa for resettling the area indicates the importance of Tortosa for
the area, as well as the continuing efforts of resettlement as a means of
advancing reconquest activities. Peter transferred the village of Margalef
from Raymond Zapaterius to Bishop Gombaldo de Santa Oliva of Tortosa
in 1200 for these very purposes, suggesting that the bishops and perhaps
the chapter of the Cathedral of Tortosa would play key roles in support-
ing the resettlement of the area.[62] When this transfer took effect, Bishop
Gombaldo would have Margalef as an allod, an arrangement close to

possession allowing holding as independent property.[63] Donors, in fact, made greater use of the allod as an important device for settlement and alliance purposes in this part of the Mediterranean world. Efforts in the Midi were underway at least by the eleventh century to support greater numbers of allods, and when ecclesiastical institutions received them, they could be—and often were—used to ensure that the church would remain the primary holder of the property.[64] In this light, therefore, Peter's grant to the church of Tortosa, while mirroring a contemporaneous practice flourishing in the Midi, additionally marked an effort to enhance the stability of the Christian community coalescing in and around Tortosa. William of Cevera received Benifasá in 1208 in an arrangement discussed earlier. In 1209, Peter granted custody of the castles Lledó and Arenys to Bishop Gombaldo of Tortosa in an effort to promote the durability and stability of the church.[65] Bishop Gombaldo followed through on this grant. In 1210, he issued a concession to the inhabitants of Lledó that regulated a number of practices affecting the community, including guarantees against arbitrary judicial procedures.[66]

One institution Peter founded sheds additional light upon his southern policies that culminated in his efforts toward Valencia. In 1201, he founded the order of Sant Jordi d'Alfama, a new military order, and gave them deserted lands near Tortosa (and also, perhaps, the Ebro River).[67] This order operated under the *Rule of St. Augustine*, and Peter established a church and castle for them on land five leagues from Tortosa, near the Mediterranean Sea and the border with Valencia; this was the location of Alfama. There they guarded both the coast and mountain passes.[68] This location had significant strategic importance, for in addition to its military benefits, the area around Alfama also supported fishing and navigation.[69] Riverine access in the area, in addition to access to the Mediterranean Sea, provided a location replete with potential economic benefits, including fishing and transport. Peter carefully noted that the inhabitants should enjoy the same freedoms that the inhabitants of Tortosa enjoyed, freedoms that his grandfather and father had issued.[70] Violators of these freedoms were in danger of having charges of treason leveled against them.[71] Eventually members of this order participated in the conquest of Valencia directed by King James. There, led by their first grand master, John of Almenara, they assisted James's forces in the siege of Burriana. One month before the siege successfully ended in 1233, James approved for them an anticipatory grant of two small rural locations nearby, Carabona and Benaquite.[72]

Peter helped initiate the process his son James completed by forming an expedition to Valencia in the middle years of his reign. He may have announced his intentions as early as March 1210, in the presence

of Bishops Raymond of Castellezuelo of Zaragoza, García of Huesca, and García of Tarazona and, among other magnates, William Raymond of Moncada, seneschal of Catalonia.[73] Peter secured the assistance of Navarrese forces for this campaign, and from Monzón they joined Peter for the beginning of the campaign.[74] After the campaign commenced, Peter took four castles in the Rincón de Ademuz in northwest Valencia: Ademuz, Castelfabib, El Cuervo, and Serella. The issue of specific dating for this campaign has generated two possibilities; some historians once adopted a date as early as 1207 and others as late as 1210.[75] Additional evidence firmly establishes 1210 as the correct date. Peter issued his first two charters from this area in 1210: From Castelfabib on August 26, Peter gave to his associate Artal of Alagón the castle of Cabres near Benifasá. In the second, he issued grants to the Hospitallers. This charter refers to the status of the castle as the result of capture: "Datis in captione Castelli Fabib."[76] In 1210, moreover, Alfonso VIII settled inhabitants in Moya in the province of Cuenca, and he repopulated other fortifications in the area. Al-Nasir then sent emissaries to complain to Alfonso that these resettlements violated the truce existing between Castile and al-Andalus. Alfonso pretended not to notice these complaints, and he continued making preparations for war. Peter supported Alfonso in his efforts and took the castles in the Rincón de Ademuz in 1210. Peter rewarded those who had supported him on this campaign, especially since Peter of Montagudo, master of the Templars, and other members of the Templars had rendered great service to Peter during this campaign. For their assistance, on September 19, 1210, Peter granted the city of Tortosa to them. At about the same time, William of Cervera and Raymond of Cervera were to administer it for the duration of their lives if they would also provide for the needs of the Templars and pledge fidelity to the master of the Templars.[77] The acquisition of Valencia under Peter's son James signaled the completion of the conquests envisioned for the Aragonese forces in the Treaty of Cazola. The relative wealth the Templars enjoyed from these expeditions was declining by the early years of the thirteenth century, and this was the process in place with Peter's grants after his 1210 campaign. After the Order pledged to assist in reconquest activities in 1143, the most lucrative component of their activities had occurred in the twelfth century under Raymond Berenguer IV and Alfonso II, where it had grown as a powerful entity in southern Aragon as well as the Ebro River Valley. The holdings it received in Majorca and Valencia did not compare to these earlier gains.[78] Peter's grants in this area, therefore, apparently were not lucrative in comparison with the earlier gains of the Templars. Though Peter's gains in the Rincón de Ademuz represented the largest part of the territory he gained from the expedition,

the provincial master of the Templars still had to pledge that he would make no further claim concerning the fifth of the Rincón de Ademuz he received. The leaders of the Crown of Aragon may well have been hesitant to give the Order many territories during these early years of the thirteenth century.[79] The Tortosa grant, however, was an important one, and given its history, it would have required the Templars to have combined their resources with those of the bishop and chapter of the Cathedral of Tortosa. That was an interesting move on Peter's part. His success on this campaign continued a Catalan-Aragonese strategy of taking small towns whenever possible in the southern territories, but his future intense involvement in the affairs of the Midi contained the potential of disrupting the pattern of southern expansion he had created with the success of 1210.[80]

Peter, moreover, had an additional motivation for his 1210 campaign. The commander of Andalusian forces in North Africa, Abu-l-'Ula, helped organize a great campaign against Catalan maritime interests in the early years of the thirteenth century. He set up a series of raids against Catalan ports in 1210, and most of the participation in these raids came from Almohad members of his forces.[81] Peter invaded Valencia, in part, in retaliation for these attacks. When Andalusian emissaries traveled to Marrakesh to complain of Peter's incursions into Valencia, al-Nasir ordered preparations for a holy war.[82] According to one Muslim chronicler, the raids Abu-l-'Ula conducted along the Catalan coast—especially near Barcelona—formed a reprisal for Peter's expedition to northern Valencia. Abu-l-'Ula also had some of the inhabitants sent away to Christian or other Muslim territories.[83] Pirates continued to plague shipping from Barcelona as the thirteenth century progressed. James I, in 1227, prevented foreign merchants from shipping goods out of Barcelona "if a Catalan merchant were willing to make the trip." Some merchants did attempt to make such a trip, and in one case during 1227, a Catalan merchant sailed to Seville to trade, but pirates from Majorca attacked his ship as he traveled back to Catalonia.[84]

Pirate raids plagued Mediterranean merchants, including the Catalan efforts to the south. Periodic raids destabilized the region during the pontificate of Pope Paschal II during the early years of the twelfth century. They persisted during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. An Andalusian naval commander led an expedition along the Catalan coastline around 1210, possibly as far north as Barcelona itself. Majorcan pirates operated between Seville and Barcelona in the early thirteenth century, causing further disruptions to shipping and commerce in the region. Piracy brackets the focus of this chronology, and in all of these examples it helped create more change for territories along the Mediterranean.

Pirates and corsairs had been active for many years, and they are difficult to detect in earlier periods because of flexibility in their use.[85] Pirates and corsairs could easily function as merchants.

By the thirteenth century, there were certain formal allowances for the existence of pirates, such as contracts providing investors a share in the profits from piracy (*ad consuetudinem cursi*) and a form of insurance (*ad riscium et fortunam maris*) that would offset losses investors might suffer if the ship experienced a pirate attack.[86] Most of the examples specifically pointing to these activities come from the middle of the thirteenth century forward.[87]

One contract offers a clue to pirates operating earlier. In 1247, the Genoese notary Bartolomew of Fornari recorded a contract in which Roland of Saint Thomas accepted an investment from Faciolo of Monelia for a privateering expedition.[88] In the agreement, Roland of Saint Thomas renounces an earlier Genoese statute concerning pirates.[89] Apparently this statute relates to practices common before 1214, and it likely dates from 1214 at the latest.[90] This indicates a continuum of interests stretching earlier than the early thirteenth century, for piracy had flourished in certain locations throughout the Mediterranean during the twelfth century. Roger II of Sicily contended with pirate activities from North Africa that undermined his commercial interests in the central years of the twelfth century; campaigns against Majorca in 1113–1115 and Malta in 1127 may have been attempts to find ways of curbing these disturbances to shipping.[91] These pirate raids supported by Muslim forces in the Mediterranean presented a challenge not only to the Norman Kingdom of Sicily but also to the Norman Kingdom in North Africa, where suppressing the pirate raids coincided with efforts to export grain from Sicily to exchange for gold from Ifriqiya. If, in addition, Roger II entertained ambitions for a wider rule over the Muslims of North Africa and Egypt, and if his empire in North Africa depended to a great degree upon a coterie of Greek and Muslim officials who clustered at the royal court, then the commercial activities suggested by the pirate raids encompassed only part of a broader policy. The leaders of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily would then have based this policy upon their growing cultural and economic influence spanning the Mediterranean from Sicily to North Africa during the central years of the twelfth century.[92] The connection to the eastern Mediterranean offered compelling attractions for these leaders. Activity surrounding the port of Saint Jean d'Acre indicates the importance of this port in the wider setting of crusader expansion from the Second to the Third Crusades. The implication here is that the trading activities maintained there contributed to a strengthening of the economic and commercial advantages available to the crusaders throughout

the Mediterranean. It would have been difficult to ignore the possibil-ity of effective inclusion of Acre and other markets made available by this port during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, especially since it offered one of the few eastern Mediterranean ports available to Christian communities. Christian forces lost Acre as a result of Muslim competition and resurgence late in the thirteenth century, in 1291.[93]

Finally, Peter himself may have supported pirate operations. In 1230, James the Conqueror reached an agreement with Andrea of Caffaro as emissary of Genoa. This agreement absolved James of any obligations concerning the losses the Genoese suffered from the seizure of their ship the *Saint Blaise* by Peter.[94] (There is no specific date given for the seizure of the *Saint Blaise*.) Apparently Peter seized this ship because of debts the Genoese still owed from their participation in the expedition that resulted in the capture of Tortosa in the late 1140s.[95] Genoese commer-cial interests in the Mediterranean grew during the twelfth century, and by midcentury, Genoa emerged from a period of conflict with pirates and with Pisa ready to expand these commercial interests. Indeed, at the middle of the twelfth century, Genoa refined its dynamic commercial interests in such areas as Iberia, Sardinia, Alexandria and Egypt, Sicily, and the Holy Land.[96] In 1153, however, representatives of Genoa sold their third of the interests gleaned from the Tortosa campaign back to the Count of Barcelona, presumably because the proceeds were not as lucrative as they had previously expected.[97] This episode demonstrates that even leaders of major maritime cities in the Mediterranean could turn to piracy to finance their aims given the opportunity. The com-mune of Genoa received complaints about other pirates active in 1230, and one of the Genoese officials placed the accused pirates in prison. Though the Genoese were accustomed to pirate operations by the middle of the thirteenth century, these operations could have proven disruptive to the commercial interests of many peoples and powers throughout the Mediterranean Sea region.[98]

Affairs to the north also influenced Peter's policies of expansion, and the County of Urgel formed one point of interest for Peter since the Count of Barcelona did not control this county directly. Thus the County of Urgel figured prominently in Peter's policies during this period as well, even with respect to his plans for territories to the south. In his will, Count Ermengol VIII of Urgel, who died on August 30, 1208, appointed five executors. William of Cervera was one of them, as was the abbot of Poblet, who, though not named here, may have been William's brother.[99] Count Ermengol left a bequest to William to hold land—except for the castle of Sancta Linia—as an allod.[100] One magnate named Peter Fernández appeared in Count Ermengol's will along with other

former associates.[101] Peter Fernández had a noteworthy career indeed: Peter Fernández of Castro was estranged from the court of Alfonso VIII of Castile in 1189, where he would otherwise have served as one of the *ricos hombres* for the Castilian court. First he sought refuge at the Leonese court, and following a brief return to Castile in 1192–1193, he traveled to León once again in 1193 before leaving for the Almohad court in 1194. Between 1194 and his death in Morocco in 1214, he was "something of a loose cannon on the peninsular political scene."[102] Along the way, his search for alliances took him to the County of Urgel, where Peter II and several Catalan magnates had dealings with him. He appeared first act–ing on Count Ermengard's behalf to secure an agreement between the count and Count Raymond Roger of Foix during their war in 1203.[103] In the following month, the Count of Urgel, along with his associate Peter Fernández, completed an agreement with the Count of Foix.[104] By September 1203, when Count Ermengard and Count Raymond Roger made peace, Peter Fernández was not present but the Count of Urgel did mention him specifically.[105] Even just from these activities in 1203, Peter Fernández had clearly cultivated a fairly close alliance with the Count of Urgel. He also cultivated an alliance with Peter II himself, for in two documents King Peter issued in May 1206 granting privileges for the cathedrals of Huesca and Jaca, Peter Fernández appeared in the witness lists.[106]

Thus, when Peter Fernández appeared again in 1208, his actions suggest striking correlations linking his activities, his alliance with the Count of Urgel, and Peter's intentions for Valencia. On August 18, 1208, King Peter loaned Teruel and its villages to Peter Fernández.[107] Two years later, on November 6, 1210, Peter commended the County of Urgel to William of Cardona and his son Raymond Fulk to administer for five years. Peter promised to assist them in the event of war against Peter Fernández or Gerald of Cabrera, to consult them in any settlement of this conflict, and to defend their possession of two castles, which the dowager countess pledged to them for eight thousand gold pieces. If Peter failed in any of these obligations, William and Raymond could hold two other properties from Peter for three thousand gold pieces. Both William and Raymond pledged homage to Peter for this agreement.[108] Peter's pledge to William of Cardona and Raymond Fulk against one of his other allies seems unusual at first glance, but it does make sense in this context: Gerald of Cabrera had started a war to secure control of Urgel for himself.[109] This agreement freed Peter from the possibility of administering a county with a succession dispute for five years.[110] He had also gotten an ally, Peter Fernández, in Teruel where he also would have little incentive to pursue a unilateral policy to Peter's detriment. All

of these arrangements, of course, had immediate implications for settle-
ment, mobility, and social structure in the lands toward Valencia where
Peter focused due attention during these years.

King Peter's efforts had not escaped Innocent III's notice. With his
letter *Exemplo miserabilis exterminii* of February 16, 1210, Innocent asked
Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo and his suffragans to support Alfonso VIII
and Peter II in their efforts against Muslims. Innocent was trying to sup-
port a crusade in Iberia, as had his predecessor Celestine III. Peter's work
with respect to his earlier projected campaign to Majorca and his current
campaign to northwest Valencia may have encouraged Innocent, and he
certainly had high hopes for Peter. He described him as an orthodox ruler,
who was willing to fight Muslims.[111] Peter's activities and Innocent's sup-
port would coalesce in one of the most successful campaigns of Peter's
17-year reign.

This coordination between Peter's activities and Innocent's interests
did not happen ex nihilo, for both had been very interested in crusading
throughout the span of Peter's career. By 1210, they were working for
similar purposes, but they had set a precedent for this earlier in Peter's
reign.

On June 16, 1205, Innocent issued *Cum ad optinendam Maioricarum*
to allow Peter to establish an episcopal see on the island of Majorca.[112]
On the same day, additionally, Innocent issued four other letters dealing
with Peter's efforts to combat heresy. With *Cum ad expellendam*, Innocent
allowed Peter to keep lands he captured from heretics.[113] Certainly this
letter would have applied to the Majorcan campaign had it materialized.
In *Cum karissimus*, Innocent asked clergy of Peter's realm to give Peter, a
"catholicus princeps et christianissimus rex," their support in his activi-
ties against heresy.[114] With *Proposuit coram nobis*, Innocent asked the broth-
ers of Calatrava and Vélez to come to the frontier of the king of Aragon
and fight against the Saracens.[115] Innocent gave Abbot Arnald of Citeaux,
Peter of Castelnau, and Master Ralph a task related to his requests of
the same day. Innocent asked them to confirm Peter's capture of a cas-
tle once he had successfully taken it.[116] Already in 1205 Innocent had a
strong interest in Peter's potential success in combating heresy. Though
this campaign to Majorca collapsed, it demonstrates Innocent's process
of encouraging Peter as the principal leader and then gathering support
from many others. When the opportunity for another crusade appeared
in 1210, Innocent used the same procedure and employed Peter again as a
major participant. By then, however, he was not the only one.

In 1210, the Castilian infante Don Fernando contacted Innocent
III with a proposal to prepare for a war against Muslims in Iberia. He
received Innocent's support, and aside from the usual reasons, Innocent

also feared that while Fernando prepared for this new campaign the king of León might take advantage of Fernando's preoccupation and attack Castile. On December 10, 1210, Innocent sent *Significavit nobis* to the bishops of Spain, asking them to advise their rulers to imitate the young Fernando's example. He also granted indulgences for those who would take part in the campaign.[117]

Between early December 1210 and the early months of 1211, Alfonso VIII had requested a papal legate to come to Spain. Innocent rejected Alfonso VIII's request in *Cum personam tuam* (February 22, 1211), but he did encourage Alfonso to assist his son with the proposal for a new crusade.[118] Fernando died suddenly in October 1211, but preparations continued after his death.[119]

Innocent sent *Cum personam tuam* to Alfonso VIII on February 4, 1212, informing him that he had requested support from prelates in France for the developing crusade.[120] At this point the plans were taking shape. The communication Innocent referred to was *Recepimus litteras* (January 31, 1212), addressed to Archbishop Peter of Sens and his suffragans.[121] Innocent told the prelates that in that year Saracens had invaded Spain and captured the Cistercian house of Salvatierra in southern Castile.[122] He now encouraged action to counter these Muslim advances; specifically, he asked forces to gather by Pentecost to mount an expedition.[123]

Peter II had received the same request, for he did arrive in Toledo at Pentecost, having promised to arrive by then.[124] In his letter to Innocent announcing the success that the Iberian forces had, Alfonso VIII reported that Peter advanced to Calatrava in the early stages of the engagement.[125] Peter and King Sancho of Navarre were able to take the castle of Alarcos (the site of a Christian defeat in 1195) and other properties.[126] Indeed they worked closely during the course of the battle, even entering it together, accompanied by the archbishops of Toledo and Narbonne.[127] When the battle on the plains of Tolosa began, Peter and Alfonso took positions along the front lines; Sancho took another position. Peter, in fact, commanded the left wing of the Christian forces, while Alfonso VIII occupied the center position.[128] Al-Nasir's forces mounted a heavy attack, but the Castilian and Aragonese forces turned them back and broke their line.[129] According to Alfonso VIII, he led the charge during and following the breaking of the line.[130] Alfonso did inspire his army to move together to counter al-Nasir's charge. Peter and Sancho of Navarre did the same with their respective forces, personally inspiring them to join the battle to reinforce Alfonso VIII.[131] What may have started as an advantage for al-Nasir quickly turned to an advantage for the Christian forces after the intervention of Peter and Sancho. At this point, the battle turned and panic began to spread among al-Nasir's forces.[132] The Christian forces ran the Muslim

forces off the battlefield, and after their victory, they sang a *Te Deum laudamus* to commemorate the event.[133] After receiving Alfonso's letter, Innocent sent *Protector* (October 26, 1212) to him, congratulating him on the success of the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa.[134] Peter and Sancho made notable contributions to the success that all enjoyed as participants in the campaign culminating in the victory at that battle.[135] During these years of military challenge from and victory over Muslim forces, Peter appears as a character in one of the songs of The king de Miraval. Raimon was to return to Carcassonne and become an "emperor of merit," and as a result of these activities, both the French and the Muslims would "fear his shield."[136] With passages such as these, this song likely dates from the years of the overlap between the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa and the Albigensian Crusade, especially 1212–1213, after Peter's victories in the Rincón de Ademuz near Valencia and Las Navas de Tolosa and his growing success in the Midi by the early months of 1213. These passages from Raimon de Miraval's song thus suggest the high esteem many held for Peter in the wake of his advancing strategic position during these years, as well as his success after the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212.

By the end of 1212, therefore, Peter II had completed two ambitious policies: he had invaded Valencia and taken four castles, and he had also participated in the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, the largest Christian victory on the Iberian Peninsula. Both signaled a continued interest in the southern expansion of Catalonia and also the Christian kingdoms of Iberia. Peter's interest in Valencia continued similar interests held by Counts of Barcelona before him, and his capture of four castles in the northwest corner of Valencia eventually helped pave the way for his son James I to conquer Valencia during his reign. Peter's participation in the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa demonstrated his value as a Christian ruler of Iberia prepared to fight to assist his colleagues as they tried to weaken the position of the Muslim rulers of al-Andalus. In this measure they had success, and they had success in cooperating to advance a common goal. These victories, especially the victory at Las Navas de Tolosa, enhanced Peter's reputation greatly. As a measure of his confidence, ambition, and prowess, these victories signaled that he was prepared to make even larger contributions to the shaping of the Mediterranean region.

Thus, in view of the interests that other rulers such as the Norman kings of Sicily had in the Mediterranean, it was not an unprecedented development that Alfonso II and Peter II likewise would have entertained designs for creating a greater network of allies, territories, and opportunities spanning the Mediterranean from the eastern shores of the Iberian Peninsula to the western shores of the Holy Land. Indeed the Normans, based in Sicily, had attempted to create a rather similar zone

of influence for themselves during the twelfth century, building upon advantages they had gained in the previous century, especially after they capitalized upon a foothold the Genoese and Pisans gained in al-Mahdiya in modern-day Tunisia during the second half of the eleventh century.[137] The city fell to Norman forces in 1148–1149.[138] Suppressing Muslim piracy was a key desire in support of these plans, as was exporting grain from Sicily in exchange for gold from North Africa. As further demonstrations of the hints of Mediterranean connectivity with the Normans of southern Italy and Africa, Greeks and Muslims were active at the royal court of the Norman kings of Sicily, and additionally, local Muslims assisted greatly in aiding the "indirect rule" of the territories contained within the Norman Kingdom of Africa.[139] Thus the attempts at forging greater roles in Mediterranean commercial and cultural activities had, as key components for creating these activities, interests in suppressing Muslim piracy and thereby creating larger opportunities to participate in a regional commercial system.

The gold trade formed an important component of that regional commercial system, and it connected with larger processes active that ultimately helped bring Italian and African—thus Mediterranean— communities closer together. Between the late ninth century and the tenth century, gold trade in West Africa becomes traceable in the sources, and Sijilmasa becomes a correspondingly important node in this growing network. That growth in trade focused on gold, though, had a context. The setting for these developments included the interaction between commercial and luxury trading networks, for the three major Saharan routes active during this period were supplying a regional market, both in Africa and in the Mediterranean, with gold.[140] One important consideration in assessing this trade, therefore, is Sijilmasa itself.

Sijilmasa became an oasis city that helped organize caravans specializing in the gold trade in West and North Africa. The remains of the city are now located in the Tafilalt Oasis of southeastern Morocco, near the modern town of Rissani.[141] Founded by Islamic dissidents in 757, it became an essential desert center for commerce in the Maghrib, especially during and after the tenth century. Sijilmasa was a center for the gold trade network that extended to Ghana to the south, and it facilitated the northward expansion of that trade. It also controlled the minting of gold, and Muslim geographers regarded it as one of the wealthiest locations throughout the Maghrib. Sijilmasa was abandoned in 1393.[142]

Merchants from the Maghrib traded copper and brass from North Africa as well as salt from the Sahara for gold that came from the south, especially from Ghana. Copper and brass from the Maghrib could have had many uses in the societies from North and West Africa, such as items

for exchange, items for personal adornment, signals of status and kin-ship, and objects for ritual use—all of these possibilities suggest societies reflecting complex means for using these materials in a wide range of situations.[143] This complexity extended to the myriad types of currency traditionally available in West African societies, though the focus in this examination is limited to just a portion of the broader array that would have been available in these societies, especially during and following the thirteenth century.[144] As early as 956, Sijilmasa was important for mint-ing the gold transported to the north, and over the next four hundred years, it formed the crucial link in the gold trade across the Sahara. At the same time, it provided the critical node linking caravan routes from West Africa north to Fez, Ceuta, and other settlements along the coast of the Maghrib.[145] Eventually, Sijilmasa connected the broader Islamic and Mediterranean worlds with West Africa,[146] and that linkage helps explain why it became such an important consideration in any calculation of the relative strength and effectiveness of the commercial networks of the Mediterranean world from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. This provides the context for two additional trends. First, Sijilmasa grew dra-matically after the Almoravid conquest in the Maghrib in 1054.[147] That is a particularly interesting development since at Sijilmasa, the political and economic interests of the Almoravids converged as the Almoravid move-ment began to spread. Sijilmasa was the site of one of the Almoravids' first successful campaigns in 1053–1054, and thus it was important for them politically.[148] That was not all, however, given the commercial connectivity it offered. Indeed, during the remainder of the eleventh century and for the duration of their existence in the twelfth century, the Almoravids demonstrated a very high degree of interest in creating, promoting, and using gold coinage.[149] Like their Almoravid predecessors, the Almohads enjoyed general high levels of population throughout their communities.[150] In this process, therefore, Sijilmasa secured indispensable economic connections for the Almoravids. Second, Sijilmasa remained noteworthy and active in light of its continued vitality during the time of the Almohads, the successors to the Almoravids, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[151] The spread of cotton production through-out the Mediterranean and Africa—including West Africa—provides an additional contributing factor to the economic connectivity that these communities enjoyed within a vibrant and expanding Mediterranean commercial network, especially from the tenth to the thirteenth centu-ries.[152] For example, even after the conclusion of the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212, a battle that has been described as initiating a "time of troubles" for Muslim communities in the western Mediterranean,[153] the caliph in North Africa issued a charter of security and protection for the

monks of the Cistercian abbey of Poblet in Catalonia (near Tarragona).[154] Thus the opportunities for cooperation among Mediterranean communities, even in the midst of conflict, could yield potential attractions and benefits.

The success of the regional policies of Peter II, by which he had made significant commercial and military gains throughout the western Mediterranean, represented the culmination of a process that involved the careers of his father as well as earlier Counts of Barcelona from the twelfth century. All of these leaders found the enhancement of their regional positions as highly desirable and potentially lucrative. The profits that some enjoyed as merchant activity grew across the Mediterranean indicated the potential benefits of these policies. From West Africa to the shores of southern Europe, and from the Holy Land to the Iberian coast, merchants, rulers, traders, and investors worked to strengthen their commercial ties to each other and bolster their communities in a process that accelerated during the twelfth century and the early years of the thirteenth.

That process, however, could result in conflict as well as cooperation if the parties were competing for the same resources and they could not share them. This represents the diplomatic and military position Peter occupied as he fought Muslim forces on the Iberian Peninsula. In pursuit of his objectives that aligned with those detailed here from the Normans in Sicily and North Africa, Peter II had shown skill in conducting the more minute details in support of operations for the larger campaigns. These operations included embarking upon the Valencia campaign in retaliation for piracy along the Catalan coast, as well as minimizing his involvement in the County of Urgel when succession disputes made warfare likely, and cultivating an alliance with a former member of the Castilian court who roamed Spain (and eventually North Africa) in search of alliances after his estrangement from that court. Peter's position was perhaps at its strongest in late 1212, clearly building upon the territorial conquests of his predecessors both close to Aragon in the case of Valencia and further away in the case of Las Navas. His position, however, rapidly deteriorated in 1213. Significant problems for him appeared early in that year. Before the end of 1213, he died at the Battle of Muret, where he enjoyed the military advantage.

CHAPTER 7

FRACTURING A REGIONAL COMMUNITY, PART 1: PETER II AND THE GENESIS OF THE ALBIGENSIAN CRUSADE

Church councils figured prominently in confronting the challenge of heresy in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. These councils also suggest the attractiveness some found in heretical movements that offered immediate responses to social and religious tensions. Groups pressing for changes within ecclesiastical structures grew throughout southern France during these years, and economic prosperity coupled with the spread of reforming ideas helped account for this growing inter-est. Both the Waldensians and the Albigensians argued for church reform but with radically different goals: the Waldensians wanted to preach directly to the people and in the vernacular, whereas the Albigensians sought to create an alternate ecclesiastical structure based upon dualistic notions of the inherent goodness of spirit and the inherent evil of matter. The southern French city of Toulouse became one of the most important centers of Albigensian influence.

Peter II became intimately involved with Toulouse. An Aragonese king or Catalan count could ill afford to ignore it, given its strategic, economic, and political importance in the Midi. Strong historic con-nections, moreover, linked Toulouse with the Crown of Aragon. These connections helped bring Peter more gradually within the affairs in the Midi. Although the preparations for and prosecution of the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 diverted his attention, both before and after the battle Peter maintained an active policy to further his interests and those of his allies in the Midi.

By the High Middle Ages, a prosperous Toulouse was one of the larg-est cities in the Midi.[1] This prosperity had both commercial and social

dimensions, but both took advantage of Toulouse's advantageous geo-graphical position. Toulouse sits on the right bank of the Garonne River where the river bends on its flow from the Pyrenees in the south to the Atlantic to the northwest. The Romans made a settlement there around 118 BCE along a road connecting the Italian and Iberian peninsulas. Toulouse was an important site for the Visigoths and Carolingians, and by the central years of the Middle Ages, it was on a pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela.[2] During the central Middle Ages—especially the twelfth century—Toulouse developed two distinct areas. The city comprised the original settlement of Toulouse; it had the old walls, the bishop's palace, and the cathedral of Saint Etienne, as well as other build-ings and shops. The monastery of Saint Sernin provided the nucleus for the development of the Bourg. Though monks from Cluny were very interested in Saint Sernin during the eleventh century, throughout both the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Saint Sernin grew into an impor-tant location along the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela. This connection would have an even more lasting effect upon the church; as at Santiago de Compostela, donors deposited relics at Saint Sernin as well. During these years, Saint Sernin and Santiago de Compostela developed in some similar ways, both pointing toward the kinds of commercial and spiritual connections operating throughout the Midi, in northwestern Iberia, and along the *camino de Santiago*.[3] As Saint Sernin grew, and the Bourg grew as well, the Bourg became a walled section to the north of the city, also along the right bank of the Garonne. Shops dedicated to crafts began to appear there, such as for making leather, and the Bourg also had mills along the river and lodgings for pilgrims. Even with all of this activ-ity and including residences, the Bourg remained less populous than the city. Though the professions had a stronger presence in the city, there was no sharp distinction between the sections regarding these professions.[4] The Bourg began to coalesce in 1120 and 1141, as references to it began to appear in documents. These references described the *probi homines*, a group of "esteemed men" who were respected leaders in Toulouse, and at the same time, references describing the Bourg and the city together also appeared. The term *suburbium* appeared later during the twelfth century, denoting an area similar to that of the Bourg.[5] The village of Cuisines after the eleventh century linked the city and the Bourg together along the Garonne River, and even though the Bourg was Toulouse's least populous region, housing in new sections of the Bourg grew in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.[6] With the development of a fit-ting vocabulary to describe the parts of Toulouse, scribes also indicated that this area of the city was growing into a prosperous area, able to attract merchants, traders, and settlers. The beginning of the Albigensian

Crusade in 1209 stopped the growth of Toulouse but not permanently; it resumed after the crusade ended in 1229.[7] Thus the Bourg, especially with access to the Garonne, seems ideally suited to allowing for trades, exchanges, and travel accommodations. In view of this traffic and activity, the consulate would have had great interest in fostering toll reductions and encouraging trade there during the early thirteenth century.

That consulate rose to prominence in Toulouse in a process that commenced during the central years of the twelfth century. In 1152, a council of members of the city and Bourg of Toulouse produced measures limiting the activities of the Count of Toulouse.[8] This process continued during the rest of the twelfth century, and by 1189, the inhabitants of the city made two major gains. First, they formed a consulate, a municipal council with 24 members. The consulate began governing affairs throughout Toulouse and its surrounding area more directly. Second, in forming the consulate, they had also succeeded in limiting the activities of the Count of Toulouse.[9]

A group of merchant families became members of the consulate of Toulouse in 1202, and this development highlighted the importance of merchants and commerce at Toulouse at the beginning of the thirteenth century.[10] This new consulate embarked upon an ambitious program to rearrange their relationship with their neighboring communities. While the consulate had gained greater autonomy from its count, in that process a number of those leaders enhanced their patronage relationships with Toulouse's leading monasteries.[11] A number of religious institutions throughout Languedoc, including the area surrounding Toulouse, were becoming wealthy during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Prominent examples of this trend included the monasteries of Saint-Sernin de Toulouse and Lagrasse in the diocese of Carcasonne. The Cistercian abbeys of Grandselve and Frontfroide also demonstrated this trend.[12]

These leading merchants embarked upon a determined policy, attempting to achieve two objectives simultaneously in the process. First, they wished to restrict the availability of tolls to neighboring towns in the region, as with reducing tolls available to Verdun from river commerce in 1164.[13] Second, they wished to create an Italian-style *contado* (an area adjacent to a municipality),[14] which would have increased their influence in the region immediately surrounding Toulouse and heightened their general influence throughout the Midi. The leaders, and especially the consulate at this point, would thereby enjoy an unrivaled position as the major economic and commercial force along the Garonne River.

The prominence of that very river offered the leaders of Toulouse access to improved commercial and communication activities. The city

therefore launched a series of expeditions against settlements at the con-
fluence of the Tarn and Agout Rivers as well as at the confluence of
the Tarn and Garonne Rivers.[15] The river confluences formed impor-
tant commercial locations, and tolls could be profitably collected at these
locations. Thus the rationale for these expeditions included an implied
connection to tolls and certainly a stress on regional commercial advan-
tage. There may have been even more at stake as well: it is possible that
the merchants and consuls of Toulouse acted to ensure the stability of
markets for merchant, craft, and agrarian prices in a climate of increased
competition from their neighbors in the region.[16] The consulate did act
quickly to work with two major sets of tolls for Toulouse. In June 1204,
the consulate completed an inquest concerning the toll rates for Saint-
Jory (located within the Bourg) and set the rates for a range of trans-
actions. Apparently Saint-Jory was a significant nexus for convenient
trading near rural settlements, and it thus offered an advantage for those
seeking greater commercial connections with the rural settlements and
households near the Bourg. Agricultural goods appear prominently in
the items described in the consulate's inquest. These items include, for
example, fish (with varied kinds such as salmon and salted fish), salted
pork, live pigs, transport dues for donkeys to be sold, transport dues for
horses to be sold, and transport dues for sheep to be sold. This record sug-
gests an active and productive local agricultural economy, an economy
the consuls eagerly supported.[17] Just one year later, the consulate com-
pleted another toll inquest, this time for the tolls for the Toulousain. This
document focuses on trading over longer distances because there are rates
for a number of items and commodities including new ships, new corsairs
(fast ships), shiploads, and new millstones for mills. This inquest offers a
glimpse into the active commercial traffic along the Garonne River in
the early thirteenth century. Toulouse occupied an excellent position to
capitalize on this traffic, and as with their work on agricultural trad-
ing, the consuls encouraged the amenities Toulouse could enjoy by par-
ticipating in and facilitating these exchanges. Between 1204 and 1205,
therefore, the consuls had conducted toll inquests focusing on both agri-
cultural and mercantile practices. Indeed, these consuls would have been
responsible for working together as a court of judges when necessary, and
as a mark of the scope of their activities, in the early thirteenth century
they began getting consuls who were learned in the law.[18] The consulate
activity appears to have been part of an effort to encourage all aspects
of the commercial activity of Toulouse soon after this consulate—laden
with a coterie of merchants for the first time—began its work.[19]

   Countering heresy formed one of the most significant activities of
the period. Since Peter's intervention eventually placed him alongside

his allies in Toulouse, and since many of these allies had connections with Albigensians in particular, Peter was open to charges of heresy even during the years of the compilation of *The Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña*.[20] This chronicle is an official history of the Crown of Aragon, commissioned by Peter IV (r. 1336–1387) and completed near 1380. In two places, the chroniclers carefully state that Peter never supported heretics. At the beginning of their treatment of his career, the chroniclers note that Peter obtained his sobriquet "el Católico" because he always supported the church.[21] At the conclusion of the section dealing with Peter's career, the chroniclers insist that Peter went to Toulouse to assist his sisters and not to help any heretics; he remained an adherent to the orthodox faith throughout his life.[22] Toulouse remained a significant center of Albigensian activity after Peter's death, and because the crusade that Innocent III proclaimed for southern France formed one of his most dramatic efforts to eradicate this heresy, Peter might thus have been suspected of having supported the Albigensian heresy himself.[23] Supporting the heretics directly would have placed Peter in a precarious position. By the outbreak of hostilities around 1209, he positioned himself as a close ally of the papacy. The Council of Montpellier had issued a canon against heresy in 1195, and he had issued his own constitution against heresy at the Council of Girona in 1197. The problem of heretics vexed officials in both the Crown of Aragon and the Midi, and connections linking them appeared as early as the late twelfth century.

When Peter II decided to ally with Toulouse, a policy he considered in the early years of his reign, he completed a definite reversal in the Midi alliance system. Alfonso II had to seal his advances in the Midi by warfare, and a new alliance with Toulouse would have meant that expansion could take place emphasizing negotiation rather than violence.[24] Toulouse itself was changing rapidly in the early thirteenth century. The consulate election for 1202 brought a new element to prominence in that body, a group of merchants and businessmen. This group challenged the traditional patrician landholders for control of the consulate. Even though some of the patrician families gained a few seats back in the next few years, the merchant families kept their predominance in the consulate.[25] Also, just following 1202, Toulouse began a series of campaigns in the area designed to create a *contado* on the model found in other Italian or Provençal towns.[26] Merchants from Toulouse recognized economic opportunities to the south as well. They perceived these opportunities as early as the middle of the twelfth century. In 1166, for example, Bertrand of Toulouse sold a parcel of land that he had received from the Count of Barcelona shortly after the capture of Lérida.[27] In one of the most striking economic links connecting Toulouse and Catalonia, in 1231, William

Huc of Toulouse included a provision in his will to establish a *fondaco* at Lérida so that merchants from Toulouse could have a central location to lodge and trade.[28] As the potential commercial and economic connections of Toulouse grew, it would have looked like a promising ally to Peter II, especially considering his continued dynastic interests in the Midi.

As King John contemplated creating a new marriage alliance in the early years of his reign, his dynastic considerations had the potential to reshape dramatically the alliance system of southern France and Iberia as well. In 1200, according to Ralph de Diceto, John considered contracting a marriage with a daughter of the king of Portugal (Sancho I, r. 1185–1211). John even sent a delegation to Rouen to negotiate the arrangements. This delegation included the bishop of Lisieux, William de Stagno, Radulfus de Ardene, Hubert de Burgh, and many others from England and Normandy.[29] Soon thereafter, without obtaining counsel from his Rouen delegation, John decided to abandon this project and marry Isabel, the only daughter of the Count of Angoulême.[30] Had John's original plan for Portugal worked, it would have had a number of consequences: Richard had already initiated the process by creating an alliance with Raymond VI of Toulouse and giving up any claim to Toulouse. These steps significantly reduced the prospect of continuing the 40 years' war. Building upon these measures, John could have allied with Toulouse and Portugal and continued a relationship with Aragon. In the next year, John settled the dowry for Richard's widow Berengaria and started negotiations to create an alliance with her father, Sancho VII of Navarre.[31] Between 1200 and 1201, John traveled to inspect much of his realms, including territories as disparate as the area of the Pyrenees and Scotland.[32] If indeed John continued his brother's defensive strategy, first adopted between 1194 and 1196, these resulting alliances would have brought many of the major rulers together into one alliance system. The prospect of this alliance system appeared in response to the threat John perceived to his northern Angevin holdings and that Peter perceived in the Midi. This threat originated with Philip Augustus of France.

John had another good reason to consider seriously—and work on—improving his alliance position in the Midi in the early thirteenth century. According to one chronicler, John faced a rebellion there from one of his allies at the time he and Peter appear to have been thinking of making different arrangements for how they were dealing with the Midi. Hugo of Brun had been an important ally of John in Aquitaine, but now he was considering moving against John.[33] Moreover, John's mother, Eleanor of Aquitaine, had written to him in 1200, warning him of the danger that some of his barons might try—unjustly—to snatch some of

his properties away from him.[34] Eleanor, in fact, went to great lengths to help secure John's inheritance and realm.[35] Her letter to him represents just one example of a larger process.

The prelates attending the Council of Montpellier (1195) attempted to deal with countering heresy and the support of heresy when they declared in their third canon that all those heretics, Aragonese, groups known as warrior bands, and pirates who attempted to sell weapons or timber for the construction of galleys and ships to Saracens were to be placed under anathema.[36] This provision reflects a similar concern from Canon 24 (*Ita quorumdam*) in the Third Lateran Council (1179), which forbade Christians to make such sales to Saracens, who might use them for constructing galleys in support of raiding parties and pirates.[37] In the Council of Girona (1197), Peter declared Waldensians and all other heretics to be under anathema, asserted that they were public enemies, and demanded that they leave his realm.[38] Near the dawn of the thirteenth century, dealing with heretics formed a pressing concern for societies on both sides of the Pyrenees.

The political overtones in this conflict appeared in the early thirteenth century, even in the midst of the religious disagreements. Innocent III and Archbishop Berenguer of Narbonne (1191–1211) experienced difficulties when Innocent believed that the archbishop's lax performance of his duties created problems within the province of Narbonne, making it easier for heresy to spread. Archbishop Berenguer's questionable practices included not supervising the clergy properly, not observing the laws of the church, and consecrating bishops in return for money.[39] With *Si notasses melius* (May 30, 1203), Innocent III informed Archbishop Berenguer of his great displeasure at the archbishop's discharge of his duties, indicating also that he needed to make changes in how he handled the affairs of his province. In one section of his letter, Innocent deployed a series of scriptural references that make clear his concern that the province of Narbonne was in severe trouble and that the archbishop had, largely through his inactions, allowed this situation to develop. The images prominent for Innocent were the wolf, the silent dog, and weeds. He first stated that savage wolves have entered the province of Narbonne, equating the wolves with the groups Innocent considered heretical, such as the Cathars (or "good men" and "good women"). He drew from Paul's comment to the elders of the church in Ephesus, where he told them that after he departed from them, he knew that wolves would enter their community and potentially undermine it from within (Acts 20:29). Innocent said further that in the midst of the entrance of the "savage wolves," Archbishop Berenguer acted like a silent dog, neither deterring them through barking nor laying down his life for his sheep like a good shepherd. Instead

he allowed the wolves to roam and disrupt the community through his own incompetence (Isaiah 58:10 and John 10:13–15). These wolves also had disturbed the vineyard and the harvest of the Lord, but the archbishop, in his absence, had allowed an enemy to sow weeds into the crops (Matthew 13:24–30). Innocent's suggestive blending of the images of the wolves, the silent dog, and weeds amply demonstrates his disappointment in Archbishop Berenguer.[40] This also shows the depth of his interest in the affairs of the province of Narbonne. Innocent's use of *zizania* (weeds) is a key example, for it suggests that the weeds were flourishing alongside the crops to be harvested, as Jesus suggests in his parable in Matthew. The parable concludes with the weeds being allowed to grow, then collected and burned. Perhaps Innocent feared a result like this if the archbishop failed to give these issues his full attention and energy. Berenguer's relationship with Innocent did not remain negative throughout his career. Recognizing his desirable position to mediate between the *boni homines* and the crusaders, Innocent conferred on Berenguer the responsibility of protecting Peter II of Aragon's lands in Languedoc in 1209 following the crusaders' capture of Béziers and Carcassonne. Berenguer was also Peter's uncle. Apparently Peter used his uncle's services as he negotiated with crusaders during the early years of the Albigensian Crusade.[41]

Even though Archbishop Berenguer and Innocent III eventually found a way to work together, the accusations Innocent leveled against Berenguer lingered in the minds of some. For those predisposed to believe the worst about Berenguer, they would have been difficult to dislodge. Arnaud Amaury, another prominent figure in these events, demonstrated precisely this kind of thinking. His attitudes as well as his actions that followed this incident helped him become the most notorious Cistercian of this period. He became abbot of Grandselve in 1198, and while there, he reported to Raymond VI a crime of heresy in a church in Toulouse where someone profaned the altar. Amaury believed that a priest receiving the sacrament thereafter was receiving evil into his body, but to his dismay, the offender was never punished. Amaury was still telling this story by 1213, so this episode made a great impression on him.[42] It also suggests that he had made up his mind early concerning how to deal with those suspected of heresy, and this contributed to his inflexibility in dealing with the inhabitants of the Midi. He very likely formed these attitudes in the aftermath of the egregious activities some of the nobles in the Midi had been engaging in before the start of the Albigensian Crusade. Count Raymond VI of Toulouse had destabilized the abbeys of Moissac and Montauban, and for these actions, Pope Celestine III excommunicated him in 1196.[43] Count Raymond Roger of Foix invaded the county of Urgel in Aragon in 1197 as the result of a border dispute and, in the

process, pillaged its cathedral.[44] Count Roger II of Trencavel ravaged the abbey of Saint-Pons-de-Thomières, and the abbey had to pay him to stop his incursions. The abbeys of Lagrasse and Caunes also suffered from violence he inflicted upon them.[45] As Amaury's career in the Midi progressed from abbot of Grandselve to papal legate to archbishop of Narbonne in 1212, these instabilities throughout the region exerted a powerful influence on his thinking.[46] Now he believed he had a duty to ensure that all of the volatility in the region would end. The most famous (or infamous) story about Amaury is that of his comment at the siege of Béziers in 1209 when asked whether to spare anyone there and, if so, how to tell between the heretics and the catholic Christians. Amaury said, according to Caesarius of Heisterbach, "Kill them all; God will recognize his own."[47] Even if this incident did not happen as Caesarius reports it, this story does reveal something about Amaury's attitude. He displayed a similar attitude after the crusader forces took the town of Minerve in the summer of 1210. Simon de Montfort yielded to Amaury's guidance concerning what to do with those found in Minerve suspected of heresy. According to Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, Amaury offered freedom to any who would renounce their heresy, and when a crusader questioned him about this policy, Amaury asked the crusader to give up his concerns, saying that he expected only a few of them to accept his offer.[48] This episode represents one further example of Amaury's attitude toward the inhabitants of Minerve in particular and his general inflexible attitude in these matters.[49] Considering Amaury's dealings with Count Raymond of Toulouse in 1209 and 1210, Innocent himself concluded that Amaury had been too inflexible in his handling of these affairs.[50]

Montpellier provided the site for another church council early in the thirteenth century, in 1206. The evidence for this council, however, is less secure. Mansi indicates that a council met sometime between 1205 and 1207, with 1207 as the more probable date.[51] A description of the meeting follows, but no canons. This lacuna demonstrates the broader problems in relying on Mansi exclusively for conciliar texts,[52] but the chroniclers provide more evidence for the particulars of this meeting. According to Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, Bishop Diego of Osma traveled to Rome in 1206. He wished to resign his bishopric in order to devote more time to preaching, very likely in support of conversion missions among Muslims in Spain. Innocent denied his request, and on his way back to Spain, Bishop Diego met at Montpellier with Innocent's three legates: Abbot Arnold of Citeaux, Peter of Castelnau, and Brother Ralph.[53] The legates spoke with Bishop Diego of the difficulty of their task; at that time they had made little progress in preaching to the heretics. The heretics raised the issue of lax deportment among the clergy,

and Bishop Diego suggested that the bishops concentrate more strongly on preaching. As they preached, Bishop Diego said, they should conduct themselves with humility, especially by walking to their destinations and living in imitation of the ways of the apostles.[54] The legates were unwilling to lead a life such as Bishop Diego outlined without a model to follow, so the bishop along with "a single companion" left Montpellier with Peter of Castelnau and Brother Ralph.

Ultimately the preaching campaigns Bishop Diego and his companions undertook after leaving Montpellier would help form the genesis for the Dominican Order. Bishop Diego returned to Osma by the end of 1207, when he died.[55] The "single companion" who traveled with him, who was present at Montpellier and at other locations throughout the Midi before Bishop Diego returned to Osma, was the future Saint Dominic. Indeed Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay identifies Dominic as being present with Bishop Diego at Laure, a fortress near Carcassonne. There Dominic preached along with other members of the entourage traveling with Bishop Diego, and he talked with one of the heretics directly, making a list of authorities so both could discuss them more fully.[56] After this, Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay related a story of a miracle that happened later that night when the paper Dominic used to list his authorities jumped out of a fire instead of being consumed. Although the heretics at that gathering refused to alter their beliefs, one knight sympathetic to the cause of Bishop Diego and his companions began to tell this story to "a great many people."[57] This entire account firmly places the early activities of the Dominican Order within the context of the contest between orthodox and heretical groups in the Midi at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The Council of Montpellier (1206) also occurred while Peter grappled with riots against his authority in Montpellier, for which Innocent III ratified a settlement negotiated by the bishop of Maguelone. Innocent's ratification, *Cum illius locum*, dates from April 13, 1207.[58]

The chronicler William of Tudela, author of *The Song of the Cathar Wars*, suggests a further connection between Peter and affairs in the Midi during these years. According to William, approximately between 1206 and 1208, Bishop Diego of Osma organized a meeting including himself, the legates appointed for service in the Midi, and the Albigensians of Carcassonne.[59] William also states that Peter attended this meeting, but William may have conflated two separate meetings into one in this description.[60] It is significant, though, that a chronicler working not long after these events linked Peter with the efforts against heresy in the Midi so early in both the crusading and preaching endeavors. Both movements were to prove crucial for the development of the Midi, and Peter's role in them would only increase in subsequent years.

The murder of Peter of Castelnau on January 14, 1208, marked a dramatic acceleration of the policies employed by the participants throughout the region. William of Tudela provides a brief, gripping account of this murder with the following salient details: Peter of Castelnau had been in Provence and left the area in January 1208, traveling to Saint-Gilles. There he excommunicated Count Raymond VI of Toulouse because Raymond supported mercenaries who were causing disruptions in the countryside. Near Saint-Gilles, a squire apparently allied to Count Raymond rode toward Peter of Castelnau, stabbed him in the back, and then galloped off to Beaucaire to take shelter with relatives.[61]

Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay provides more details in his account and structures it differently as well. He refers to Peter of Castelnau's murder as "the martyrdom of that venerable man and most courageous champion, Brother Peter of Castelnau."[62] After this comment, Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay includes the full text of Innocent's letter *Rem crudelam* within his account. In this letter, Innocent described the events of the murder as he understood them and encouraged orthodox believers to challenge heresy in the Midi, even in armed expeditions.

Innocent III lodged three complaints against Count Raymond VI of Toulouse in *Rem crudelam*. First, although Raymond had previously received absolution in return for reconciling himself to the church, Innocent accused him of having taken those vows for reconciliation dishonestly, never intending to eradicate heretics from Toulouse or its vicinity. In connection with this charge, Innocent mentioned Raymond's apparent reconciliation with the church in the penitence ceremony at Saint-Gilles; a ceremony, Innocent emphasizes, that Raymond did not take seriously.[63] Second, Innocent believed that a suspiciously short period of time elapsed between the departure of the legatine party from Saint-Gilles and Peter of Castelnau's murder near the border of Provence. According to Innocent, Raymond had been remorseful at first but then changed his attitude. As he became more hostile to the legates, he promised to send a group of his own to monitor their progress and even threatened the legatine party with death. The legate and his party decided to leave Saint-Gilles and continue their preaching mission elsewhere in the area. As the citizens of Saint-Gilles learned of Raymond's actions, they asked him to relent. The abbot of Saint-Gilles tried to persuade Raymond to change his mind, and a delegation of the consuls and townspeople escorted the legatine party to the banks of the Rhône River.[64] Without the knowledge of most of the members of the escort party, Raymond had sent some of his accomplices to infiltrate the delegation and act against the legatine party. Third, Innocent accused Raymond of conspiracy in planning for at least one of the infiltrators to murder Peter of Castelnau.

Thus on the morning after setting the camp along the Rhone, and after having celebrated Mass, one of Raymond's accomplices stabbed Peter of Castelnau in the back with a lance. Peter forgave him as he lay critically wounded, and presently he died, after discussing the rest of their mission with the other members of the legatine party.[65]

In an attempt to rectify the deteriorating state of affairs in the Midi, Innocent instructed the archbishops of Narbonne, Arles, Embrun, Aix, and Vienne, along with their suffragans, to perform a number of activities. First, he ordered them to continue to spread "the word of peace and the faith" formerly preached by Peter of Castelnau and to continue to oppose heresy. Second, he demanded that they excommunicate and anathematize Peter's murderer along with any accomplices—including those giving aid and shelter—throughout their dioceses. Third, he ordered them to place any of the locations offering shelter to the murderers under interdict. Fourth, he ordered them to renew this condemnation every Sunday and subsequent feast day until the guilty ones traveled to the Holy See to receive pardon by rendering satisfaction.[66] Innocent also released all of Raymond's allies from their oaths to Raymond because of Raymond's rupture with the church. Innocent further encouraged orthodox believers to begin recovering Raymond's lands from the grip of heresy.[67]

The murder of Peter of Castelnau provided the efficient cause for the escalation of crusading campaigns in the Midi. William, perhaps relying on reports of the episode along with including his own concept of a person confronting adversity, described Innocent III as "grasping his chin in anger" when he heard of the murder, invoking Saint James of Compostela and Saint Peter of Rome in the process.[68] The motion William depicted for Innocent is a significant one, and it is a motion William may have thought appropriate for someone with Innocent's frame of mind at the time. A gesture such as grasping one's chin, like the similar gesture of pulling one's beard described in *The Song of Roland* for example, would indicate extreme sorrow or distress. For these events, both distress and sorrow provide ways for understanding what followed: Innocent dashed out a candle—a motion signifying excommunication—while meeting with the representatives giving him the news of the murder. There, with Arnold Amaury (abbot of Cîteaux and legate in the Midi), the college of cardinals, and a notary present, Innocent proclaimed a crusade to the region: "From beyond Montpellier as far as Bordeaux, any that rebelled were to be utterly destroyed."[69] Shortly thereafter, with the continuing encouragement of Arnold Amaury, Innocent had the requisite letters drafted announcing the crusade. Still, William portrays a sorrowful Innocent who asks Abbot Arnold to go to Carcassonne and Toulouse

at the head of the armies, proclaiming remission of sins to the crusaders and encouraging them to expel the heretics from the midst of the virtuous.[70] Many prelates accompanied Abbot Arnold as he made his way to Carcassonne and Toulouse, including the archbishop of Tarragona and the bishops of Maguelone, Lérida, and Barcelona.[71]

According to Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, the crusaders arrived in the Midi near the feast day of Saint John the Baptist (June 24) in 1209. Upon receiving news of their approach, Count Raymond went to meet them near Valence. At this meeting, Raymond pledged that he would subject himself to the church and also to the crusaders. He also turned over some fortresses to the crusaders for security. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, of course, regarded Count Raymond as having taken these oaths in bad faith, with no intention of carrying them out.[72]

In view of his close diplomatic relations with Count Raymond VI of Toulouse, as well as the presence of the archbishop of Tarragona, the bishop of Maguelone, the bishop of Lérida, and the bishop of Barcelona among the prelates accompanying Abbot Arnold, all these developments placed Peter II in an ever more precarious and dangerous position. If Peter II continued to stand by his allies in the Midi, he would have become increasingly suspect of supporting heresy, although nothing suggests that he personally supported heretical movements. The diplomatic situation he had created could have offered some immediate economic rewards, capitalizing on the close relationships that had developed between Catalonia and the Midi at least since the time of Raymond Berenguer III in the early twelfth century. Yet from the middle of the twelfth century, heresy had grown throughout the Midi. Countering it effectively formed one of the keystones of Innocent III's policies from his accession in 1198. The murder of Peter of Castelnau added a new urgency to these plans. Innocent now viewed crusading as one of the few effective measures he had to counter heresy and prevent its further expansion. Innocent saw the necessity of responding to Peter of Castelnau's murder quickly and effectively, and the pressures of speed and force in turn helped escalate the hostilities further. If Peter II were to maintain his involvement in the affairs of the Midi in any competent way, he would have to steer a careful course between countering heresy and supporting his allies. In fact, Peter II did deepen his involvement in the Midi just during 1209. He made donations to two family members for them to take custody of ports and the tolls accompanying them in that part of Provence bordering the Mediterranean.[73] This suggests a Mediterranean policy, and Peter was probably trying to secure some of his most valuable holdings. As time passed, preserving his balance between his allies and the papacy proved increasingly difficult, and indeed the chroniclers

suggested that Peter II encountered frustrations as he attempted to keep the hostilities from degenerating further.

The aftermath of the sieges of Béziers and Carcassonne during 1209 gives an example of the difficulties Peter II faced, even early in the crusade operations. Raymond Roger Trencavel, Viscount of Béziers, faced mounting opposition from crusading forces. According to William of Tudela, Raymond Roger Trencavel traveled to Carcassonne ahead of the arrival of the crusaders, and then the crusaders attacked Béziers, setting fire to it in the process.[74] After taking Béziers, the crusaders proceeded to Carcassonne, taking it as well.[75] Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay gives a more detailed account of the siege of Béziers. He depicts the citizens of Béziers as "robbers, lawbreakers, adulterers and thieves of the worst sort, brimful of every kind of sin."[76] He also tells a story of some citizens of Béziers having accosted a priest preparing for an early morning Mass, disrobing and even urinating on him to show contempt for the sacraments.[77]

After the crusaders arrived, the bishop of Béziers went out to meet the crusaders on behalf of the inhabitants of the city. When he returned, he reported that the crusaders asked for one of two things: either the citizens could send the heretics out, as the crusaders had no quarrel with believers still within orthodox belief and practice, or the citizens could leave Béziers and leave the heretics there (the implication here was that the crusaders would then attack the city). The citizens took neither option. They decided to stay within the city, and Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay refers to their decision as a "covenant with death."[78] He reports that the crusaders took Béziers on the feast day of the Blessed Mary Magdalene. This places the date at July 22, 1209.[79]

The crusaders, however, were not able to take the castle of Carcassonne at first. According to Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, the crusaders encamped around the city after they arrived. Carcassonne had two suburbs nearby. The first fell to the crusaders quickly, but they encountered more resistance with the second one. Simon de Montfort, in fact, played a crucial role in helping to capture the first of the suburbs surrounding Carcassonne. At the second suburb, the crusaders needed siege engines to complete their attack. With the town having been taken but the nearby castle still mounting a defense, Peter II arrived in Carcassonne in August 1209 in an attempt to find a way out of the impasse. In William of Tudela's account, Peter quickly told Raymond Roger Trencavel that the crusaders had targeted Béziers since Raymond Roger Trencavel had not made an effort to eradicate the region of heretics. Peter II still believed this was the central problem, and the crusaders would not leave the area surrounding Carcassonne as long as the heretics remained. The best immediate way out of the situation was to try negotiating with

the crusaders to get favorable terms to minimize further skirmishes and destruction. Ultimately, however, Peter II's efforts failed and the crusaders continued to attack the castle at Carcassonne.[80] According to Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, the inhabitants, naked, vacated the city. This was a typical measure enacted during siege warfare. It could result from a number of factors, including a conditional respite in which members of a garrison asked a besieging commander for a specific number of days to seek help from their lord, and if this aid did not come, they would surrender the castle.[81] If a garrison offered a valiant defense, and if the victorious lord wished to secure a reputation many would view as honorable, the lord might allow the former defenders of a garrison to escape capture and ransom and consequently would grant them free egress.[82] Viscount Raymond Roger was imprisoned, and the territory was kept intact for the next lord of the area whenever that lord was appointed.[83] That position fell to Simon de Montfort, who had already distinguished himself as a loyal, talented, formidable, sometimes ruthless crusader.[84]

Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay gave an account of Simon de Montfort's conduct when he was with the crusading host assembled at Venice in late 1202 preparing to attack Zara. As he described it, the crusaders had depleted their funds because hiring the ships they needed was more expensive than they had planned. The Venetians then proposed that instead, the crusaders attack a Christian city, Zara, allied to the king of Hungary. When the crusaders reached the city, they pitched camp and prepared to besiege it. Simon de Montfort and the abbot of les Vaux-de-Cernay refused to participate and made their camp at some distance from that of the crusaders. Innocent III sent a letter (which no longer survives) threatening to withdraw his promise of indulgence from the host if they attacked Zara.[85]

When the abbot of les Vaux-de-Cernay read Innocent's letter before the assembled host on November 12, 1202, the Venetians became so angered that they wanted to kill him. Simon de Montfort prevented this. When the citizens of Zara came to seek peace, Simon said that he had no intention of fighting Christians and would not participate in such a campaign, whatever anyone else might have decided.[86] A second papal letter excommunicated all who were involved in the attack on Zara, and Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay reported that he was there and read the text of the letter himself.[87] Following this, Simon left, and traveled to Barbetta in Apulia. From there he was able to get ships to Outremer, where he remained for approximately one year. He returned safely to France, and his reputation grew after he returned, especially as he began to fight against heresy.[88]

Simon traveled throughout his lands after leaving Carcassonne. He went to Fanjeaux for one of his first visits. Though Fanjeaux was a fortified town (*castrum*), apparently by 1209 it had been deserted, with some Aragonese knights loyal to the orthodox cause occupying the castle.[89] The presence of these knights from Aragon shows the potential for this series of conflicts to have serious consequences. At this point, Peter II was working to reconcile the opposing parties and forces, but some inhabitants from his realm were already preparing to travel across the Pyrenees to join the forces Simon de Montfort headed.

Continuing on his tour, Simon traveled to the *castrum* of Mirepoix, on his way to Pamiers. For Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, Mirepoix was "a centre for heretics and mercenaries under the lordship of the Count of Foix."[90] Simon captured Mirepoix and continued on to Pamiers, where the abbot welcomed him and transferred Pamiers to his control.[91] Already in late 1209, patterns began to emerge in Simon's campaigns: he fought a series of skirmishes while clearing the area surrounding Carcassonne of possible opposition. Simon also encountered areas where mercenaries were or had been active, and Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay carefully noted that Mirepoix had been a center for their activities in the area. The Count of Foix, an ally of Peter II, maintained close relations with the mercenaries as well as heretics.

Indeed, Peter II occupied a significant position in the Midi in late 1209 because Simon was prepared to render homage to Peter II for his custody of Carcassonne. Béziers and Carcassonne had been subject to the overlordship of the kings of Aragon since Viscount Roger II allied himself with Alfonso II in 1179.[92] In the face of Simon's offer, Peter II had misgivings, for Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay reported that he "was wholly unwilling to receive homage from our Count, but wished to hold the city for himself."[93] Peter II and Simon met at Narbonne and then proceeded to Montpellier. Although they spent approximately two weeks at Montpellier, Peter II still refused to accept Simon's offer of homage by the end of their negotiations.[94] Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay even said that Peter II sent a secret message throughout Béziers and Carcassonne, telling all those who still opposed Simon not to reach any agreements with him and promising that Peter II would join them in attacking Simon.[95] Given Peter II's efforts to mediate this entire affair, the last part is odd. Possibly some of Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay's bias against Peter II shows here, as he tried to link Peter II with a potentially destructive secret message sent throughout territories that Simon controlled—territories, moreover, with numerous inhabitants who still adhered to the Albigensian heresy. This episode could contain a bit of truth: Peter II may have told these

inhabitants that he would join them in campaigns against Simon if he undertook further actions against them.

By late 1209, Simon's position deteriorated, and he needed to mount campaigns himself to secure the territories he had already gained. In November and December 1209, Simon lost more than 40 fortresses. Forces he had left guarding his holdings had difficulties in skirmishes with local inhabitants, who, in challenging these forces, challenged Simon's lordship as well.[96] In another example of the serious tasks Simon faced, three lords presented Peter II with an opportunity to curtail further the areas under Simon's control. In the spring of 1210, three lords—Peter Roger of Cabaret, Raymond of Termes, and Aimeric of Montréal, along with many others opposed to Simon—asked Peter II to meet with them. They wanted to recognize Peter II as their lord and turn their territories over to him. This represented an attempt on the part of these lords to circumvent Simon's overlordship over them since he now had custody over the Trencavel lands. These lords were dependent on the Trencavel viscounts. These lords had not formally recognized Simon, in a move that mirrored Peter II's refusal to accept the homage Simon owed him for Béziers and Carcassonne.[97] All three of these lands—Cabaret, Termes, and Montréal—were close to Carcassonne. If Peter II accepted the proposal offered by the lords, it offered all parties significant benefits. The lords could bypass Simon de Montfort and then send troops against him to counter his moves. They could then claim that they had not violated any oaths or agreements by these practices, since they had made none to Simon and Peter II was their rightful overlord. For Peter II, it could have provided a triple advantage. First, it would have given him extra leverage to use in his attempts to mediate the dispute between the orthodox crusaders supported by the papacy and his allies in the region suspected of heresy. Many of these allies had Albigensian dependents and may perhaps even have had Albigensian sympathies themselves, too. Second, Peter II could have secured the specific military advantage of having direct dependents near Simon's forces in the region surrounding Carcassonne. This would have offered an advantageous location from which to engage Simon's forces in skirmishes designed to prevent them from advancing or to hinder them from enlarging their territory throughout the Midi. Third, it could have had the symbolic advantage of underscoring Peter II's position as another significant player in the affairs of the Midi.

None of these possibilities came to fruition, for Peter II and the lords failed to reach an agreement. At the Montréal negotiation, the lords and knights went toward Peter II, asking him to accept their offer of overlordship. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay even said that "by so doing they

could drive the Count of Montfort from the territory."[98] Peter II insisted on two conditions. First, he wanted them to turn the *castrum* of Cabaret over to him. Second, Peter II would accept these lords as his dependents in the region if they all would surrender their castles to him whenever he asked.[99] The lords and knights asked that the parties meet further in Montréal, where the discussions continued, and Peter II maintained his terms. The lords and knights refused, and as Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay described it, "everyone left the meeting in confusion."[100]

The negotiations failed on a point of control. Peter II wanted the ability to retain custody of the castles at will, perhaps a surprising request considering the manifold advantages an agreement could have provided for the parties. This policy might have worked for Peter II in two ways. First, he may have wished to be able to state that there were no heretics throughout these regions, since the removal of heretics was such an important issue for ecclesiastical authorities. Second, he could have augmented his role in the Midi considerably at his discretion. This was not the first time in Peter II's career he had sought such discretion, for his relations with both his wife Marie and the city of Montpellier faltered between 1205 and 1207 over just these issues. He had tried to forge a marriage alliance between his daughter Sancha and the son of Count Raymond VI of Toulouse, attempting to force Marie's agreement in the process, and he also had tried to conduct affairs in Montpellier with little support from Marie or, ostensibly, the consulate. This resulted in Innocent's mediation in 1207. Between 1209 and 1210, however, the course of the conflict would take on new and, for many of the participants, even more dangerous elements.

CHAPTER 8

FRACTURING A REGIONAL COMMUNITY,
PART 2: PETER II AND THE CONFLICTS
OF THE ALBIGENSIAN CRUSADE

In the spring of 1210, Simon de Montfort began to reverse his ear-
lier setbacks. During the early days of Lent, which in 1210 began on
March 2, his wife Alice arrived from northern France accompanied by
many knights.[1] According to William of Tudela, Simon sent for Alice
while he was in the Carcassès, shortly after taking Minerve.[2] Simon trav-
eled to the *castrum* of Pézenas in Agde territory to meet her, and they then
returned to Carcassonne. When Simon received reports of another pos-
sible defection among his supporters, he set out, presumably with some
of the new forces that Alice had brought with her. They suppressed this
rebellion, pursuing its participants, hanging some of them, and setting
others to flight in the face of their advances. Simon and his companions
then returned to Carcassonne.[3] Alice brought reinforcements from the
north to assist Simon, but William of Tudela noted that at the siege of
Minerve, Simon's forces had come from such territories as Champagne,
Maine, Anjou, and Brittany.[4] This concentration of forces from the north
along with their use of northern customary law would have serious con-
sequences at the creation of the Statutes of Pamiers in December 1212.

Simon continued his advances as the months progressed in 1210, tak-
ing Termes. William of Tudela described a strong garrison defending
the castle there, including men from Catalonia, Aragon, and Roussillon.
Brabanters also joined the defenders of the castle,[5] reinforcing the general
suspicions many had concerning the connections southern and Aragonese
forces had with mercenaries. Illness also weakened these southern forces
at Termes. After little rain in previous months, steady rains resulted in
flooding, and dysentery set in soon after that. Defenders began to flee the
castle, and the crusaders captured Raymond of Termes.[6]

Near January 22, 1211, a conference at Narbonne was called to deal with three main items of business: continuing the proceedings against Raymond VI, settling matters concerning Raymond-Roger of Foix, and answering the question of homage involving Simon and Peter II. A compromise was still possible. From Peter II's and Innocent's perspectives, this had to be true, given that both still committed resources in search of a compromise. Peter II continued to travel and meet in the Midi in search of a compromise, and Innocent kept up his interests by sending letters.[7]

A peace proposal was offered to Raymond-Roger, but he rejected it. After his decision, Peter II did three things: First, he sent knights to guard the *castrum* of Foix, presumably from attack from others, including crusaders. Second, in the presence of the bishop of Uzès and the abbot of Cîteaux, he promised that the church would remain safe throughout the territories of Raymond-Roger of Foix. (Peter II was acting as overlord of Foix in both these cases.) Third, if Raymond-Roger ever abandoned the church as well as his "friendship" and duties to Simon de Montfort, Peter II would surrender the *castrum* of Foix to Simon when the papal legates asked him to do so. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay added that although he saw the document in which Peter II made this promise, Peter II ultimately failed to keep his promises.[8] As Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay presents events, Peter II's close connection to Raymond-Roger of Foix damaged Peter II's reputation, especially since Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay described Raymond-Roger as the "most monstrous persecutor" of the church.[9] To emphasize the point, Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay records an incident when Raymond-Roger, along with a group of mercenaries, went to the monastery of Sainte-Marie in the territory of the Count of Urgel. Raymond-Roger and his companions besieged the area for so long that the canons were compelled to drink their own urine. Moreover, Raymond-Roger and his forces removed furniture, crosses, and vessels from the church and smashed the bells. He also received a ransom of fifty thousand sous for the church. After all this, one of his knights said, according to Peter, " 'We have destroyed St Anthony and St Mary; it only remains for us to destroy God.' "[10] This account connects with those examined earlier concerning the Foix-Urgel dispute that erupted in the early years of Peter II's reign, and it may refer to the same events.

Also at Narbonne, Peter II finally accepted Simon de Montfort's homage, but this occurred in two steps. The bishop of Uzès and the abbot of Cîteaux asked Peter II to accept Simon's homage, but he refused. Then on the next day, they tried again, this time taking Simon along with them. This proved to be a good tactic. After they arrived with Simon, all prostrated themselves before Peter II, asking him again to accept Simon's homage. The prostrating group, according to Peter of les

Vaux-de-Cernay, included Simon himself. This time Peter II accepted.[11] It is striking that here in early 1211, Simon and the two prelates knelt before Peter II, at least according to Peter's account. This formed part of a series of negotiations, but this episode reveals much symbolically about the position that Peter II enjoyed in the Midi in early 1211. Simon was beginning to reverse the setbacks he had suffered in 1209–1210, but the outbreak of the revolts against him demonstrated that his position could quickly weaken in the face of unrest among the population in the area. Peter II also still wielded a great deal of influence and represented a potential check on the advances of the crusaders, even though Peter II himself was officially a supporter of the orthodox cause. As long as he numbered heretics among his territorial allies, he remained a significant presence in the area and could have acted as a bridge spanning the gap between the orthodox prelates and crusaders on the one side and the Albigensian populations and local lords on the other. That outcome, one that Peter II and even Innocent III may have envisioned in the early stages of his involvement, failed to develop.

After the homage negotiations concluded, the parties traveled to Montpellier to discuss a marriage alliance between Peter II's young son James and Simon's daughter. The parties made an agreement on the proposed marriage, and Peter II then transferred James to Simon's custody. Soon he also gave his sister (Sancia) to marry Raymond VI's son. He was pursuing an "'evenhanded policy,'" cultivating relations with Simon de Montfort and Raymond VI, even though by this time Innocent III had excommunicated Raymond.[12] Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, however, had a different view of Peter II's activities, saying that Peter II brought "disfavour and suspicion" to himself among the crusaders and their supporters because Raymond VI was not supporting the church when Peter II concluded his agreement.[13]

Simon's position improved when the bishop of Paris arrived during Lent 1211 with more reinforcements from northern France. Bishop Fulk of Toulouse left for other regions of France to preach the crusade and encourage others to join the crusaders in the south.[14] The crusaders held a discussion at Carcassonne and decided to attack Cabaret. At this time, Cabaret was the principal point of resistance in the former Trencavel lands, and attacks on the crusaders had emanated from it in 1210. The crusaders were trying to make as many advances in the former Trencavel lands as possible so they could attack Raymond VI more effectively. The crusaders—led by Count Peter of Auxerre, Robert of Courtenay, and William of Nemours, precentor of Paris—approached Cabaret.[15] After seeing this force, Peter Roger, Lord of Cabaret, went to his prisoner Bouchard. Bouchard was a crusader ally, and Peter Roger proposed (on

the basis of Bouchard's "noble heart" and his aversion to doing anything "dishonourable") to free Bouchard, surrender Cabaret to him and render him homage, have him properly dressed and groomed, and give him a horse so that he could travel to the crusader forces and tell them about everything that had happened. When Bouchard told the crusaders about these events, Simon de Montfort asked his forces to treat Peter Roger well when they arrived at Cabaret.[16] William described this episode as a miracle.[17] The crusaders next besieged Lavaur, during the months from March to May 1211. Lavaur was in the Toulousain, so the crusaders were moving closer to the center of Count Raymond's operations.[18] It fell soon after the crusaders began their siege.[19] Aimery, previously Lord of Montréal and Laurac before he surrendered them to Simon de Montfort, had joined his widowed sister at Lavaur where she had a castle.[20] During the siege, the crusaders killed a number of knights and inhabitants of Lavaur, including Aimery and his sister Girauda.[21] By May 1211 as Lavaur fell and Puylaurens surrendered, the strategy of presenting more direct challenges to Count Raymond's holdings yielded successes.[22]

In the midst of these crusader engagements, discussions continued concerning the restoration of Count Raymond of Toulouse to full communion with the church. These discussions did not produce an agreement, and indeed Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay reported that Count Raymond secretly sent "a seneschal and several knights" to help Lavaur defend itself against the crusaders. Simon found them after the *castrum* was captured. He did this while allowing supplies to come to the crusaders from Toulouse.[23] According to William of Tudela's more compressed account, Count Raymond received the list of terms to which he had to agree for reconciliation at the meeting at Montpellier.[24] After a scribe read it to him, he asked Peter II to come hear it as well. After listening, Peter II said that it had to be changed. Following that, Count Raymond left for Toulouse.[25] William presented a description of the terms included in the document, and they included the following: Count Raymond and his followers had to preserve the peace and dismiss the mercenaries under their employ. Within a year, they had to transfer to the abbot of Cîteaux and his advisers all the heretics they could find. They had to dismantle their castles and "abide in all things by the law of the king of France." Count Raymond had to go on a crusade to the Holy Land and join the Hospitallers or the Templars. Only then would the crusaders return his castles to him.[26] Here the concern for mercenaries continues, and more evidence appears that the crusaders were pressuring Count Raymond and his supporters to use a form or forms of northern French customary law, perhaps a form or forms with which they had become familiar in earlier years. The crusaders under Simon de Montfort who came from

northern France had various places of origin, and many customs pre-
vailed throughout these regions. Sometimes these regions could be rather
small. The crusaders thus would have brought collective knowledge of
the customary law in use throughout several different areas in northern
France with them to the Midi.

In his discussion of the battle for Lavaur, Peter of les Vaux–de–Cernay
noted that Bishop Fulk of Toulouse had persuaded about five thousand
men to assist the crusaders at the siege.[27] These men belonged to one of the
two rival confraternities[28] present in Toulouse at the time. Both confra-
ternities began in the early thirteenth century. The Black Confraternity of
the Bourg assisted Count Raymond VI against the Albigensian Crusade,
while the White Confraternity allied more closely with Bishop Fulk of
Toulouse. Appearances, however, could be deceiving. Two leaders of the
White Confraternity, an uncle and a nephew, both were named Aimeric
de Castronovo. One of them eventually led resistance from Toulouse
against the Albigensian Crusade.[29] Social unrest helped create the rival
confraternities. Bishop Fulk created the White Confraternity in 1209 "to
combat both heresy and usury and accorded its members the advantages
granted crusaders." Most of the older aristocracy of the city supported
this measure, but it also set the city and the neighboring Bourg against
each other. The Bourg created a Black Confraternity to support Count
Raymond.[30] Even though individual participants could and did shift
their alliances, the general patterns held. William of Tudela, for example,
reported that "the citizens of the fraternity and those of the town were in
constant conflict,"[31] and this comment outlines the broad social patterns
operative between the citizens of Toulouse and the White Confraternity
closely connected to Bishop Fulk.

Bishop Fulk's granting of crusader privileges to members of the
White Confraternity in 1209 was a controversial move, and it may help
to explain why it set different groups in and surrounding Toulouse at
conflict. Usually the papacy granted crusader privileges. The spiritual
privileges of crusaders attracted much general interest, especially a com-
mutation of penance of the kind that appeared in papal and conciliar
literature of the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries concerning crusad-
ing.[32] Individual diocesan clergy did not issue such privileges. Later in the
thirteenth century, Thomas Aquinas (and his associates) took up this issue.
In the *Supplement* to his *Summa Theologiae*, he considered the question of
whether a bishop was able to grant indulgences—this term also appeared
frequently in the literature treating the particulars of crusader privileges,
and the popes seem to have been most interested in having the crusaders
"gain as complete a remission as possible of the consequences of sin."[33]
In the popular imagination many understood this, as the chroniclers of

the First Crusade suggest, as a "'remission of sins'" for those who partici-
pated in the crusade.[34] Gaining a remission of the consequences of sins
and the complete remission of sins represent slightly different theological
positions. What is clear, though, is that the papacy retained the ability
to grant a remission. Aquinas held that since a pope enjoyed *plenitudo
potestatis* (full power) in the church, similar to the authority that a king
enjoyed in his kingdom, the power to make indulgences rests fully in the
pope. Bishops enjoyed a partial responsibility with respect to the *plenitudo
potestatis*.[35] There may have been disagreement within Toulouse on this
point, and Bishop Fulk may have antagonized those who believed that he
did not have proper authority from the papacy to grant such a privilege
to members of the White Confraternity.

More direct hostilities broke out with Toulouse when, following the
crusader capture of the *castrum* of Lavaur, they found allies of Count
Raymond inside at a time when Raymond, excommunicate, would have
been expected to lend support to the crusaders in an effort to demonstrate
his fidelity to the church. Finding some of his men among the defenders
of Lavaur suggested that his true intentions may have been different and
cast further suspicion upon him.[36] Simon continued to make progress
against Raymond during the summer of 1211, depriving him of many of
the former Trencavel holdings near Albi.[37]

Just as Simon began to meet with successes, he suffered further set-
backs. As summer approached, one of Simon's close allies, the Count of
Bar, refused to accompany Simon on one of his campaigns and turned
against the crusaders.[38] Setbacks in the middle of 1211 and the Count
of Bar's reversal of his promise represented a new stage in the crusade
affairs. A series of rebellions was breaking out against Simon throughout
the south. This accounts for the reports that Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay
included henceforth concerning the opposition Simon was facing during
his travels and campaigns.[39]

Indeed, southern forces were arraying against Simon during the fall
months of 1211. Their offensive activities increased as Simon reached
Pamiers. After he arrived, he discovered that one of his territories,
Puylaurens, had defected to the southern forces.[40] According to Peter of
les Vaux-de-Cernay, Simon now found himself more isolated while the
southern forces hoped to regain "by treason the *castra* they had lost."[41]
More southern forces gathered against him at Castelnaudary, headed
by Raymond VI of Toulouse, Raymond-Roger of Foix, and Gaston of
Béarn from Gascony, an ally of Peter II.[42] Savary of Mauléon joined them
as an ally. He was from Poitou and had served as King John's seneschal in
Aquitaine.[43] His presence further demonstrates the connections linking
Peter II and John, especially through their allies.

Simon had additions to his forces as well. His associate Guy of Lacy returned from Iberia, where Simon had sent him to assist Peter II against the Muslims from North Africa. Peter II sent him back before the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa commenced because Simon had requested his return: Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay described the return of these knights according to Simon's "written instructions."[44] Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay wrote that in retribution for this recall, Peter II set an ambush for these knights as they made their way back to southern France. If this ambush accurately depicts Peter II's attitude, it may suggest that Peter II believed that these events were connected to a defeat he suffered from the Muslims at Salvatierra in September 1211.[45] With the return of Guy of Lacy along with his troops, Simon and his forces were able to check the advance of the southern forces upon Castelnaudary. While that was continuing, they suffered another simultaneous calamity: many *castra* in the area defected from Simon's overlordship and transferred their allegiance to Count Raymond.[46] As Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay depicted it, the turning point for this siege came after the bishop of Cahors and a Cistercian monk acting on behalf of the abbot of Cîteaux reassured Simon's men that if they died in battle, they would receive remission of their sins and would also receive glory and honor for their efforts. After this, Simon's forces attacked the southern forces at the center and penetrated their line. Then the southern forces broke apart, and the crusaders won the battle for Castelnaudary.[47]

Robert Mauvoisin arrived in the Midi in December 1211 with knights from northern France to join the crusaders. In early 1212, Simon's brother, Guy de Montfort, returned from the Holy Land as well. Thus by early 1212, Simon had received the support he needed to break the new series of rebellions he faced throughout the territories he controlled.[48] Simon's successes continued throughout 1212, with two major consequences: first, he reversed the setbacks of 1211 and was able to go on the offensive, and second, he deprived Count Raymond of many of his territories.[49] According to Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, Raymond now was left with only Toulouse and Montauban, so he fled to see Peter II, seeking advice on how to recover the territories he had lost.[50]

These victories Simon enjoyed did not come easily. William of Tudela mentioned Hugh of Alfaro first in his list of defenders of the castle of Penne, a castle that formerly had belonged to Richard I of England.[51] The crusaders—an impressive group including "Germans, Lorrainers and Frisians, many lords from the Auvergne and important Burgundians"—approached the castle bringing siege engines with them.[52] Bausan, the captain of mercenaries, defended Penne castle along with Hugh of Alfaro. Indeed he follows Hugh in William's list of prominent defenders of the

castle.[53] Apparently many of the mercenaries were from Navarre, includ-ing Hugh of Alfaro himself.[54] These references give further witness to Peter II's delicate diplomatic situation: mercenaries by this time had an unsavory reputation throughout the Midi, especially among prelates and the papacy. Earlier conciliar enactments against mercenaries suggest an aversion toward their activities. By continuing his alliance with Count Raymond, and thus mercenaries under Count Raymond's employ, Peter II was placing himself in a delicate—perhaps even dangerous—position. Hugh of Alfaro and Count Raymond formed a significant connection in this precarious position. William of Tudela mentions that Hugh of Alfaro held Penne for Count Raymond.[55] Following their loss of Penne, the mercenaries traveled to Biron, the base of the Spanish mercenary Martin Algai.[56] According to William, from that location "he rode out to raid."[57] This network of mercenary resistance still posed a potential threat to Simon de Montfort and the crusader forces, and the network formed part of Peter II's alliance system in the Midi. By about 1185 to 1213, mercenaries from Iberia had a reputation for visiting havoc upon the areas and communities they attacked.[58] This sheds additional light upon the career of Martin Algai, who would be viewed as a threat dur-ing the course of these mercenary activities. Destabilizing the mercenary network in which Martin Algai participated also meant destabilizing Peter II's alliances.

    As the crusaders continued their activities in 1212, they gained more territories Count Raymond formerly held or territories previ-ously allied with him. According to William of Tudela, the inhabitants of Castelsarrasin decided to surrender to the crusaders to avoid having Count Raymond or Peter II recover this territory, killing many of them in battle in the process. In choosing this path of action, the inhabitants of Castelsarrasin chose the lesser of two evils.[59] Apparently the inhabitants of Castelsarrasin noticed the successes the crusaders enjoyed during 1212 and feared that they might have difficulty surviving if they remained in their alliance to Count Raymond. For example, after capturing Penne, the crusaders besieged Biron, where Martin Algai awaited their arrival. Simon de Montfort wished to capture Martin Algai, since they had once been allied together before Martin Algai's reversal to join the southern forces. To prevent him from escaping, Simon offered to free the forces defending Biron if they would surrender Martin Algai. They did so, and after capturing him and giving him an opportunity to confess his sins, Simon had him dragged through his army and then hanged.[60] These events took place before the middle of August 1212, when the siege of Moissac began and the surrender of Castelsarrasin occurred during or just before this siege.[61]

A number of mercenaries helped guard Moissac on behalf of the southern forces. According to Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, they "were evil and perverted men."[62] Both the crusaders and the southern forces set up siege engines against each other, but the southern forces succeeded in firing first.[63] Archbishop Alberic of Reims visited the crusaders to offer them encouragement; meanwhile, the mercenaries climbed a hill near Moissac (called the hill of Calvary on Moissac's western side) to shoot at the crusaders.[64] The mercenaries persisted until the crusaders were able to surround Moissac. Even Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay said that one of the mercenaries shot at him with an arrow that barely missed piercing his flesh.[65] The crusaders faced further difficulties as they tried to bring one of their siege engines, called a cat,[66] closer to Moissac. When they brought it close to the ditch surrounding Moissac, the defenders of Moissac began throwing flammables toward the cat to burn it. Crossbowmen also came to shoot at the crusaders. Despite the dangers of the fires, the crusaders were able to move the cat away from Moissac.[67] Castelsarrasin surrendered in the midst of the siege of Moissac, and when the inhabitants heard of its surrender along with all of the other *castra* in the area except for Montauban, they sent a message to Simon de Montfort requesting peace.[68] He accepted their offer, and after the mercenaries were surrendered to the crusader forces, the crusaders "killed them with great enthusiasm."[69] As many as three hundred mercenaries may have perished.[70] Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay noted that the siege of Moissac began on the eve of the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the crusaders took possession of it on the day commemorating her birth, September 8, 1212.[71]

At the same time, Count Raymond traveled across the Pyrenees to seek Peter II's advice and assistance since he had only Toulouse and Montauban remaining among his possessions, and the Council of Pamiers began meeting in November. According to Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, Simon wished to assign a set of customs for his lands to which all would adhere, so that his knights could live on their own revenues and the general population would not have to fear unjust and arbitrary exactions.[72] When the assembly produced its statutes, its measures regarding the treatment of tolls, temporary restrictions on choosing a marriage partner, and inheritance would prove controversial. Adopting all three changes would have had serious consequences for the social and economic structure of the Midi.

The collection and use of tolls throughout the Midi had attracted the interest of many authorities concerned with the area over time, including the Romans.[73] Using tolls involved transport of goods as well as people by land or sea, especially with highways and ports. For the Romans,

according to natural law the sea belonged to everyone, and thus everyone could have access to it.[74] Moreover, according to the laws and practices the Romans observed other peoples using (*ius gentium*), use of the sea pertained to all.[75] Collecting tolls from transport by water could help authorities keep the ports along waterways functioning for all to use. In the texts from the *Institutes* cited here, the term public law (*ius publica*), suggesting a governmental interest, blends with *ius gentium*, suggesting an interest common to many different peoples. Thus it is not surprising to find that governments—both larger and smaller ones over time—would have raised tolls in connection with sea transport. Similarly, land transport was available for all, but authorities needed revenue to keep highways in good repair. The jurist Labeo (fl. ca. 31 BCE–14 CE) included roads and highways in his list of public places.[76] Elsewhere Labeo, in discussing what payments the driver of a carriage owed to the tax-farmer of a bridge he was crossing, used the term *portorium* to describe the customs duty the carriage driver owed.[77] The *portorium* formed the basis for the tolls, especially *pedagia*, used during the early and High Middle Ages.[78] Toulouse—like other cities in the region such as Marseille during late antiquity—thus emerged as a city with growing commercial advantages.[79]

In the Statutes of Pamiers, Simon de Montfort set out to curtail Count Raymond's ability to collect these tolls. The key statute here was this *capitulum*:

[Cap. 40.] Tolls (*pedagia*) which have been established by princes and other lords for thirty-four years or less are to be totally abolished without delay.[80]

Authorities still collected tolls in the thirteenth century for reasons similar to those mentioned already. In Touraine and Anjou to the southwest of Paris, for example, a commoner seeking to avoid a road toll had to pay a fine of 60 sous to the owner of the road.[81] If someone proved that a merchant used an incorrect measuring device, then the merchant owed the same fine of 60 sous.[82] The term *paagiers* designated the toll owner in Touraine and Anjou,[83] who collected the tolls as had his predecessor, the Roman tax-farmer. Indeed the term *paagiers* also has a relationship to the word for tolls, *pedagia*. The *pedaticus* appeared as a market tax near Cuenca,[84] where Alfonso VIII of Castile and Alfonso II of Aragon collaborated to take the town in 1177. The *telonearius* collected the *pedaticus*, and neither citizens of Cuenca nor Jews could hold this office.[85] These references suggest another feature of the *pedagia*: it could serve as a ruler's best source of ready cash. Such income could have been lucrative indeed. A related financial levy, shown in a detailed list of goods and transport

tax values from the Lord of Montpellier near the end of the twelfth century,[86] suggests the financial advantages available to leaders throughout the Midi if they could use the toll and transport tax regime to their benefit. Transport taxes had been of crucial importance at least since the Merovingian and Carolingian periods.[87] Charlemagne included provisions for them in a capitulary he issued for Saint-Denis, and this capitulary included provisions for merchant activity and water transport.[88] The Visigoths maintained efforts in merchant activity and water transport, and they included provisions for foreign merchants and businessmen in the Visigothic laws, based on Roman precedents.[89] Evidence suggests that Count Raymond was exploiting the *pedagia* to serve this purpose and that his tactics caused problems.

Though Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay noted that Simon de Montfort wanted to alter the system of toll collection so the people would be "unencumbered by immoderate exactions,"[90] this was not the first time that other authorities had tried to impose restrictions on Count Raymond's capacity to collect them. The matter arose in the negotiations in 1209 when Count Raymond tried to reconcile with the church. One of the allegations against him was that he had collected or caused to be collected tolls that caused the affected populace to go into debt.[91] The notary Milo, acting as legate for the Holy See, ordered that, as a condition for Count Raymond's reconciliation, he had to "renounce fully all the exactions of tolls or other levies, whether by land or water."[92] If, instead, Count Raymond could prove that he had these levies by concession of a king or emperor, then he could resume collecting them.[93] The consuls of Avignon pledged not to accept any tolls or similar exactions from land or sea unless they had been approved by a king or emperor. The consuls of Nîmes and Saint-Gilles also attested to this pledge.[94] A group of barons swore that Milo had released the tolls and had not resumed them.[95]

> [Cap. 43.] Succession to inheritances amongst barons and knights, also burgers and peasants, is to take place according to the custom and usage of France round Paris.[96]

The difference in this *capitulum*, from the previous one in particular, suggests a divergence of practice that contained significant political and social ramifications. By the early thirteenth century, typical inheritance patterns in northern France and England included primogeniture, where the eldest son inherits the estate. In the Midi and Iberia, the standard inheritance form used was partible inheritance, where the estate was divided among the children. These are standard rules of thumb, and for example, one can find exceptions to primogeniture in northern France

and England. By the early thirteenth century, however, it had emerged
as a preference. In the larger territories of France, it allowed groups of
princes to consolidate their territories and keep them together, and many
families used it by the twelfth century.[97] Use of it spread in England by
the twelfth century, as did its use in Normandy and Brittany as well.[98]
The crusaders from the north, especially in view of their connections to
England, Normandy, and Brittany, would have been influenced by these
practices. The Montfort family, for example, was one of the prominent
families in Brittany.[99] They had first gained prominence in the Ile de–
France. The crusaders from the north also may have been influenced by
related practices in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem because some of them
had crusading experience in the Holy Land.[100] Since the *Letters of the Holy
Sepulchre* originally recording the laws of the Latin Kingdom were lost
when Jerusalem fell to Saladin in 1187,[101] the jurists writing especially
during the thirteenth century offer insights into the legal affairs of the
Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem during the twelfth century.

One of these jurists indicates that during the twelfth century, several
legal practitioners in the Latin Kingdom favored succession of male heirs
generally and eldest male heirs specifically to estates.[102] The crusaders, in
turn, may have been influenced by these practices some of them would
have observed in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

> [Cap. 46.] No women of high rank, whether widows or heiresses, who
> possess castles or *castra*, are to dare to marry, within ten years from now,
> with men of local origin without the permission of the Count because of
> the danger to the territory; but they may marry Frenchmen as they wish,
> without seeking the permission of the Count or any other. But after the
> end of the term set they may marry amongst themselves.[103]

This measure restricted, for a limited time, the choices that aristocratic
women had for husbands from the aristocracy in the Midi. This statute
would have forced the women to look among the crusader forces for hus–
bands rather than among the men in the area they would have been most
likely to know. This had serious social implications, since it represents a
disruption of the usual local practices. Additionally, it was possible that the
Midi–crusader divisions contained orthodox–Cathar divisions as well, so
the religious tensions helping to produce the Albigensian Crusade influ–
enced the crafting of this policy. Moreover, by the later months of 1212
and the early months of 1213, a number of the local lords throughout the
Midi had switched their allegiances to the crusaders if they had originally
been allied to Count Raymond and the faction centered on Toulouse.[104]
This created the prospect of encouraging people with potentially strained

relationships to look to each other's groups for marriage partners. This measure represented a third significant challenge to social relationships throughout the Midi, and it would not be surprising for the inhabitants to have wished for a different social and political configuration than that presented by Simon de Montfort and the northern French crusader forces.

In the early years of 1213, after the Council of Lavaur and the apparent success of Peter II's policies to reverse the crusader advances and even end the Albigensian Crusade itself, Peter II's diplomatic position with the papacy began to weaken. According to Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, Peter II began to act even more capriciously than before. He took the Counts of Comminges and Foix, Gaston of Béarn, the citizens of Toulouse, and a number of knights of Toulouse and Carcassonne under his protection. These knights had fled to Toulouse after their property had been taken from them because they were excommunicate.[105] He even took Toulouse under his guardianship.[106] This was a risky move. Peter II remained a ruler adherent to orthodox practice. By taking a group of people under his protection, many of whom were excommunicate because of heresy, he left himself open to the charge of supporting the heretics—and perhaps the heresy—himself.

During these early years of 1213, Peter II took two measures in accordance with his new commitments. First, he left a group of knights at Toulouse to help defend it. Second, he told Simon that he wished to meet with him at Narbonne. In Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay's account, though, this request for a meeting concealed a ruse. Simon indicated that he was willing to go to this meeting, but his allies informed him that many "heretics and mercenaries" were there, and if they encountered Simon, they would take him prisoner. Also, according to Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, Peter II did not attend this meeting, nor did he ever have any intention of doing so. After learning of these ambush plans, Simon did not travel to Narbonne.[107] Though Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay is hostile to Peter II in his account, he does depict a situation in which Peter II moves more clearly to supporting the interests of the Toulousans.

Soon after the abortive meeting at Narbonne, Peter II sent emissaries to Simon to repudiate the feudal ties between them, which Peter II had affirmed when he accepted Simon's homage for former Trencavel holdings in 1211. Simon faced other pressures from Iberia as well: Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay says, "'Catalans [were] entering our territory and themselves doing their utmost to cause damage there,'" and also those same Catalans by these activities "'were providing safe entry and exit for mercenaries who were devastating the area.'"[108] In this account, Peter II began to oppose Simon openly, using direct and indirect methods.

In response to Peter II's message, Simon sent an envoy to Peter II to confirm if, indeed, he intended to carry out this renunciation. Simon instructed this envoy to tell Peter II that Simon was still willing to render due service to him, and if Peter II had any grievances concerning Simon's behavior with respect to the lands of the heretics he had taken under papal authority with the assistance of the crusaders, then Simon was prepared to appear before the papal court or the court of the archbishop of Narbonne (as papal legate for the area) to answer Peter II's complaints.[109]

Additionally, Simon gave his envoy a letter to present to Peter II if he persisted in breaking their feudal relationship. The letter stipulated that Simon considered their relationship broken and would henceforth defend himself against Peter II and the other " 'enemies of the Church.' "[110] Simon's envoy tried to negotiate with Peter II, but this attempt proved unsuccessful. After the end of that meeting, which also ended the feudal relationship between Peter II and Simon, Peter II began to oppose Simon more openly than before.[111]

Next, Peter II sent envoys to King Philip Augustus of France to accomplish two objectives. First, he wanted to arrange a marriage between himself and Philip's daughter so that he could encourage Philip to support him rather than Simon and the crusader forces. Second, Peter II had taken Toulouse under his protection and wanted Toulouse and its *castra* in the vicinity to remain unharmed.[112]

In the face of the growing power and influence that Simon de Montfort and the crusaders wielded in the region by early 1213, Peter II sought to arrest their progress by contracting a marriage alliance with Philip Augustus, their overlord. This project would have undercut the crusaders, and perhaps Peter II thought that he might be able to mitigate the crusader advances if he could have direct influence with Philip Augustus.[113] As noted in an earlier chapter, Peter II was not aware that one of the bishops involved with his divorce case, Bishop Guy of Carcassonne, was at Philip's court at that time. Bishop Guy knew that Innocent III had ruled in favor of Marie of Montpellier earlier in 1213, and once that news spread among Peter II's associates, Peter II dropped his new marriage plans.[114]

In conjunction with his aim of protecting Toulouse and its associated territories, Peter II sent along copies of Innocent's January 1213 letter instructing the crusaders to cease their activities to Philip and the Countess of Champagne.[115] During their visit to Philip's court, however, the bishop of Barcelona and his associates discovered that Philip's son Louis had already taken the cross against the heretics and their associates in southern France. They did not even bring up Peter II's request that Toulouse and its surrounding territories remain secure. Thus they

returned to Catalonia without having achieved any of the aims of their visit.[116] Once Innocent heard from Simon's associates, he reversed his earlier agreement with Peter II's requests for the end of crusader activities in the Midi.[117] That reversal came near the middle months of 1213.

Before Innocent's reversal, however, Simon and the crusader forces had a problem securing enough forces to continue their campaigns. After Innocent's first letter circulated through the area, fewer men joined the crusaders. Additionally, Innocent developed an interest in preaching a new crusade to the Holy Land, so that new enterprise gave some another crusading enterprise to contemplate joining. News also began to spread that Peter was gathering forces to begin fighting in the Midi.[118] By the middle months of 1213, then, Simon needed reinforcements badly. In these months, Simon continued negotiating with Peter II, hoping to find a compromise to settle their differences. Simon and his associates took Innocent's letter renewing the Midi crusading enterprise and asked Peter II to stop supporting the heretics and their associates. Peter II refused their requests and sent more forces to Toulouse to assist in defending it.[119] Also during these central months of 1213, Simon did receive some assistance of his own, for the bishops of Orleans and Auxerre arrived from France with reinforcements in May. Even with this important measure, though, Simon and the crusaders still were not strong enough to attack Toulouse directly.[120] Instead, they chose a site nearby where they could establish a base of operations. For this base, they selected a well-fortified town just south of Toulouse called Muret.[121]

Peter II entered Gascony during August 1213, hoping to stop the crusader advances and reverse their gains. Some inhabitants of the area began to switch their allegiances to Peter II. Simon had left a small force at Muret to guard it, and when Peter II reached Toulouse, he began to array his forces so that they could besiege Muret.[122] By September, they were ready to attack.

Peter II's forces besieged Muret in two stages. In the first stage, on September 10, they were successful in taking an outer region of the town.[123] Peter II, however, planned a different gambit: he asked his forces to withdraw because Simon and his entourage were away. He believed that if Simon's forces continued attacking other areas near Toulouse, Peter II's forces would have to leave Muret and try to capture Simon again. To avoid making that attempt twice, Peter II asked his forces to leave Muret so that they could lure Simon back. Then they could defeat Simon and his forces at once.[124] His forces complied, and that ended the first siege at Muret.

The second siege began after Simon returned; this was on September 15, 1213. Simon's forces lined up in three lines in honor of the Trinity.[125]

The crusaders attacked first, and the first of Simon's lines drove into the main line of Peter II's forces. The second line broke through the line of Peter II's defenses, and at this point, the battle developed quickly and decisively.[126] When Simon's second line broke through Peter II's main line, it also seriously disrupted the concentration of Peter II's army. As Peter II and his forces rode up to meet the crusader advance, men from Toulouse also rode up, "paying heed to neither count nor king."[127] While the forces from Toulouse were joining Peter II, confusion spread among them, since according to the continuation of William of Tudela's account, "They had no idea what was happening until the French rode up and converged on the king, once he had been identified."[128] Apparently Peter II had exchanged his armor with someone else, a common practice to prevent a ruler from being captured and held for a costly ransom.[129] Then, Peter II tried to identify himself but to no avail: "And he shouted, 'I am the king!' but no one heard him and he was struck and so severely wounded that his blood spilled out on to the ground and he fell his full length dead."[130]

The "men of Toulouse" who hurried so quickly to Peter II did so not realizing that they were creating an opportunity for the crusader forces to gain an advantage against them. Peter II's forces were not paying proper attention to the crusader forces, even though they were in front of them. Rather, Peter II himself occupied most of their attention. In the account from the *Song of the Cathar Wars*, no one heard Peter II identify himself on the battlefield, presumably because there was too much noise and confusion. Two more events further suggest chaos within Peter II's ranks: many other Aragonese were killed along with him, and just after Peter II's death, a number of men from his forces fled. Panic overtook the men as some ran for the Garonne River; many made it across and several others drowned there.[131] One contributing factor to the lax discipline among Peter II's forces may have been Peter II's own lax behavior before the Battle of Muret. His son James reported in his autobiography that Peter II had spent so much time the evening before the battle enjoying lively diversions that he was unable to stand at the reading of the Gospel during Mass the next morning.[132]

Peter II's death at the Battle of Muret brought his extensive activity in the Midi to a sudden, dramatic end. Early in his reign, Peter II signaled an interest in ending the rivalry with Toulouse that had been so prominent during the twelfth century. This had the prospect of bringing economic benefit to the Crown of Aragon, but this policy had dangerous implications. Toulouse had become notorious for supporting heretics, and since opposing heresy formed one of Pope Innocent III's primary aims during his pontificate, Toulouse and Innocent III could easily have fallen into conflict. Indeed they did so after the murder in 1208 of Peter

of Castelnau, one of Innocent's legates to the area to assist with fostering orthodox practice. Since Peter II's consecration by Innocent in Rome in 1204 renewed a close relationship with the papacy enjoyed by earlier kings of Aragon, Peter II acted in the Midi to support orthodoxy generally as well as his relatives and associates in and near Toulouse specifically. Peter II thus enjoyed a good opportunity to act as an intermediary with the parties at odds with each other and may have been able to forge compromises among them to prevent further conflict. Ultimately his dynastic connections and broader ambitions prevented such compromises from happening. His altered course led him to oppose the crusaders, though he shared with them a desire to support orthodoxy. His political aims appear even more ambitious if his intervention in the Midi is viewed as a political, social, and economic venture rather than one that involved his association with alleged heretics.[133] Though Simon de Montfort suffered a number of setbacks, he overcame all of them to defeat Peter II at the Battle of Muret in 1213. Peter II died in this battle, leaving a very young James as his heir. Following the Battle of Muret, an annalist (or annalists) at Dunstable recorded that Peter II died in battle while he was in rebellion against the power of God.[134] The position he took in support of Count Raymond VI left him open to the charge of fighting or rebelling against the church, though he entered the conflict originally in an attempt to get the parties to reconcile.

At the time of the Battle of Muret, James was in the custody of Simon de Montfort, but Simon released him within a few years after Peter II's death. The most promising opportunities for territorial expansion available to James would have taken him to the south and across the sea to the Balearics. He took advantage of all of these, building upon the legacy that Peter left him. Though it was not necessarily his objective, the end of Peter II's intrigues in the Midi gave his son a good opportunity to advance Catalan and Aragonese expansion to the south and the east. He proved successful where his father encountered difficulties.

CHAPTER 9

ALFONSO II, PETER II, AND
THE TRADITION OF COMMUNITY
IN THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

Both Alfonso II and Peter II of Aragon cultivated a set of regional interests that would link the Crown of Aragon more effectively to a Mediterranean social system. This study has explored some of these wider relationships, and considering them leads to several conclusions about their significance for Alfonso, Peter, and their respective careers.

The desire for social and ecclesiastical reform persisted into the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Together with an abiding interest in and skill in producing biblical commentaries, Carolingian scholars kept alive the traditions handed down to them. They preserved commentaries and works from patristic and canonistic authors. The fusion of these spiritual and legal strands of expertise connected with the demands placed upon these practitioners for advancing both fields. From this, the results of sharing that expertise could end up in a number of related areas, including reform, liturgy, education, and the proper ethical behavior norms for both laity and clergy. In short, these results could have had—and did have—wide-ranging effects throughout society. They also help to show how the desires and projects for reform worked across different sectors of society. In a very real sense, these efforts helped prepare the way for the broader reform efforts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[1] The Peace of God and the Truce of God appeared as ways of encouraging peace at a time when many areas in the French countryside suffered disruptions. As the Peace and Truce movements spread to Iberia, ecclesiastical and secular officials used them to encourage the peace movement but also to refine collaborations between church and governmental officials. The Count of Barcelona's curia became a natural place to foster

such collaborations, and thus refinements for the *generalis curia* system fol-
lowed soon thereafter. These sessions became ways for secular and eccle-
siastical officials to work together and share information. In many ways,
that was an important function for them to have from the beginning.
That collaboration also helped serve as a model for connectivity through-
out Catalonia, and it was something that inhabitants of the region on
both sides of the Pyrenees shared. The language of public utility helped
emphasize the needs of the entire community.

Thus Alfonso and Peter worked within a complex legal atmosphere,
especially in view of their deep involvement in the affairs of the Midi.
Generally the level of expertise needed to handle legal affairs was grow-
ing at this time. Southern France, even by the early thirteenth century,
had a tradition of training lawyers and giving them opportunities to prac-
tice their craft. Similarities connecting the Crown of Aragon and south-
ern France were very powerful. The Roman law tradition inherited from
the ancient Roman province of Septimania provided the foundation for
these connections. This was rather different from the conditions prevail-
ing in northern France, where customary law prevailed. On the whole,
this system would develop with more in common with the English legal
system. These are broad observations, and they were not rigid rules appli-
cable in every situation. They do, however, help us understand why the
promulgation of the Statutes of Pamiers (1212) near Toulouse could have
been controversial. The Statutes of Pamiers represented a way of orga-
nizing social relationships appreciably differently from that to which the
inhabitants of southern France would have been accustomed. If any of
the inhabitants communicated their dissatisfaction to Peter, then one
can understand his increased involvement in the area during 1213 as an
attempt to strengthen his position in the Midi and help ensure the secu-
rity of those under threat from the advances of the mostly northern-based
crusader forces.

Both Alfonso and Peter spent considerable time working with affairs
in southern France. There are two dimensions to consider in assessing
their work in this area. The first includes their connection with the spiri-
tual traditions operating in the area, and the second concerns the record
of their diplomatic intrigues in the region.

Their record of following the spiritual traditions in the region includes
their connection to an area discussed earlier, Charroux. It was the site
of the first council to promote the Peace of God in the later years of the
tenth century, but it was much more than that. Charroux was founded
in the concluding years of the eighth century, and as a royal abbey of
France, it derived some notoriety from its association with its supposed
founder, Charlemagne. He was said to have given a fragment of the True

Cross to the abbey, but that original abbey church was destroyed in 989. Soon thereafter, in the early years of the eleventh century, the Count of Poitou asked for the assistance of monks from Saint Sernin at Poitou to help reform the life of the monks at Charroux and also construct a new abbey church. That reform effort was successful, and it helped inaugurate about one hundred years of expansion and success for the abbey. Thus when Urban II dedicated the new abbey church in 1096, Charroux was "one of the most distinguished houses in Southern France."[2] The new church was noteworthy, too, because of its massive size and because it had architectural features that bore a strong similarity to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.[3]

Yet Charroux had something else still incredibly valuable: relics. Certainly the relic of the True Cross that Charlemagne purportedly placed there was an important contribution. But the architectural advantages that the rotunda shape from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre offered provided further opportunities to add to the abbey's reputation as a repository for relics. That rotunda shape helped the church to serve as a "*reliquaire géant*": it displayed the fragments of the Cross.[4] The discovery of a new relic between about 1079 and 1082, however, added to this reputation. In those years, a new relic appeared called the *Sancta Virtus* (Holy Virtue). Clergy attending a council at Charroux in 1082 announced the discovery of this relic, but the descriptions of it have been vague. The consensus hypothesis, supported by the accidental discovery of a hidden reliquary from a surviving pillar of the church in 1856, holds that the *Sancta Virtus* is "a communion host covered with a cloth to which, it was said, clung drops of blood."[5] Thus for contemporaries, the *Sancta Virtus* began to overshadow the True Cross in significance for the abbey church.[6] There was still a third relic associated with the abbey church of Charroux. Between 1082 and 1100, Charroux had a "figured crucifix similar to the still surviving *volto santo*, or Holy Face, of Lucca."[7] The author of the text detailing the presence of this relic, who was from the Périgord, said that the Holy Faces of Lucca and Charroux were very beautiful. This relic collection at Charroux, focusing on the cult of the Holy Savior at Charroux, caused the notoriety and the reputation of Charroux to increase during the eleventh century and beyond.[8]

Charroux was the seat of the county of La Marche.[9] That (along with its church of relics related to the cult of the Holy Saviour) gave it a special significance. Charroux was a place famous for and redolent with spiritual power and energies flowing from its relics and their veneration. Given the kinds of connections suggested by its prominent ruling family—from Almodis of La Marche—and the reach of its dependent houses to include Flemish immigrants to England and the consequent refoundation of

Bardney Abbey, then perhaps it is not too wide a stretch to see the activity of Peter and Alfonso as the continuation of a long familial, political, and spiritual tradition. That possibility appears with greater force when added to another characteristic of the site: Charroux had quickly become a site popular as a pilgrimage destination. Pilgrims from Aquitaine traveled there during the central years of the eleventh century, and medieval pilgrims generally were active transmitters of stories about relics and miracles, at the places they visited as well as in the places from whence they came.[10] The spiritual traditions to which these processes connect include the Peace of God, the broader concept of peace, the connection with England, reform, and the presence of relics. Additionally, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, pilgrimage increased generally and offered greater opportunities for fostering what we might now call international trade.[11]

The diplomatic intrigues in the Midi accelerated dramatically when Alfonso II joined an impressive coalition designed to isolate Count Raymond V of Toulouse. Alfonso assisted Henry II and Duke Richard of Aquitaine (later Richard I of England) by campaigning with them against their competitors. Alfonso also acted to restrict the activities of these competitors in the countryside so that they could not pose a threat to the populace—or become so popular that they gathered more potential opponents alongside themselves. When Alfonso and many of his contemporaries died at the end of the twelfth century, the new leaders in the region had an opportunity to refashion the alliance system operative in the Midi. Peter began contemplating the possibility that he might include Toulouse in his alliance system and also marry the heiress to Montpellier. If he could accomplish that, he might have a chance at creating the zone of influence in the Midi that his father had worked to create. Potential remained to strengthen that zone. By 1213, then, Peter had spent much of what would be his short life working with affairs in southern France. He had indeed married Marie of Montpellier in 1204, and he did this at a time when he was contemplating a crusade expedition to Majorca. Peter's marriage to Marie offered him many benefits, including the chance to be a major political figure in the affairs of the Midi. Marie, however, disagreed with some of Peter's aims, and she approved neither of his dealings with Montpellier nor of his attempts to solidify an alliance with Toulouse. Marie challenged him on these matters. Peter then decided to divorce her in favor of marrying Marie of Montferrat, the heiress to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Both of these marriage alliances, one actual and the other potential, demonstrate the importance of regional thinking in Peter's outlook. If Marie of Montpellier was important for Peter in the Midi and the western Mediterranean, then Marie of Montferrat could

have been important for Peter throughout all of the Mediterranean. That alliance could have had implications for recruiting crusaders for fighting in Iberia or in the Latin East. In a sense, these alliances were ways for Peter to enhance order in any of the territories where he had interests. Though more order did not result from these policies, the scope of the policies shows that fostering order was a real concern.

To the extent that Peter and Marie of Montferrat were distantly related (and outside of the fourth degree of consanguinity), we see that families can be extremely important in examining and assessing aims and actions. Peter and Marie of Montferrat were members of two parts of the family of Almodis of La Marche. Almodis worked at the center of a network of people, mostly her family members, who were interested in sponsoring crusading and reform. Some of them actually went on crusades themselves. Her family members also supported the reform efforts of the papacy and other ecclesiastical officials. There are parallels with Peter on both of these points, and considering his strenuous efforts to create alliances throughout southern France as a whole, family considerations assumed significant prominence in his thinking. He knew, additionally, that in the de Montforts, he faced a powerful competing family. They fostered interests in France, the Latin East, and even England as well. Whether working to secure his own position or counter the position of another family, Peter had to consider such developments carefully. The record of his policies indicates that, even if all did not meet with equal success, Peter did take careful account of the possibilities before him.

When these possibilities included crusading, he did indeed take these affairs seriously. He had two notable successes in this area: he took three castles in northwest Valencia in 1210, demonstrating that expanding toward Valencia was a real possibility. Just two years later, he participated in the victory Christian forces enjoyed at the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa. Thus he worked well to advance the *reconquista* in Iberia. He had less success with the Albigensian Crusade in southern France. Again, he took this seriously, for he entered the conflict in an attempt to mediate the difficulties among the parties. His own family connections to the House of Toulouse and his desires for improving his political alliance with Toulouse caused him to gravitate toward supporting Toulouse himself. Eventually he did, but with disastrous results. After his son James took over the affairs of government, he did not get as intimately involved with the Midi as his father had. For James, the real opportunities lay elsewhere. Additionally, both pilgrimages and crusades helped sacralize the connections of seaborne communications.[12]

Alfonso II and Peter II supported crusading in the West and the East, worked with the papacy to advance its policies, allied with regional

rulers, and championed orthodoxy. All of these interests had implications throughout the Mediterranean. As a result of the work of Alfonso and Peter, the Crown of Aragon became an important force in the Mediterranean. When the order Peter tried to foster dissipated, he turned to violence to achieve his ends. He and Alfonso tried to enhance their family's interests throughout the Mediterranean. From that perspective, their policies reveal a determined ambition and a wide scope of possibility embracing the entire Mediterranean. New ways of expressing this connectivity opened, including pilgrimage, spirituality, law, marriages and the agreements to create them, geopolitics, and commercial ties. Even within Iberia, during the central Middle Ages rulers from the Crown of Aragon included provisions (or, in this case, liberties) in the municipal fueros for the personal, property, worship, travel, and contractual needs of the Muslims living in these cities. These liberties helped the Muslims contribute to the commercial stability of the areas in which they lived.[13] The term *liberties* (or *liberty*) would remain in private law to designate, among other things, the capacity for issuing these types of measures to enhance the social stability of a community.[14] The Mediterranean thus offered much to these rulers, and they fully participated in the regional networks that the land and sea offered them.

The Ebro River Valley, for example, provided a number of opportunities. It offered much water and opportunities for fishing, along with a wetland. Wetlands allow for flexibility in use, such as with levees, pastures, pools, and watercourses. It has supported many waterways, as well as insects, frogs, toads, and migratory birds. Like a number of other microregions with rivers flowing toward the Mediterranean, it has had an emphasis on fishing and fowling. Microregions offer possibilities for enhancing connectivity, and they can also link together to form expansive commercial and environmental networks.[15] Environmental management of the area has presented many opportunities and challenges; this influenced management and settlement patterns in this river valley during the Middle Ages, and some of these challenges, especially the task of setting up areas of intensive horticulture (*huerta*), remained during the twentieth century. Wetland areas such as the Ebro River Valley thus offer a series of resources that help connect neighboring regions.[16] Thus coastal wetlands offer an environment for gathering plant and animal species, marginal humid environments, use of water for arable or pastoral production (such as for eastern Spain), and nodes for communication networks.[17] Ports also offer good locations for these nodal points, and such connectivity additionally supports strategies for avoiding risk.[18] Along the coastlines, reclamation projects were underway at least as early as the thirteenth century.[19] Demographic growth, in fact, supported greater interest in expanding

coastal communities and reclaiming some of the lands near the tidal estu-
aries and coastal wetlands.[20] Linking these tidal estuaries and coastal wet-
lands into a series of networks, with the aid of the microregions around
them, offered chances to improve upon nodes linking communities and
communications. Wetlands areas have offered, in their diversity, many
opportunities for managing conditions in their surroundings. Wetlands
offer flexibility, which communities have found valuable. Communities
could enjoy multiple benefits if wetland areas could be integrated into an
extensive series of neighboring areas offering different types of microre-
gions and thus different types of opportunities.[21]

   This, in fact, is one reason why Braudel's striking point about settle-
ments in plateaus, hills, and plains has resonance for this study. He sug-
gested that these areas offered the possibility of acting as nodes of trade
and communication that could help connect people living in mountain
and coastal areas. Ports, for example, could offer access to Alpine passes
in Italy.[22] One could make a similar point regarding Barcelona, its coasts,
and the high hills and mountain regions near the city. Thus people could
engage in more effective commercial and cultural exchanges.[23] Factoring
the role of transhumance in the Pyrenees makes this a suggestive idea
for medieval Catalonia, since we know that shepherds did pasture their
flocks for some months of the year from southern France. This facet of
familiarity with each other would help foster connections across many
levels, including the household. It is important to recognize, therefore,
that the broader connections of families and regions forming a crucial part
of this study would not have been restricted to the nobility; rather, they
could have included many members of society who had the ability and
even the necessity for travel, even over relatively short distances. In fact,
a short distance may well have been all that was necessary in some cases
because over those very short distances, one would have found chances to
connect microregions—regions offering significant amenities in coastal
trade or mountain passes, for example, or in animal husbandry or olive
oil transport—in ways that would offer many benefits to all the parties
involved. Snowpacks and waterways also offered opportunities to enhance
the commercial opportunities available for these communities. That had
great implications for communities, leaders, and families who wished
to strengthen their activities throughout the Mediterranean, and both
Alfonso and Peter tried to reinforce their opportunities in these areas.

   Families, and their activities and policies, have exerted a tremendous
influence on the themes raised in this work. Since the regional careers of
a father and son have occupied a central place, the work of families has
been consistently close to a major theme. Yet other families employed
similar techniques to advance their interests, and many of them worked

to ally themselves with other families with like interests. The members of the Angevin dynasty have been important collaborators with the members of the House of Barcelona, and one of their marriage negotiations raised issues that recall the complex matters surrounding the genesis and perpetuation of the marriage of Peter and Marie of Montpellier. That marriage arose within a broader context of papal plans for matrimonial alliances among both present and future allies, and a look at that broader context will place the diplomatic and security concerns throughout the region into greater relief.

Innocent III's attempt at arranging a marriage between his ward Frederick II of Sicily (1194–1250) and Alfonso II's daughter and Peter II's sister Sancha of Aragon (1186–1241) should be viewed with respect to Innocent's wishes to recover the Holy Land and reform the church. As Innocent worked to achieve these goals, his concurrent desire to establish peace among Christian communities was an important prerequisite for the success of his project. Innocent also wished to ensure the security of the Papal States and separate the empire from Sicily.[24]

As Innocent explained to one of his cousins in 1202, Peter and his mother Queen Sancha had promised that the young Sancha would marry Frederick. They had also agreed to send military assistance to Sicily, requesting a dower and an allowance for Queen Sancha when she came to Sicily to assist the couple. Innocent ordered his cousin James to gather support from Frederick's associates to persuade them to complete the negotiations. If they were able to do so, then Peter and Queen Sancha would have been able to get Aragonese assistance to Sicily quickly, for the Sicilians needed this assistance at that time. A letter to Archbishop Adolf of Cologne between November 1202 and January 1203 establishes that a betrothal of the parties was completed, but at some point before 1208, this betrothal between Frederick and Sancha was dissolved.[25]

Meanwhile in 1199, Innocent prevented a marriage between a sister of Sancho VII of Navarre (1194–1234) and Peter because they were related to each other within the third degree of consanguinity.[26] Peter had just been victorious in a war between Aragon and Navarre. He, his mother, and her associates had supported this war, and had they been successful in securing this marriage alliance between Aragon and Navarre, this would have given them a powerful linkage to an important kingdom in Northern Iberia, very close to the Pyrenees. If Peter had wished to strengthen his position along the Pyrenees and also position himself to enjoy more amenities that would have flowed through Aragon, then this marriage agreement would have looked attractive to him and presumably his advisers, given that they were still working very closely with both Peter and Queen Sancha. Innocent III ruled against this proposed marriage, and thus it never actually took place.

Note that Innocent was trying to separate Sicily from the empire so that one ruler could not use resources from both territories to threaten the papacy and the Papal States. If he could secure a successful marriage agreement for Frederick for Sicily, then Innocent would have gone a long way toward enhancing the security of the papacy and the Papal States.

Innocent did not let the collapse of the arrangements between Frederick and Sancha deter his efforts to bring Sicily and Aragon together in a marriage agreement. He next tried to bring together Frederick and Peter's other sister, Constance, the widow of King Imre of Hungary. Peter delayed in completing the marriage negotiations, and for this, Innocent reprimanded him in February 1208. In December 1208, Frederick would attain his majority, and undoubtedly Innocent would have wished to complete this negotiation while he was still Frederick's guardian. To emphasize his point, Innocent sent a bishop to go to Sicily with Constance, and he urged Peter to support his efforts. In August 1208, Innocent confirmed the agreement that Constance and Frederick made, urging Constance's brother to support the impending marriage. The marriage occurred in Zaragoza in the fall of 1208, and in 1209, Constance arrived in Palermo with five hundred knights.[27]

Certainly this marriage involved achieving highly political objectives. This deepened the connection between Aragon and the papacy and removed the possibility of a marriage alliance between the empire and Sicily. The pope achieved these aims with skill and persistence, and his actions are not unlike those of any member or adviser of a noble family trying to arrange for a successful and advantageous marriage. Innocent also wished to protect Sicily and avoid further conflict or destruction.[28]

Innocent's work in this regard demonstrates a combination of diplomatic, security, and even humanitarian concerns. This layout of underlying objectives is very similar to what I suggest was happening with Alfonso II and Peter II during the same time period. Here the metaphor of the search, perhaps in this case the search for stability, has strong resonance with the desires and policies of Innocent III.

Thus at the time (ca. 1199–1208) that Peter was contemplating and also taking steps to reshape radically the diplomatic alliance structure in the Midi, he and his mother were also deliberating placing their realm more squarely into the context of Mediterranean or regional competition.

Many of Peter's diplomatic adventures involved negotiating agreements with these mainly coastal powers, such as Montpellier, Genoa, the papacy, and the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem based in Acre. This ambitious gambit would have not only placed him in a position to work, but it also could have committed Aragonese forces to military action in defense of and support of Sicily, under threat from imperial forces. With a connection to Sicily, Peter was forming an ambitious policy indeed—one

that had the potential to make him one of the pivotal rulers in the entire region.

The concept of peace—here the "peace of Christendom"—appears in these matters as providing a way of negotiating the intersection of the "pragmatic and the pastoral," as well as advancing the cause of political and social stability.[29] Innocent's attempts to further this peace represent his way of seeking and working for a proper ordering of society, an ordering that will offer opportunity and enhance security. Peace, therefore, can indicate the unifying features that help hold a society together and function properly. The search for advancing this peace is something that Innocent shared with a number of his contemporaries, including Alfonso II, Queen Sancha, and Peter II.

Alongside the focus on the activities of families, a point regarding monastic patronage connects with the other points raised throughout this study, including the search for stability and justice. Count Oliba Cabreta and Countess Ermengard had patronized the monastery of Serrateix at least since the concluding years of the tenth century, and that familiar relationship continued into the eleventh century with other members of their family. The closeness of the family with Serrateix certainly is important, but it acquires additional importance when viewed in light of this family's prominence and the general tendency of families, especially in consideration of the work of Professor Jonathan Riley-Smith, to patronize the same monasteries over multiple generations. Thus this was a close relationship forged with parents, then offspring, and perhaps other family members.[30] That trend Riley-Smith observed for the time of the crusading movement also operated earlier, at least for Catalonia during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

This close relationship of Serrateix with members of the comital dynasty of Cerdanya also has some important implications for justice. Jeffrey Bowman points out that "many affective, micropolitical factors" can exert powerful influences on the public and private activities of a person in Count Wifred's position.[31] He also notes that Wifred worked within a system that blended Visigothic and Carolingian ideals of order, and in the process, "public justice, ritual commemoration, private patronage, and affective affiliation" were indistinguishable because they had also successfully fused with each other.[32] The exercise of power, then, was a multifaceted and a multidimensional enterprise, and here there are clear indicators of that as early as the tenth and eleventh centuries.

As part of the investigation of the exercise of power, some observers have believed that women lost the considerable degree of flexibility and power within their marriages they enjoyed during the early Middle Ages, especially with the fusion of the public and private realms.[33] Open

marriage practices and multiple possibilities of succession increased the statuses available for women. Ecclesiastical reforms beginning in the eleventh century began reducing the possibility for the advancement of queens by restricting the range of available marriage partners and enforcing the indissolubility of marriage. This pattern, it is supposed, led to the exclusion of these women from public life.[34]

In actuality, however, women were never completely excluded from public life during the Middle Ages. Some of the language the reformers of the eleventh century used could lead one to think that women were consistently denigrated and excluded. Yet even in the midst of the Gregorian Reform period, such exclusion was never the absolute case. Some women did encounter such exclusion, but others did not. The trends that emerged between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries, therefore, helped produce a rather complex and dynamic society, one in which some would advocate more restricted roles for women and others worked with them in a wide array of areas. This highlights the necessity of investigating ideals and reality as well as ideals and experience. This divergence between ideals and experience concerning the same cluster of issues could have formed some fissures in the societies affected, thereby leading to conflicts. Yet this divergence also created opportunities. These opportunities appeared in the chances people had now to bring ideals and experience together. This could mean finding ways in which women could creatively contribute to their societies, and it also could mean finding ways to bring men and women together and, ultimately, ways to foster unity of ideals and experience throughout the fabric of the societies affected.

Thus the wider range of activities available for medieval queens also holds for other members of noble families, such as ladies who exercised a great degree of power in their territories without serving as queens specifically. That characterizes the careers of women such as Ermengard of Narbonne and Marie of Montpellier. These trends, therefore, appear consistently for southern France and Iberia, where prominent and active noble families, the prospect of economic and commercial advantages, and the promise of economic success throughout communities enriched the formation of social and commercial alliances. Iberian kingdoms competed with each other for political and territorial advantages. In all cases, families engaged in negotiations and competitions as they sought to strengthen their positions. These competitions and negotiations themselves could easily become increasingly complex, too. All of these overlapping tasks could help create additional opportunities for women to work at high levels in complex matters. Thus experience played a critical role in shaping and clarifying these motives of competition. Experience

served as a critical stabilizing factor for these societies. Impressions regard-ing the complete exclusion of women from public life in the High Middle Ages would not necessarily have led an observer to such conclusions, but in assessing the experiences and the evidence, this is indeed the picture that emerges. Thus the convergence of experience and evidence and that of experience and ideal both remain key considerations that could have brought increases of status for some women, and in the efforts to achieve common goals and aspirations, they could have brought some women and men closer together.[35]

Ecclesiastical figures who promoted the tropes of peacemaker, mother, and nurse also saw them as ways to help shape and direct royal policy. Many queens, including anointed queens, performed some standard royal functions, acting as a special connector in the activities of their realms. Contemporaries valued the positions that these queens held as well as their active efforts to promote the security, stability, and vitality of their realms.[36] Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, for example, corresponded regu-larly with Queen Melisende of Jerusalem during the central years of the twelfth century, and he urged her to follow the example of Jesus who provided for the poor and corrected the ways of the defenseless. He also praised her for her exemplary comportment and for governing herself and her kingdom with the advice of wise counselors. These, he said, are the attributes of "a strong woman" (*mulierem fortem*) and a "great queen" (*sub-limem reginam*).[37] As Saint Bernard encouraged Queen Melisende to give help to the poor and the defenseless, he connected this work to service generally, and in other contexts, he also linked service to the activities of the *milites Christi*.[38]

These very centuries witnessed another striking development: the scholarship and patronage connected to an emerging theological tra-dition in Iberia. It fused the Neoplatonic cosmology and mathemati-cal speculations on the Trinity from the School of Chartres, ideas about divine grammar from Gilbert of Poitiers, and a hierarchy of being from Boethius. Centered in Toledo, the theological tradition advanced through the scholarship and patronage of Archbishop Rodrigo. There, work focusing on theology, history, the role of and insights gleaned from the classical tradition, and mathematical speculation combined to create a dynamic, active school of scholars. These scholars, moreover, came from and traveled to many parts of Europe, so the influence of this activity was not restricted to the Iberian Peninsula.[39] When considered in light of that network of scholars and scholarship, as well as other scholars who themselves were influenced by this group, what emerges is a concentrated view of the significance of communication.

With this importance of communication, then a search for unity acquires a greater significance than it might otherwise have had. In the work of Cicero, especially in his *De oratore*, he tried to find a way to unify the Greco-Roman culture in a vision of the ideal orator. This vision Cicero presented in *De oratore*, that of the ideal orator and the kinds of advantages such an orator could bring to the surrounding community, lay at the heart of the work of people such as Saint Jerome and especially Saint Augustine. This kind of commentary extended beyond late antiquity, however, for it then influenced many books of advice to courtiers in both the medieval and Renaissance periods. It gathered additional strength during the Renaissance. During that era, humanists continued advancing the rhetorical tradition they inherited from their ancient and medieval predecessors, though with their strong interests in ancient techniques and history, they emphasized the classical aspect of their tradition more directly and emphatically than the medieval por- tion of their rhetorical and educational heritage.[40] Yet both the ancient and medieval components of their rhetorical and intellectual heritage remained. Cicero's synthesis was directed toward forming an effective person of action, not one proficient only in speculation. In some ways, that preference for action has remained influential for western European societies,[41] but, equally importantly, here the combined work of prelates, rulers, nobles, merchants, family members, and community members all points toward their efforts at blending action and speculation, or action and reflection. One aim for many of the people encountered in this study, therefore, is unity in action and speculation.

That unity of action and speculation, or activity and reflection, could lead to the kind of synthetic and integrative unity of approach in a social system that has been a hallmark of general descriptions of the thirteenth century. This is a highly rhetorical approach, and it is true that rheto- ric has more recently acquired a range of meanings quite unlike what would have been the case in most ancient and medieval societies, at least in educational circles.[42] The drive for finding unifying characteristics, especially in a society where finding both the unifying and the separating characteristics was at a premium, suggests that the search for unity was an authentic one. This connected with the ideal of a tradition, and from the classical and medieval Latin term *traditio*, a tradition is the delivery[43] of what is best and most enduring from one part of a society to another, especially over time. One may thus understand the transmittal of a tra- dition as a living, active process by which members of a society seek to rediscover the resources available for continuing the processes of growth and the refining of experience.[44] Clifford Geertz, in fact, has observed

that when societies lose sight of their traditions, "formal ideologies" (perhaps at variance with those very traditions) begin and spread.[45] The fusion of these processes of growth and the refining of experience represent a convergence at the foundation of the search for unity. The search for unity combines with the experience of spirituality, the experience of liminality, and the experience of rhetoric to all create components of a tradition formed and shaped in medieval societies. These experiences helped people of the time explore their commonalities and try to shape them further.

Certainly the deployment of language helped ground the series of experiences that many of these participants had and, from time to time, shared. The poetic and musical dimensions of that exploration, when combined with an emphasis on *affectio*, led to the growth and development of the courtly experience. That sensibility cuts across both courtly and popular conceptions of poetry, and it points toward the emotional ties that poets, audiences, scholars, and students wished to investigate and understand more clearly.[46] This process suggests how the shared aspects of language could merge the interests in spirituality and experience.[47] The twelfth and thirteenth centuries represented one of the most pivotal times in the development of this society, especially since it was one in which many people were experiencing separations from their societies and communities for economic, spiritual, and social reasons. We encountered the term *marital affection* earlier in connection with specific policies surrounding the formation of marriage and the solidification of the emotional ties that bound them together. Explorations of the significance of *affectio* went beyond the specific context of marital affection, however, and embraced some of the essential characteristics of communities. During the career of the twelfth-century biblical scholar Richard of Saint Victor, scholars identified Leah with affection. The virtues that they connected with the growth of affection in a person, moreover, formed a step in the awakening of a spiritual seeker. This first step, additionally, formed an opening for the search for a fitting path of contemplation.[48] That crucible of challenge forged particularly during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries helped accelerate the search for these connecting experiences. Alfonso II and Peter II reflected these challenges in their search for more stable connecting elements for their Mediterranean communities during those two centuries.

These processes help reflect upon one further trend operative in these Mediterranean societies, and it had been developing before the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. At the conclusion of his work on the Cult of the Saints, Peter Brown said that in searching for ways to link the *praesentia* of the saints with justice, mercy, and acceptance of fellow

community members, members of late-antique Roman communities searched thereby for ways that they could "stand in the searching and merciful presence of a fellow human being."[49] This study has explored some of the ways that common terms such as justice, mercy, and community animated the search for fitting expressions of communal life during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, particularly with respect to two Mediterranean societies. In these societies, the inhabitants—led by the examples of Alfonso II and Peter II of Aragon—sought opportunities for enhancing their social, economic, legal, spiritual, and environmental connectivity with each other at a time when other social and political forces presented threats to the possibility for connecting any of these, much less all of them. How do we forge connectivity during an age replete with division and conflict? Answers to that question have perennially appeared with human communities, and we still seek answers to that question that will resonate with the early twenty-first-century societies we currently inhabit.

The role of the seeker appeared in the discussion of the significance of affection, and it represents a foundational consideration in exploring the metaphor of the search. Interest in that metaphor has persisted over time, and in fact, an important scholar and bishop from late antiquity addressed the theme of seeking in his work. The verb "to seek" (*quaerere*) occurs often in Saint Augustine's *Confessions*. It represents an important feature of Augustine's work, in the *Confessions* specifically as well as over the trajectory of his career. From part of Augustine's discussion of a psalm that he knows well, it is clear that for him, expectation, memory, and attention will play crucial and interconnected roles for his work in the *Confessions*. These attributes occupied important roles for him as he worked out such things as new approaches to reading, and heightened attention to the streams of classical tradition and spiritual tradition. Augustine, additionally, helped establish a fitting vocabulary to express the contours and changes one would encounter in the interplay of both classical and spiritual traditions. This process that integrates memory, expectation, and attention also acts as a metaphor for the task of a lifetime and, additionally, as Augustine might express it, for the history of humanity.[50]

A society that pursues an integration of the spiritual world of the cult of the saints and the spiritual geography of pilgrimage might act as a fertile environment for exploring themes of connectivity, even in times rife with real pain and division. Peter Brown has reminded readers of some of the themes at stake when considering such matters in light of community formation and stability. He has written tellingly and sensitively about a Mediterranean society in which it was possible to explore ways to use justice, mercy, and community to increase the chance that members of

these societies would be able to face each other directly and look upon each other with empathy and understanding. Despite the challenges to do otherwise, this cause persisted during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the work of Alfonso II and Peter II advanced the possibilities of such engagement. They sought ways to improve the contacts they had with societies across the Mediterranean world and thereby to find ways of responding to urgent needs and enduring concerns, such as the need to find themselves and their communities in the midst of merciful, empathetic, and understanding fellow human beings. In this effort, therefore, Alfonso II and Peter II looked for methods to forge stronger and closer connections with communities throughout the Mediterranean world. They worked often in the midst of real and pressing divisions and difficulties, creating an ambitious series of policies to help them deal with these challenges. As Alfonso and Peter focused on the search for these stronger connections, therefore, they intensified the associations that would link Catalonia and Aragon more effectively and tightly to a wider Mediterranean world.

NOTES

1 The Mediterranean Matrix of Connections for Alfonso II and Peter II

1. William Chester Jordan, *Europe in the High Middle Ages* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2003), 8–10; R. I. Moore, *The First European Revolution, c. 970–1215* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 30–31.

2. *Alfonso II Rey de Aragón, Conde de Barcelona y Marqués de Provenza: documentos (1162–1196)*, ed. Ana Isabel Sánchez Casabón (Zaragoza, Spain: Institución "Fernando el Católico," 1995), doc. 37, pp. 74–75.

3. Thomas N. Bisson, *Fiscal Accounts of Catalonia under the Early Count-Kings (1151–1213)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 1:304.

4. *Alfonso II Rey de Aragón*, doc. 40, pp. 77–78.

5. Ibid., doc. 58, pp. 97–99.

6. Joseph O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 236–237.

7. Matt. 5:9.

8. See, for example, Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*, ed. R. W. Dyson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998; repr., 2002), 19.25–19.28.

9. This is a major theme of H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970).

10. David Knowles, *From Pachomius to Ignatius: A Study in the Constitutional History of the Religious Orders* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 15.

11. Hayden V. White, "The Gregorian Ideal and Saint Bernard of Clairvaux," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 21 (1960): 324.

12. Ibid., 342–343.

13. Ibid., 323.

14. Ibid., 348.

15. Jeffrey A. Bowman, "Councils, Memory and Mills: The Early Development of the Peace of God in Catalonia," *Early Medieval Europe* 8 (1999): 101.

16. Ibid., 100–103.

17. Brian Stock made the phrase "textual community" popular in his work *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in*

the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), esp. 90–92.

18. John Shideler, *A Medieval Catalan Noble Family: The Montcadas, 1000–1230* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1983), 30 and 87–113; on Guillem Ramon and these arrangements, see 106–112.

19. *Alfonso II Rey de Aragón,* doc. 9, pp. 42–44.

20. Ibid., doc. 10, pp. 44–45.

21. *A Latin Dictionary; Founded on Andrews' Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary*, revised, enlarged, and rewritten by Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 1066.

22. Henri Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1934; repr. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2001), 20, 37, and 64 respectively.

23. R. J. Schoeck, *Erasmus Grandescens: The Growth of a Humanist's Mind and Spirituality* (Nieuwkoop, the Netherlands: De Graaf Publishers, 1988), 89.

24. Clifford Geertz, "Centers, Kings, and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power," in *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual, and Politics since the Middle Ages*, ed. Sean Wilentz (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 20–21.

25. Thomas Schweizer, "Detecting Positions in Networks: A Formal Analysis of Loose Social Structure in Rural Java," *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 90 (1988): 944.

26. Ibid., 945.

27. J. Clyde Mitchell, "Social Networks," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 3 (1974): 280.

28. Ibid., 281–282.

29. Ibid., 284.

30. Ibid., 285.

31. Ibid., 290.

32. Ibid., 291.

33. Norman E. Whitten Jr. and Dorothea S. Whitten, "Social Strategies and Social Relationships," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 1 (1972): 257.

34. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology*, trans. Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf (New York: Basic Books, 1963), 1:95–96; Whitten and Whitten, "Social Strategies and Social Relationships," 257.

35. Peter Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971; repr., New York and London: Norton, 1989), 11.

36. Michael Ivanovitch Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941; repr., 1998), 2:680.

37. Michael Ivanovitch Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, 2nd ed., rev. P. M. Fraser (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966; repr., 1988), 1:129.

38. Ibid., 1:130.
39. Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, 17.
40. Ibid., 17.
41. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, 1:133.
42. Ibid., 1:148.
43. Ibid., 1:150 and 153.
44. Ibid., 1:157 and 149.
45. Ibid., 1:150.
46. Robert S. Lopez, "Mohammed and Charlemagne: A Revision," *Speculum* 18 (1943): 14–38.
47. Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, 18.
48. Many of these areas receive a classic treatment and exploration in Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927; repr., 1971).
49. Arnaldo Momigliano, "How Roman Emperors Became Gods," in *On Pagans, Jews, and Christians* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1987), 94.
50. Jack Goody and Ian Watt, "The Consequences of Literacy," in *Literacy in Traditional Societies*, ed. Jack Goody (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 53.
51. The verb is *agere*, with a basic meaning of "to do." See Oliver Phillips, "What Do You Do with a Verb with Forty-Four Different Meanings?," *Classical Journal* 83 (1987): 54–58.
52. I follow here the comprehensive dictum of Ernst Cassirer on evaluating concepts important for the development of both the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: "What we want to know is not the particular idea as such, but the importance it possesses, and the strength with which it is acting in the whole structure." See his "Some Remarks on the Question of the Originality of the Renaissance," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 4 (1943): 55. This point receives reinforcement and amplification in R. J. Schoeck, *Erasmus of Europe* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), 1:xii.

2 Forging a Regional Community: Alfonso II and the Midi

1. Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VII, 1126–1157* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 86 and 90.
2. Paul Kehr, "Zur Geschichte Victors IV," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde* 46 (1926): 53–85.
3. Florian Mazel, "Monographie familiale aristocratique et analyse historique: Réflexions à partir de l'étude de trois lignages provençaux (Xe–XIVe siècle)," in *Le médiéviste et la monographie familiale: sources,*

méthodes et problématiques, ed. Martin Aurell (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2004), 145–160.

4. André Gouron, "Comment dater la venue de Placentin à Montpellier?", *Mémoires de la Société pour l'histoire du Droit et des institutions des anciens pays bourguignons, comtois et romands* 45 (1988): 187–194; repr. with original pagination as section IV of André Gouron, *Droit et coutume en France aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1993).

5. André Gouron, "Les étapes de la pénétration du droit romain au XIIe siècle dans l'ancienne Septimanie," *Annales du Midi* 59 (1957): 103–104.

6. Fredric L. Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 2001), 253 and 32.

7. The "Great Southern War" is my translation of the phrase "*grande guerra meridionale.*" The phrase is from Charles Higounet; he treated it in his article, "Un grand chapitre de l'histoire du XIIe siècle: la rivalité des maisons de Toulouse et de Barcelona pour la préponderance méridionale," in *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1951), esp. 318–320. Geo Pistarino repeated the phrase in connecting these events to Genoa and Italy in "Genoa e l'Occitania," in *La capitale del Mediterraneo: Genova nel Medioevo* (Bordighera, Italy: Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, 1993), 220.

8. Pistarino, "Genoa e l'Occitania," 220. The material on Frederick I's objectives comes from J. N. D. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 175.

9. Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne*, 253.

10. The archbishop of Tarragona was, for example, a prominent figure at the curia session of February 13, 1163, in Barcelona; *Alfonso II Rey de Aragón, Conde de Barcelona y Marqués de Provenza: documentos (1162–1196)*, ed. Ana Isabel Sánchez Casabón (Zaragoza, Spain: Institución "Fernando el Católico," 1995), doc. 10, pp. 44–45. See also Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne*, 254.

11. Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne*, 255.

12. William of Montcada pledged homage to Alfonso at Zaragoza in March 1171, and on March 27, William received the Aragonese territories that the previous Viscountess of Béarn formerly held; *Alfonso II Rey de Aragón*, docs. 101 and 102, pp. 163–164. Also see the discussion in John Shideler, *A Medieval Catalan Noble Family: The Montcadas, 1000–1230* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1983), 107–110.

13. Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Barcelona, Pergaminos de Pedro II, 111.

14. Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne*, 264.

15. Ibid., 266–267.

16. Ibid., 267–268.

17. Jane Martindale, "Eleanor of Aquitaine," in *Richard Coeur de Lion in History and Myth*, ed. Janet Nelson (London: King's College London Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 1992), 25; repr. with original pagination as section XI of Jane Martindale, *Status, Authority and Regional Power: Aquitaine and France, 9th to 12th Centuries* (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1997).

18. Ibid., 26–27.

19. Richard Benjamin, "A Forty Years War: Toulouse and the Plantagenets, 1156–96," *Historical Research* 61 (1988): 270–271.

20. Higounet, "Un grand chapitre de l'histoire," 318. See also John Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire*, 2nd ed. (London: Arnold Publishers; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 29–30.

21. Gervase of Canterbury, *Chronica*, in *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. William Stubbs, Rolls Series no. 73 (London, 1879), 1.167.

22. William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, ed. Richard Howlett, Rolls Series no. 82 (London, 1885), 5.30. William's phrase is "et per annos quadraginta vires multorum attriverat populorum, eodem tempore." John Gillingham stresses this phrase in *Angevin Empire*, 30.

23. Benjamin, "Forty Years War," 272.

24. *Gesta regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti abbatis: The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I, AD 1169–1192*, ed. William Stubbs, vol. 1, Rolls Series no. 49 (London, 1867), 31.

25. Ibid., 36.

26. Gillingham, *Angevin Empire*, 30; and John Gillingham, *Richard I* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 41.

27. Marie Hivergneaux, "Queen Eleanor and Aquitaine, 1137–1189," in *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady*, ed. Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 68.

28. Gillingham, *Richard I*, 60.

29. *Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard*, 1:36–41, esp. 1:36–37.

30. Ibid., 1:41–47.

31. Gervase of Canterbury, *Chronica*, 1:243–246.

32. Ibid., 1:245.

33. Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne*, 267–268.

34. Gervase of Canterbury, *Chronica*, 1:247–248.

35. *Alfonso II Rey de Aragón*, doc. 161.

36. Ibid., doc. 215; and Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne*, 270.

37. Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne*, 275.

38. Thus, "Totam etiam terram comitis de Marcha rex Henricus vj. milibus marcis argenti emit, valentem, ut idem rex dixit, viginti milia marcas argenti." In *The Chronicle of Robert of Torigni*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, vol. 4, ed. Richard Howlett, Rolls Series no. 82 (London, 1889), 274–275. Also see John Gillingham, "Events and Opinions: Norman and English Views of Aquitaine, c. 1152–c. 1204,"

in *The World of Eleanor of Aquitaine: Literature and Society in Southern France between the Eleventh and Thirteenth Centuries*, ed. Marcus Bull and Catherine Léglu (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), 58–59.

39. Ralph de Diceto, *Imagines Historiarum*, in *The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto, Dean of London*, ed. William Stubbs, Rolls Series no. 68 (London, 1876), 1:425.

40. *Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard*, 196–197.

41. Ibid., 195.

42. Gillingham, "Events and Opinions," 73.

43. Hivergneaux, "Queen Eleanor and Aquitaine," 70.

44. *Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard*, 212–213.

45. Gillingham, *Richard I*, 60.

46. *Alfonso II Rey de Aragón*, doc. 280; and Gillingham, *Richard I*, 60.

47. *Alfonso II Rey de Aragón*, doc. 201.

48. Gillingham, *Richard I*, 60.

49. Henry chose to follow an Angevin pattern of relying upon familial cooperation instead of the Norman model based upon a tightly integrated administrative structure. Though the Angevin model had proved successful with his predecessors, using it here, with the volatile makeup of his nuclear family, brought much instability and conflict to his realm. See Bernard S. Bachrach, "Henry II and the Angevin Tradition of Family Hostility," *Albion* 16 (1984): 111–130, esp. 130.

50. *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, ed. William D. Paden Jr., Tilde Sankovitch, and Patricia H. Stäblein (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1986), 184.

51. Ibid. For the narrator of Bertran of Born's poem "*D'un sirventes no.m cal far loignor ganda*" ("I won't put off a sirventes any longer"), the key attribute he sees in Count Geoffrey that would make him a good firstborn son of Henry II and also perhaps a talented ruler was his courtliness: "*car es cortes, e fos en sa comanda regesmes e.l duchatz*" ("for he is courtly, and I wish the kingdom and the duchy were in his command"), stanza 6, pp. 188 and 189. This work is no. 11 in the collection of Bertran of Born's poems.

52. Although a *tenso* bears structural similarities to a *canso*, or love poem, its primary characteristic is that structurally and poetically it explores the range of emotions and interactions inherent in a debate between or among voices. It also explores, additionally, the perspectives these voices bring to the debate; thus see Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner, "The Trobairitz," in *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, ed. F. R. P. Akehurst and Judith M. Davis (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1995), 217–218. Regarding the immediate context of this part of Bertran of Born's poem, see *Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 189, at the note for stanza 3, line 25.

53. "*D'un sirventes no.m cal far loignor ganda*," in *Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, stanza 4, pp. 188–189.

54. Ibid., 190.

55. Ibid., 194.

56. Ibid., 204–205.

57. "*Ieu chan, que.l reys m'en preguat*" ("I sing, because the king asked me"), in *Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, stanza 2, pp. 206–207.

58. Ibid., stanza 5, pp. 208–209.

59. Ibid.

60. Benjamin, "Forty Years War," 277–278.

61. Gillingham, *Richard I*, 75.

62. Ibid., 76.

63. *Alfonso II Rey de Aragón*, doc. 406, pp. 539–541. Also Gillingham, *Richard I*, 81; and Benjamin, "Forty Years War," 277.

64. *Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard*, 345.

65. Ibid., 347.

66. Gillingham, *Richard I*, 124–125.

67. Eleanor enjoyed opportunities to strengthen her own impressive alliance system, too. On this trip, she traveled to Rome in time to see a longstanding acquaintance become Pope Celestine III. She also reunited with her daughter Joanna, who was married to Count Raymond VI of Toulouse. On these matters, see Miriam Shadis, *Berenguela of Castile (1180–1246) and Political Women in the High Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 59; and Miriam Shadis and Constance Hoffman Berman, "A Taste of the Feast: Reconsidering Eleanor of Aquitaine's Female Descendants," in Wheeler and Parsons, *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady*, 184.

68. Actually, he started moving in this direction at the beginning of the decade; Richard and Philip made and renewed peace treaties in 1191 and 1193; *Foedera, conventions, literae, et cujuscunque generis acta publica*, ed. Thomas Rymer (London, 1726), 1:69–70 and 1:81–83.

69. Ralph V. Turner and Richard R. Heiser, *The Reign of Richard Lionheart: Ruler of the Angevin Empire, 1189–1199* (Harlow, Essex: Pearson Education Limited, 2000), 233. Also note the agreements between Philip and John of 1191 and 1193; *Foedera*, 1:69–70 and 1:85–86.

70. Turner and Heiser, *Reign of Richard Lionheart*, 233–234.

71. Gillingham, *Richard I*, 306–307.

72. Jean Hilaire, "Réflexions sur l'heritage romain dans le droit du commerce au Moyen-Age," *Tijdschrift voor Rechtgeschiedenis* 70 (2002): 215 and 218.

73. Ibid., 220.

74. The phrase occurs in Einhard, *The Life of Charlemagne*, foreword by Sidney Painter and trans. Samuel Epes Turner (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960), cap. 9, p. 33. Gillingham, "Events and Opinions," 64.

75. Gillingham, "Events and Opinions," 64.

76. X 5.7.7. Citations to the *Liber Extra* appear according to book, title, and *capitulum*. The conventional abbreviation for the *Liber Extra* is the letter X. The texts appear in the *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. Emil Friedberg,

2 vols. (Leipzig, 1879; repr. Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1959). For more details on the Romano-canonical citation system, see James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law* (London and New York: Longman, 1995), 190–205. See also the discussion in Charles Duggan, *Twelfth-Century Decretal Connections and Their Importance in English History* (London: University of London/Athlone Press, 1963), 35–36.

77. Gillingham, "Events and Opinions," 66.
78. Ibid., 66–67.
79. Ibid., 67.
80. Benjamin, "Forty Years War," 282.
81. Ibid., 282, on the deaths and the ending of the struggle described by William of Newburgh.

3   Regional Networks and Pilgrimage Spirituality

1. Raymonde Foreville, "Pèlerinage, croisade et jubilé au Moyen-âge," *Les amis de Saint François*, n.s., 7 (1966): 54–57.
2. Richard Fletcher, "Las iglesias del reino de León y sus relaciones con Roma en la alta edad media hasta el concilio IV de Letrán de 1215," in *El reino de León en la alta edad media*, vol. 6 (León, Spain: Centro de Estudios e Investigación "San Isidoro," 1994), 491.
3. Gerhard Säbekow, *Die päpstlichen Legationen nach Spanien und Portugal bis zum Ausgang des XII. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Dr. Emil Ebering, 1931), 54.
4. *The Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña: A Fourteenth-Century Official History of the Crown of Aragon*, trans. Lynn H. Nelson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 55.
5. Ibid., 56.
6. Joaquim Miret i Sans, "Itinerario del rey Pedro I en Cataluña, II en Aragón," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 3 (1905–1906): 274.
7. Ibid., 276.
8. Peter Gallocia was cardinal-bishop of Porto and Santa Rufina; he served in the College of Cardinals from 1190 to 1211. For more on his career, see Werner Maleczek, *Papst und Kardinalskolleg von 1191 bis 1216: die Kardinäle unter Coelestin III. und Innocenz III.* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984), 95–96. He also had a wide-ranging career before the early thirteenth century; for example, he acted as an intermediary assisting some of Richard's crusaders who had traveled back to England from the East in 1193 along with Queen Berengaria of England as well as the former queen of Sicily. These arrangements are detailed in *English Episcopal Acta III: Canterbury 1193–1205*, ed. C. R. Cheney and Eric John (London: Published for the British Academy by the Oxford University Press, 1986), docs. 578 and 579, pp. 230–233.

9. *Gesta Innocentii PP. III, Patrologiae cursus completus . . . series Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne [hereafter cited as PL] (Paris, 1855) 214, *capitulum* [cap.] 120 at cols. 159–160. Also in Alfonso García-Gallo, *Manual de historia del derecho español* (Madrid: Artes Graficas y Ediciones, 1975), doc. 822; 2:583–584.

10. Jeronimo de Blancas, *Coronaciones de los serenissimos reyes de Aragón* (Zaragoza, Spain, 1641), 3.

11. The relevant phrase is "Idcirco ego Petrus gracia Dei rex Aragonum volens visitare limina Beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli," in *Els testaments dels comtes de Barcelona i dels reis de la Corona d'Aragó: De Guifré Borrell a Joan II*, ed. Antoni Udina i Abelló (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2001), doc. 18, p. 133.

12. "Ibique praefatum regem per manus Petri, Portuensis episcopi," *Gesta Innocentii PP. III*, PL 214: cap. 120 at cols. 159–160. Also printed as "ibique predictum regem per manum Petri Portuensis episcopi fecit iniungi," in García-Gallo, *Manual de historia del derecho español*, doc. 822; 2:584. Peter was one of 27 cardinals already serving at the time of Innocent III's election; Conrad Eubel et al., *Hierarchia catholica Medii Aevi* (Münster: Sumptibus et typis librariae Regensbergianae, 1913), 1:4. The cardinal-bishop of Porto was also the subdeacon of the College of Cardinals.

13. José Rius Serra, "Inventario de los manuscritos de la Catedral de Sigüenza," *Hispania sacra* 3 (1950): 448.

14. Bonifacio Palacios Martin, *La coronacion de los reyes de Aragon, 1204–1410* (Valencia, Spain: Anubar, 1975), 14.

15. *Gesta Innocentii PP. III*, PL 214: cap. 120 at cols. 159–160. Also in García-Gallo, *Manual de historia del derecho español*, doc. 822; 2:584.

16. Ibid., cap. 121 at cols. 160–161. Also in García-Gallo, *Manual de historia del derecho español*, doc. 822; 2:585.

17. Ibid. Also in García-Gallo, *Manual de historia del derecho español*, doc. 822; 2:585.

18. *Gesta Innocentii PP. III*, PL 214: cap. 120–122 at cols. 159–161.

19. Jane Sayers, *Innocent III: Leader of Europe, 1198–1216* (London and New York: Longman, 1994), 153–163.

20. Gary Doxey, "Diplomacy, Trade and War: Muslim Majorca in International Politics, 1159–81," *Journal of Medieval History* 20 (1994): 39–40.

21. Ibid., 39–61.

22. Thomas N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 38.

23. *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Othmar Hagender and Anton Haidecker (Rome and Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979), no. 9; 2:16–17. It is also printed in *La documentación pontifica hasta Inocencio III (965–1216)*, ed. Demetrio Mansilla (Rome: Instituto Español de Estudios Eclesiásticos, 1955), 198.

24. *Die Register Innocenz' III*, no. 9; 2:16–17.

25. James William Brodman, *Ransoming Captives in Crusader Spain: The Order of Merced on the Christian-Islamic Frontier* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 13–14. For an earlier description of this order, see A. T. Walsh, "Trinitarians," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 14 (New York: McGraw Hill, 1967), 293–295.

26. *Die Register Innocenz' III*, no. 234; 2:396; *La documentación pontifica hasta Inocencio III*, no. 295, pp. 329–330.

27. *Die Register Innocenz' III*, no. 234; 2:396.

28. *Regesta de letras pontificas del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. Francisco J. Miquel Rosell (Madrid: Cuerpo de Archiveros, Bibliotecarios y Arqueologos, 1948), 43. Mansilla repeats Miquel Rosell's information in *La documentación pontifica hasta Inocencio III*, 339.

29. *Regesta de letras pontificas*, 43; *La documentación pontifica hasta Inocencio III*, 349.

30. *La documentación pontifica hasta Inocencio III*, 349–350.

31. Ibid., 350.

32. Rafael Frankel, "Olives," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, vol. 4, ed. Eric M. Meyers (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 179.

33. Ibid. R. Frankel points out that this theory has been suggested by Colin Renfrew, a specialist in the prehistoric era, but it still awaits confirming data. For more on the concept of the urban revolution, see V. Gordon Childe, *What Happened in History* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1961), 66–68 and 87–112.

34. Jehoshua Frankel, "Oil and Olives in the Land of Israel (Palestine) in the Early Muslim Period (634–1099)," in *Olive Oil in Antiquity*, ed. David Etiam and Michael Heltzer (Padua, Italy: Sargon, 1996), 55 and 56.

35. Ibid., 55.

36. Ibid., 56.

37. R. Bruce Hitchner and David J. Mattingly, "Fruits of Empire—The Production of Olive Oil in Roman Africa," *National Geographic Research and Exploration* 7 (1991): 36.

38. Ibid., 36.

39. Ibid., 35.

40. Ibid., 38.

41. Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (2000; repr., Malden, MA, and Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 212–213.

42. *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Roman World*, ed. John Boardman, Jasper Griffin, and Oswyn Murray (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 42.

43. Horden and Purcell, *Corrupting Sea*, 213.

44. *The Tell El-Amarna Tablets*, ed. Samuel A. B. Mercer (Toronto: Macmillan, 1939), 1:225. Also quoted in Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch*, trans. J. E. Anderson (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1973), 36.

45. 1 Sam. 10:1–10, 2 Sam. 5:3, and 1 Kings 1:38–40, respectively. In connection with his comments on the ritual use of olive oil, Rafael Frankel notes 1 Sam. 16:1–13 (an account for David) and 2 Kings 9:1–3 (an account for Jehu). See R. Frankel, "Olives," 183, and Bloch, *Royal Touch*, 36–37.

46. Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1952).

47. Thomas Forrest Kelly, "Old Roman Chant and the Responsories of Noah: New Evidence from Sutri," *Early Music History* 26 (2007): 101. On responsories generally, see the article on the responsory in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F. L. Cross (London, New York, and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1958), 1156.

48. Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), 88–92 and 151–163.

49. Eustratius, *Magni et beatissimi Eutychii patriarchae Constantinopolitani vita et conversatio*, PG 86.2 (Paris, 1865): 2330–2331, 2334, 2338–2339. For more on the context of the work of Eutychius of Constantinople as well as the interest in healing in late antiquity, see Peter Brown, "Holy Men," in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 14, ed. Averil Cameron, Bryan Ward-Perkins, and Michael Whitby (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 781 and 794.

50. Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1958), 53–54.

51. Claudius of Turin, *XXX quaestiones super libros regum*, PL 104: 657.

52. Rabanus Maurus, *Allegoriae in universam Sacram Scripturam*, PL 112: 1086.

53. Rosamond McKitterick, "Charles the Bald (823–877) and His Library: The Patronage of Learning," *English Historical Review* 95 (1980): 28–47, esp. 28–32.

54. Alan of Lille, *Liber in distinctionibus dictionum theologicalium*, PL 210: 986. Here Alan explores the range of meanings for the unguent, and this signals the significance of unction too.

55. Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae*, 54–57. For a discussion of a coronation text including Moses as an important figure, see C. A. Bouman, *Sacring and Crowning: The Development of the Latin Ritual for the Anointing of Kings and the Coronation of an Emperor before the Eleventh Century* (Groningen, the Netherlands: J. B. Wolters, 1957), 90 and 164.

56. He was anointed after his election as king: "He was taken immediately to Toledo and was anointed as king in the church of St Mary." *The Chronicle of Alfonso III*, in *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain*, trans. Kenneth Baxter Wolf (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1990), cap. 1, p. 159. By the middle of the seventh century, Toledo had assumed a prominent position in ecclesiastical affairs; for more on this, see Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400–1000* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 71.

57. A. Barbero and M. I. Loring, "The Catholic Visigothic Kingdom," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 1, ed. Paul Fouracre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 361.

58. Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 49.

59. Eleventh Council of Toledo (675), PL 84: canon 16, col. 465.

60. O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, 49.

61. Ibid., 49–50.

62. R. A. Markus, *Gregory the Great and His World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997; repr., 1999), 1–33.

63. Gregory the Great, *In primum regum expositiones*, 4.3.63, in PL 79: 277.

64. Ibid., 4.5.1, in PL 79: 278.

65. Ibid., 4.5.2, in PL 79: 279.

66. R. H. Helmholz, "The Bible in the Service of the Canon Law," *Chicago-Kent Law Review* 70 (1995): 1580.

67. Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, trans. Catharine Misrahi (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961), 34–35. Such works included texts of canon law, and as an example of the circulation of these works in Iberia, the Liber Tarraconensis included selections from Gregory's work. Some of this material appeared in Gratian's *Decretum* as well. See Gérard Fransen, "Appendix Seguntina, Liber Tarraconensis et Décret de Gratien," *Revista española de derecho canónico* 45 (1988): 32–33.

68. Marcia L. Colish, *Peter Lombard* (London, New York, and Cologne: E. J. Brill, 1994), 2:612–613.

69. John R. H. Moorman, *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1946), 100–101.

70. Peter Linehan, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 78. See also Rudolf Beer, "Handschriftenschätze Spaniens," *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Classe* 129 (1893): 19–20 and 72.

71. Bloch, *Royal Touch*, 37.

72. Walter Ullmann, *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship* (London: Methuen and Co., 1969), 77–78.

73. Bloch, *Royal Touch*, 37–38.

74. Ibid., 35. In the third appendix of his book, Bloch gives more information on early royal anointing ceremonies and consecrations; see 262–274.

75. Bloch, *Royal Touch*, 268.

76. Ullmann, *Carolingian Renaissance*, 81.

77. Hincmar of Reims, *Coronationes regiae*, PL 125: 807, 809–810, 815–816. On Hincmar's importance in these liturgical and spiritual developments concerning the Frankish monarchy, see Percy Ernst Schramm, *Der König von Frankreich*, 2nd ed. (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger,

1960), 1:54–61. Schramm also indicates that anointing ceremonies like this one would become significant for other areas, including Aragon; see 1:62.

78. Janet L. Nelson, "Kingship, Law, and Liturgy in the Political Thought of Hincmar of Rheims," *English Historical Review* 92 (1977): 241–279, esp. 241–250.

79. From the *Ordo* of Louis the Stammerer (877), in *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, ed. Richard A. Jackson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 1:121. For a brief discussion of this passage, see Michael J. Enright, *Iona, Tara and Soissons: The Origin of the Royal Anointing Ritual* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1985), 156.

80. As in these phrases, for example: "Tunc ab episcopo metropolitano ungantur manus de oleo sanctificato, ita dicendo: 'Ungantur manus istae de oleo sanctificato. unde uncti fuerunt reges et prophetae. sicut unxit Samuel David in regem. ut sis benedictus et constitutus rex in regno isto super populum istum'"; García-Gallo, *Manual de historia del derecho español*, no. 821; 2:581–582.

81. Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae* (Grottaferrata, Italy: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, 1981), 4.23.2.

82. Philippe Buc, "'*Vox clamantis in deserto*?' Pierre le Chantre et la prédication laïque," *Revue Mabillon* 65 (1993): 19–20.

83. Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (Westminster, UK: Dacre Press, 1945), 23.

84. Ibid., 41, 125, and 339.

85. Nicholas M. Haring, "The Interaction between Canon Law and Sacramental Theology in the Twelfth Century," in *Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. Stephan Kuttner (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1976), 483.

86. Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, vol. 3, *The Growth of Medieval Theology (600–1300)* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 211.

87. Haring, "The Interaction between Canon Law and Sacramental Theology," 484.

88. I. S. Robinson, *The Papal Reform of the Eleventh Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 1.

89. Ibid., 1.

90. Giles Constable, "Cluny in the Monastic World of the Tenth Century," *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* 38 (1991): 391–437; repr. with original pagination as section I of Giles Constable, *Cluny from the Tenth to the Twelfth Centuries* (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 2000), esp. 414–417.

91. Gonzalo Martínez, "Canonística española pregraciana," in *Repertorio de historia de las ciencias eclesiasticas en España*, vol. 1 (Salamanca, Spain: Imp. "Calatrava" Libreros, 1967), 394.

92. Stephan Kuttner, "Notes on a Projected Corpus of Twelfth-Century Decretal Letters," *Traditio* 6 (1948): 345.

93. Local collections important for Iberia during this period include material from Sigüenza and Tarragona, and these works contain material from such diverse sources as Pope Gregory I, the *Panormia* of Ivo of Chartres, and the *Decretum* of Gratian; see Fransen, "Appendix Seguntina," 31–34.

94. On Sancho Ramírez's journey to Rome, see H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII 1073–1085* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 470 and n225. See also Joseph F. O'Callaghan, "The Integration of Christian Spain into Europe: The Role of Alfonso VI of León-Castile," in *Santiago, Saint-Denis, and Saint Peter: The Reception of the Roman Liturgy in León-Castile in 1080*, ed. Bernard F. Reilly (New York: Fordham University Press, 1985), 103; and see additionally O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, 202.

95. Damian J. Smith, "Sancho Ramírez and the Roman Rite," *Studies in Church History* 32 (1996): 96. Smith gives additional comments on Sancho's pilgrimage to Rome in *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragon: The Limits of Papal Authority* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 48.

96. "[C]um annis essem vigintiquinque et iam tunc, Deo volente, in honore beati Petri limina libens adii, meque regnumque meum in Dei et eius potestate tradidi, et ut sibi serviem semper in mente habui, quamvis sicut deberem opera non complevi." From the *Collectio Britannica* 27a, in Robert Somerville and Stephan Kuttner, *Pope Urban II, the Collectio Britannica, and the Council of Melfi (1089)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 97–98.

97. Somerville and Kuttner, *Pope Urban II*, 98.

98. Edmond-René Labande, "'Ad limina': le pèlerin médiéval au terme de sa démarche," *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, ed. Pierre Gallais and Yves-Jean Riou (Poitiers, France: Société d'Etudes Médiévales, 1966), 1:289.

99. *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, ed. and trans. Frederick Behrends (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), letter 5, pp. 14–17.

100. "Si quis Romipetas et peregrinos, apostolorum limina et aliorum sanctorum oratoria visitantes, capere seu rebus quas ferunt spoliare vel mercatores novis teloneorum seu pedaticorum exactionibus molestare tentaverit, donec satisfecerit, communione careat Christiana." First Lateran Council, can. 14, in *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, 3rd. ed., ed. Joseph Alberigo et al. (Bologna: Istituto per le scienze religiose, 1973), 169; this canon was incorporated into Gratian's *Decretum* as C. 24 q. 3 c. 23. Citations to the *Decretum* of Gratian appear according to causa, question, and *capitulum*; texts appear in the *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. Emil Friedberg, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1879; repr. Graz: Akademische Druck–u. Verlagsanstalt, 1959).

101. Gratian included the text of the canon in his *Decretum*, C. 24 q. 3 c. 25: "Illi, qui peregrinos, uel oratores cuius cumque sancti, sive clericos, sive monachos, uel feminas, aut inermes pauperes depredati fuerint, uel bona eorum rapuerint, uel in malum eis obviauerint, anathematis uinculo feriantur, nisi digne emendauerint. I. Pax vero illos, quam treugam Dei dicimus, sic obseruetur, sicut ab archiepiscopui uniuscuiusque provinciae constituta est. Qui autem eam infregerit excommunicationi subdatur."

102. James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 13.

103. The phrase "therapy of distance" is from Alphonse Dupront; see the discussion of this point in Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 87.

104. David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 58–59.

105. "Nunc vero, sicut in praesentia Deo devoti domini Roberti regi Francorum principumque ejus et optimatum, qui cum eo venerunt ad limina apostolorum, et reclamatori legatione dilectissimi filii nostri Odilonis ejusdem loci abbatis percepimus"; From Benedict VIII, *Liquidem est*, in PL 139: cols. 1601–1602. Popes had a long-standing interest in fostering close relationships with monasteries since they could bolster their alliances and increase the level of influence emanating from Rome; Gerd Tellenbach, *Church, State, and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, trans. R. F. Bennett (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1948), 156–157. For more on Gregory V and the roles of other tenth-century popes in this process, see H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 70.

106. Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927; repr., 1971), 46.

107. Cowdrey, *Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*, 220.

108. *Epistolae pontificum Romanorum ineditae*, ed. S. Löwenfeld (Leipzig, 1885; repr., Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck–u. Verlagsanstalt, 1959), no. 83, pp. 43–44; Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, 24.

109. *Epistolae pontificum Romanorum ineditae*, no. 82, p. 43. For discussions of the particulars surrounding this letter, see Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, 24; O'Callaghan, "The Integration of Christian Spain," 102.

110. Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c. 970–c. 1130* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993; repr., London: Sandpiper Books, 1998), 74–76.

111. I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073–1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 274.

112. Carl Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. Marshall W. Baldwin and Walter Goffart (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University

Press, 1977), 209–210. I. S. Robinson also addresses the subject of fighting in "Gregory VII and the Soldiers of Christ," *History* 58 (1973): 167–192.

113. Erdmann, *Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, 201–202.

114. Robinson, *Papacy, 1073–1198*, 274.

115. *Liber feudorum maior*, ed. Francisco Miquel Rosell (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1945), doc. 501; 2:16–17 at 17.

116. Benedict VIII made these arrangements in his letter *Desiderium*, PL 139: 1606–1607.

117. Elena Lourie, "The Confraternity of Belchite, the *Ribat*, and the Temple," *Viator* 13 (1982): 168n37; repr. with original pagination as section II of *Crusade and Colonisation: Muslims, Christians and Jews in Medieval Aragon* (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1990); A. J. Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 6 and 22.

118. Lourie, "Confraternity of Belchite," 166–167.

119. Ibid., 167.

120. Carlos Laliena Corbera, "Expansión territorial, ruptura social y desarrollo de la sociedad feudal en el valle del Ebro, 1080–1120," in *De Toledo a Huesca: Sociedades medievales en transición a finales del siglo XI (1080–1100)*, ed. Carlos Laliena Corbera and Juan F. Utrilla Utrilla (Zaragoza, Spain: Institución "Fernando el Católico," 1998), 208.

121. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, 145–146.

122. Thus, consider the interests in remission of sin found in canon 10 of the First Lateran Council (1123) (issued with the approval of Pope Calixtus II), *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, 167–168; and in *Quantum praedecessores*, Pope Eugenius III's letter authorizing the Second Crusade, in PL 180: cols. 1064–1066. These remissions were general rather than specific. In both cases, Popes Calixtus II and Eugenius III exhibited pastoral concerns for the general spiritual welfare of the participants on these expeditions similar to those of Pope Alexander II; see Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, 147.

123. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, 147–153.

124. Lourie, "Confraternity of Belchite," 168–169.

125. Ibid., 173.

126. Ibid., 173n52.

127. Peter Rassow, "La cofradía de Belchite," *Anuario de historia del derecho español* 3 (1926): 224. On Alfonso I's support of the creation of this confraternity, see 206–214.

128. *Documentación de la Catedral de Burgos*, ed. José Manuel Garrido Garrido and F. Javier Pereda Llarena (Burgos, Spain: Ediciones J. M. Garrido Garrido, 1983), docs. 117 and 118; 1:205–208. *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi (Florence, 1759; repr., Paris: H. Welter, 1902) [hereafter cited as Mansi], 21:503–504, gives a brief report of this council's work but does not include its canons.

On the lack of surviving canons for this council, see R. A. Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 207.

129. José Maria Lacarra, "La restauración eclesiástica en las tierras conquistadas por Alfonso el Batallador (1118–1134)," *Revista portuguesa de história* 4 (1947): 286.

130. Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 40; Lourie, "Confraternity of Belchite," 166.

131. More specifically, the locations include Poitiers and Tarragona. The Liber Tarraconensis, for example, arose within the context of Gregory VII's reform efforts and interests. Its compilers probably drafted it at Poitiers in west central France. Some time thereafter, the text ended up in Tarragona, and that location has given this collection its designation. For additional details, see Uta-Renate Blumenthal, "The Papacy and Canon Law in the Eleventh-Century Reform," *Catholic Historical Review* 84 (1998): 214.

132. Ibid., 211.

133. *The Register of Pope Gregory VII 1073–1085*, trans. and ed. H. E. J. Cowdrey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), letter 1.6, pp. 5–7.

134. Ibid., letter 1.7, pp. 7–8.

135. *The Epistolae Vagantes of Pope Gregory VII*, ed. and trans. H. E. J. Cowdrey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 56–58.

136. O'Callaghan, "Integration of Christian Spain," 105–113. Abbot Hugh of Cluny assisted in the negotiations between Gregory and Alfonso VI of León-Castile; the connections linking Cluny to the reform papacy compose much of H. E. J. Cowdrey's *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*. Additionally, the Roman liturgy replaced the Mozarabic liturgy in Aragon at San Juan de la Peña in 1071; for more on this, see *Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña*, 19.

137. Quoted in Paul Kehr, "Cómo y cuándo se hizo Aragón feudatario de la Santa Sede: Estudio diplomático," *Estudios de edad media de la Corona de Aragón* 1 (1945): 315.

138. Peter Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 172–173. Linehan believes that Bishop García may have misled Gregory concerning the work of his father, Ramiro.

139. *Register of Gregory VII*, letter 1.64, 68n4.

140. Ibid., especially 68nn6–8.

141. Ibid., 67–68.

142. Ibid., 68.

143. Roger E. Reynolds, "Liturgical Scholarship at the Time of the Investiture Controversy: Past Research and Future Opportunities," *Harvard Theological Review* 71 (1978): 112.

144. Antonio Ubieto Arteta, "La introducción del rito romano en Aragón y Navarra," *Hispania sacra* 1 (1948): 299 and 310–311.

145. *Register of Pope Gregory VII*, letter 1.63, p. 66. The letter from Sancho to which Gregory refers has been lost; 66n2.

146. Ibid., letter 1.63, p. 67.

147. As Gregory indicated in *Gratias omnipotenti*, issued between 1076 and 1085, *Epistolae Vagantes of Pope Gregory VII*, no. 65, pp. 146–149.

148. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, 25–28.

149. Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber ad amicum*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Libelli de Lite*, vol. 1 (Hanover, 1891), 9.8–9, p. 620. Though Bonizo of Sutri's *Liber ad amicum* arose within the circle of Pope Gregory VII's supporters, a priest named Gregory commissioned it, not Gregory VII himself; see Blumenthal, "Papacy and Canon Law," 208.

150. Irnerius was a legal expert in Matilda's courts in 1113 and served as a judge there in 1116. By 1118, he was serving as a judge in the courts of Emperor Henry V; see Enrico Spagnesi, *Wernerius Bononiensis iudex: La figura storica d'Irnerio* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1970), esp. docs. 2, 3, 11, and 12. These documents give a rough outline of his career, though questions remain about some of the details, for which Spagnesi provides comments. For the activity of Irnerius in separating the studies of law and rhetoric, see Haskins, *Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, 199.

151. Sally N. Vaughn, "The Concept of Law at the Abbey of Bec, 1034–1136," in *Law and Learning in the Middle Ages*, ed. Helle Vogt and Mia Münster-Swendsen (Copenhagen: DSØF Publishing, 2006), 180.

152. Lois L. Huneycutt, "Images of Queenship in the High Middle Ages," *Haskins Society Journal* 1 (1989): 66 and 68.

153. Sally N. Vaughn, "St. Anselm and Women," *Haskins Society Journal* 2 (1990): 93.

154. According to the terms of *Fili in Christo* (1089), in *Epistolae pontificum Romanorum ineditae*, no. 130, p. 63.

155. *La documentación pontifica hasta Inocencio III*, 53–54.

156. *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums und des römischen Katholizismus*, 3rd ed., ed. Carl Mirbt (Tübingen, Germany: Mohr, 1911), no. 231, pp. 112–113. The Council of Melfi issued 16 canons dealing with ecclesiastical reform. Mansi did not include *In consilio* among the additional texts detailing specific events during the council; see Mansi 20: cols. 721–724 for the canons, and cols. 724–728 for the additional texts.

157. Cowdrey, *Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*, 220.

158. Raymonde Foreville, "La place de Latran III dans l'histoire conciliaire du XIIe siècle," in *Le troisième concile de Latran (1179)*, ed. Jean Longère (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1982), 14.

159. *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, 3rd ed., ed. Joseph Alberigo et al. (Bologna: Istituto per le scienze religiose, 1973) [hereafter cited as *COD*], 205.

160. *COD* 205.

161. "Aragonensibus" is one term used to describe a number of variant groups in the canon: *COD* 224–225.

162. Mansi 22: 668.

163. Ibid., 673–674.

164. Johannes Fried, *Der päpstliche Schütz fur Laienfürsten* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1980), 75.

165. In *Gratias omnipotenti*, *Epistolae Vagantes of Pope Gregory VII*, no. 65, pp. 146–149; esp. at pp. 148–149.

166. Ibid.

167. Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae*, 112.

168. Giles Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995; pap. ed. 1998), 160.

169. C. Clifford Flanigan, "The Roman Rite and the Origins of the Liturgical Drama," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 43 (1974): 264. Here Flanigan stresses the impulse for imitation and the desire to repeat earlier beneficial experiences. These observations have resonance for considering ritual in general and pilgrimage in particular.

170. Karl F. Morrison, *The Mimetic Tradition of Reform in the West* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), 157.

171. R. J. Schoeck, "'Lighting a Candle to the Place': On the Dimensions and Implications of *Imitatio* in the Renaissance," *Italian Culture* 4 (1983): 124–125.

172. James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from St. Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1974), 62–63.

173. Constable, *Three Studies*, 150.

174. Gerhart B. Ladner, *The Idea of Reform: Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers*, rev. ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), 1–5.

175. Ibid., 3.

176. "Ecce Thomas noster, Joseph alter, rejecto pallio fugiens, jam adulterae manus non veretur. Ecce Thomas noster, alter in spiritu et virtute Helyas, pilis camelorum vestitur. Ecce virgo alter electus a Domino, qui relicta sindone, cilicio super nudo amictus, viros sanguinum, inimicos cruces Christi, fugiens, novi Regis vexillum novus tiro in cilicio sequitur." Herbert of Bosham, *Vita Sancti Thomae, Archiepiscopi et Martyris*, in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. James Craigie Robertson, Rolls Series no. 67 (London, 1877), 3.6, p. 193.

177. "Illius novi Regis jam tiro novus, cujus vox in psalmo, 'Ego autem, cum mihi molesti essent, induebar cilicio': et item, 'Posui,' inquit, 'vestimentum meum cilicium, et factus sum illis in parabolam." Herbert of Bosham, *Vita Sancti Thomae*, 3.6., Ps. 35:13 [34:13 in the Vulgate]: "But as for me, when they were sick, I wore sackcloth; I afflicted myself with fasting." Ps. 69:11 [68:12 in the Vulgate]: "When I made sackcloth my clothing, I became a byword to them."

178. Gervase of Canterbury, *Chronica*, in *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. William Stubbs, Rolls Series no. 73 (London, 1879): 1:172–173.

4   Law, Spirituality, and the Practice of Ethics

1. "Les assemblees de Pau i Treva i l'origen de la Cort General de Catalunya," in *Les corts a Catalunya: Actes del congrés d'historia institucional*, ed. Gener Gonzalvo i Bou, (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, Department de Cultura, 1991), 72; and Gener Gonzalvo i Bou, *La pau i treva a Catalunya: origen de les corts catalanes* (Barcelona: Edicions de la Magrana/Institut Municipal d'Història Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1986), 55.

2. *Les constitucions de pau i treva de Catalunya (segles XI–XIII)*, ed. Gener Gonzalvo i Bou (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya/Departament de Justícia, 1994) [hereafter cited as CPTC], 76–77.

3. *Alfonso II Rey de Aragón, Conde de Barcelona y Marqués de Provenza: documentos (1162–1196)*, ed. Ana Isabel Sánchez Casabón (Zaragoza, Spain: Institución "Fernando el Católico," 1995), doc. 149, cap. 1, p. 221.

4. Ibid., cap. 2, p. 222.

5. Ibid.

6. Thomas N. Bisson, "The Crisis of the Catalonian Franchises," in *La formació i expansió del feudalisme català*, ed. Jaume Portella i Comas (Girona, Spain: Col.legi Universitari de Girona, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 1985), 154.

7. Ibid., 171.

8. Thomas N. Bisson, *Tormented Voices: Power, Crisis, and Humanity in Rural Catalonia, 1140–1200* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1998), 20–21.

9. Ibid., 21.

10. Ibid., 24–26.

11. André Debord, "The Castellan Revolution in Aquitaine," in *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*, ed. Thomas Head and Richard Landes (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 1992), 142.

12. Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994; repr., 1996), 261.

13. Thomas N. Bisson, "The Rise of Catalonia: Identity, Power, and Ideology in a Twelfth-Century Society," in *Medieval France and Her Pyrenean Neighbours* (London and Ronceverte, WV: Hambledon Press, 1989), 144. Part of Alfonso's prologue is instructive here, where he mentions the role of the barons after the ecclesiastical officials: "Omnibus magnatibus sive baronibus terre mee, quia unanimiter omnibus iustum et equm visum est, et communi utilitati expedire ut in dicta terra

mea...pax et treuga instiuatur, et nephanda raptorum et predomum audacia exterminetur" (CPTC, 76–77).

14. CPTC, 74–82, especially 76.

15. Ibid., 83–91, especially 85.

16. Gonzalvo i Bou, *La pau i treva a Catalunya*, 62; and Gonzalvo i Bou, "Les assemblees de Pau i Treva," 73.

17. CPTC, 114–128, especially 127.

18. In *The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 114, Paul Freedman believes that the peasants did not fare well at all after Peter's *curiae* of 1200 and 1202 presumably because they further expanded the use of Peace and Truce legislation to the Count of Barcelona's advantage. Mistreating peasants could have placed Peter in a precarious position, given his connections with the papacy, if complaints about Peter's behavior reached the pope.

19. Claude Devic and Joseph Vaissette, *Histoire générale de Languedoc* (Paris, 1737) [hereafter cited as HGL], 3:108.

20. Gerónimo Zurita y Castro, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, mod. Antonio Ubieto Arteta and María Desamparados Pérez Soler (Valencia, Spain: Anubar, 1967), 2:132.

21. HGL 3:108.

22. Diego Monfar y Sors, *Historia de los condes de Urgel*, vol. 1, in *Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo general de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. Próspero de Bofarull y Mascaró (Barcelona, 1853), 9:426; and Zurita y Castro, *Anales de la corona de Aragón*, 2:132.

23. "A Salsis usque ad Dertusam et Ilerdam, cum finibus suis, pax et treuga instituatur," in CPTC, 117.

24. HGL 3:116; and Zurita y Castro, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, 2:135.

25. Monfar y Sors, *Historia de los condes de Urgel*, 1:428–429.

26. Luis González Antón, *Las cortes de Aragón* (Zaragoza, Spain: Libreria General, 1978), 47.

27. "Establit es que totz e cad'aun ayuden lo synor rey e sos omnes qui tenen algun son loc a defender e a gardar sas entrad'as e los camins, e totz jos judeus e.ls moros, e totz los uianantz priuatz êstrayntz, e las ferias totas e totz los alters homnes, e las ordens e totz los alters clergies, e pazes e totas tregoas, e todas las regalias e totz locs, e uid'uas encara e orfens." *El fuero de Jaca*, ed. Mauricio Molho, Fuentes Para la Historia del Pirineo I (Zaragoza, Spain: Escuela de Estudios Medievales/Instituto de Estudios Pirenaicos, 1964), 166–167.

28. Alan Watson, *Roman Law and Comparative Law* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1991), 243.

29. For an important study of *utilitas*, see Gaines Post, *Studies in Medieval Legal Thought: Public Law and the State, 1100–1322* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964), 241–309, especially 253–276 for this period.

30. H. E. J. Cowdrey, "The Peace and the Truce of God in the Eleventh Century," *Past and Present* 46 (1970): 42–43; repr. with original pagination as section VII of H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Popes, Monks and Crusaders* (London: Hambledon Press, 1984). Carl Erdmann also mentions the Carolingian precursors to the Peace of God movement in *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. Marshall W. Baldwin and Walter Goffart (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), 60.

31. Cowdrey, "Peace and the Truce of God," 43–44; Bisson, "Peace of God, Truce of God," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, vol. 9 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1987), 473.

32. Cowdrey, "Peace and the Truce of God," 43. There is an account of these proceedings in the *Chronicon Monasterii Sancti Petri Aniciensis*, in *Cartulaire de L'Abbaye de St-Chaffre du Monastier Ordre de Saint-Benoît suivi de la Chronique de Saint-Pierre du Puy*, ed. Ulysse Chevalier (Paris, 1888), 152–154.

33. Cowdrey, "Peace and the Truce of God," 42–43; and *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi (Florence, 1759; repr., Paris: H. Welter, 1902) [hereafter cited as Mansi], 19, col. 90.

34. Cowdrey, "Peace and the Truce of God," 43–44.

35. *Noticias históricas del condado de Besalú* (ca. 977): "Et quisquis infra nos terminos pacem et trevam fregerit," quoted in *El lenguaje tecnico del feudalismo en el siglo XI en Cataluña*, ed. Eulalia Rodón Binué (Barcelona: Escuela de Filologia, 1957), 248.

36. Cowdrey, "Peace and the Truce of God," 44; Mansi 19, cols. 483–484. Gener Gonzalvo i Bou has edited a new version of this council (along with many other Catalan ecclesiastical and governmental assemblies) in CPTC, 3–5.

37. CPTC, 4.

38. Cowdrey, "Peace and the Truce of God," 44.

39. Sister Karen Kennelly, "Catalan Peace and Truce Assemblies," *Studies in Medieval Culture* 5 (1975), 41.

40. Thomas N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 24.

41. Paul Freedman, *The Diocese of Vic: Tradition and Regeneration in Medieval Catalonia* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1983), 27.

42. CPTC, 3–5, 6–7, and 8–11 respectively.

43. Jeffrey A. Bowman, "Councils, Memory and Mills: The Early Development of the Peace of God in Catalonia," *Early Medieval Europe* 8 (1999): 108–109.

44. Ibid., 105.

45. Ibid., 113–114.

46. Archibald R. Lewis, *The Development of Southern French and Catalan Society, 718–1050* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965), 317 and 379. There is a brief account of the 985 sacking of Barcelona and the

1002–1003 attack on the same city in *The Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña*, trans. Lynn H. Nelson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 45.

47. Lewis, *Development of Southern French and Catalan Society*, 380.

48. Patricia Humphrey, "Ermessenda, Countess of Barcelona" (PhD diss., University of Kansas, 1996), 100.

49. Ibid., 100–101.

50. Ramon D'Abadal i De Vinyals, *L'abat Oliba, bisbe de Vic, i la seva época* (Barcelona: Aymà, 1948), 234.

51. Bowman, "Councils, Memory and Mills," 105 and 107.

52. Noreen Hunt, *Cluny under Saint Hugh, 1049–1109* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968), 24.

53. Ibid., 24.

54. H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 135.

55. Sister Karen Kennelly, "Sobre la paz de Dios y la sagrera en el Condado de Barcelona (1030–1130)," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 5 (1968): 109.

56. Hunt, *Cluny under Saint Hugh*, 127.

57. The phrase "multiplier effect" is from David S. Spear; on this effect as well as the activity of the members of a bishop's circle, see Spear's "The Norman Empire and the Secular Clergy, 1066–1204," *Journal of British Studies* 21 (1982): 8–10. For the linkage of this process to the development of textual communities, see Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), 88–92 and 151–240.

58. Gonzalvo i Bou, *La pau i treva a Catalunya*, 27.

59. Josep M. Mas i Solench, *Les corts a la corona catalano-aragonesa* (Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau, 1995), 19; CPTC, 12–19 and 36–39.

60. Gonzalvo i Bou, *La pau i treva a Catalunya*, 32–33. In Barcelona in 1064, they and a number of Catalan bishops took steps for enforcement. At Girona in 1068, anyone breaking the peace and truce was subject to penalties of anathema and excommunication; see CPTC, 19 and 39 respectively.

61. Hans-Werner Goetz, "Protection of the Church, Defense of the Law, and Reform: On the Purposes and Character of the Peace of God, 989–1038," in Head and Landes, *Peace of God*, 270.

62. Gonzalvo i Bou, *La pau i treva a Catalunya*, 41. Donald J. Kagay provides many insights into the composition of the Usatges along with an historiographical appraisal of how historians discovered that a code purporting to date from the time of Raymond Berenguer I actually dates from the time of Raymond Berenguer III; *The Usatges of Barcelona: The Fundamental Law of Catalonia*, ed. Donald J. Kagay (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 1–58.

63. Eugen Wohlhaupter, *Studien zur Rechtsgeschichte der Gottes- und Landfrieden in Spanien* (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1933), 48–49.

64. Gonzalvo i Bou, *La pau i treva a Catalunya*, 45–48.

65. Hartmut Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede und Treuga Dei*, Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica 20 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1964), 217–225.

66. Ibid., 229.

67. Second Lateran Council, canon 20: "Sane regibus et principibus facultatem faciendae iustitiae, consultis archiepiscopis et episcopis, non negamus." *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, 3rd ed., ed. Joseph Alberigo et al. (Bologna: Istituto per le scienze religiose, 1973) [hereafter cited as *COD*], 202. Aryeh Graboïs discusses this point in "De la trêve de Dieu à la paix du roi. Etude sur les transformations du mouvement de la paix au XIIe siècle," in *Mélanges René Crozet* (Poitiers, France: Société des Etudes médiévales, 1966), 1:591; repr. with original pagination as section I of *Civilisation et société dans l'Occident médiéval* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1983).

68. *COD* 199–200.

69. Ivo of Chartres, *Panormia*; from the Provisional Edition of the *Panormia* of Ivo of Chartres, edited by Bruce Brasington and Martin Brett, http://www.the-orb.net/libindex.html (accessed June 13, 2004), 8.147 (Appendix). On the continuing interest in the Truce of God during the twelfth century, see Graboïs, "De la trêve de Dieu," 587.

70. Kathleen G. Cushing, *Papacy and Law in the Gregorian Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 19–20.

71. *Digest* 1.7.1, in *The Digest of Justinian*, vol. 1, ed. Theodor Mommsen, Paul Kreuger; trans. and ed. by Alan Watson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985).

72. Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 70.

73. These observations, along with the following story, are heavily dependent upon the *Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña*, ch. 23, pp. 41–43.

74. *Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña*, 43.

75. James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 3–29.

76. Cushing, *Papacy and Law*, 19–20.

77. Ibid., 20.

78. Post, *Studies in Medieval Legal Thought*, 84, 90, 112, and 120.

79. *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries by Thierry of Chartres*, ed. Karin M. Frebrorg (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1988), 2.56.169.

80. Ibid., 2.56.168.

81. A term similar to *utilitas* appeared in Peter's *generalis curia* session of 1200 in Barcelona; see CPTC 114–125.

82. CPTC, 116.

83. CPTC, 69.

84. CPTC, 76.

85. CPTC, 94.

86. Josep Pons i Guri, "Corpus iuris," in *Documents jurídics de la història de Catalunya* (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya/Departament de Justícia, 1992), 120.

87. See Post, *Studies in Medieval Legal Thought*, 241–309.

88. Cicero, *De officiis* 3.31, in *De officiis*, ed. M. Winterbottom (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

89. Cicero, *De inventione* 1.38.68, in Cicero, *De inventione, De optimo genere oratum, Topica*, trans. H. M. Hubbell, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, 1960).

90. Ibid. 1.38.69.

91. Cicero, *Pro Sestio* 42.91, in Cicero, *Pro Sestio and In Vatinium*, trans. R. Gardner, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, 1966).

92. Eleanor Rathbone, "Roman Law in the Anglo-Norman Realm," *Studia Gratiana* 11 (1967): 262.

93. In Charles Homer Haskins, "A List of Text-Books from the Close of the Twelfth Century," in *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing, 1960), 372; information on dating at 359–360.

94. *Digest* 1.7.1.

95. *Digest* 9.3.1.1. Bruce W. Frier provides a discussion of this quasi-delict in *A Casebook on the Roman Law of Delict* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 228.

96. Michael H. Hoeflich, "The Concept of *Utilitas Populi* in Early Ecclesiastical Law and Government," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung* 67 (1981): 36–74. Jean Gaudemet has shown that many ancient and early medieval authors declared an interest in public utility or other similar terms; "Utilitas Publica," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 29 (1951): 465–499.

97. The term for "useless" is *inutilis*; Hoeflich, "Concept of *Utilitas Populi*," 63.

98. Ibid., 46.

99. Ibid., 47.

100. Walter Ullmann, *Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages* (London: Methuen and Co., 1966), 67–68.

101. Raymonde Foreville, "Royaumes, métropolitains et conciles provinciaux: France, Grande-Bretagne, Péninsule ibérique," in *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della "Societas Christiana" dei secoli XI–XII*, Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali VII (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1971), 303.

102. Ernst H. Kantorowicz discusses Oldradus de Ponte's work on this issue in *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), 287–288.

103. *Siete Partidas* 2.1.8, cited in Post, *Studies in Medieval Legal Thought*, 118.

104. Post, *Studies in Medieval Legal Thought*, 112. Ullmann also mentions the close relationship to *quod omnes tangit* in *Principles of Government and Politics*, 186.

105. Richard M. Fraher, "The Theoretical Justification for the New Criminal Law of the High Middle Ages: 'Rei publicae interest, ne criminae remaneant impunita,'" *University of Illinois Law Review* 3 (1984): 577–595, esp. 578–579. Innocent detailed his thinking in *Ut famae* (1203), and the key phrase regarding public utility is in this decretal. *Ut famae* appears in the *Liber Extra* as X 5.39.35 (the standard abbreviation for the *Liber Extra* is the letter X, and the citation provides the book, title, and *capitulum* as they appear in the *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. Emil Friedberg [Leipzig, 1879; repr. Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1959].), and Fraher quotes from it here at 578n7.

106. Ullmann, *Principles of Government and Politics*, 83–84.

107. Edward Peters, *The Shadow King: Rex Inutilis in Medieval Law and Literature, 751–1327* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1970), 136.

108. Ibid., 134: "'Clamores multiplices praelatorum et aliorum regni Portugalie.'"

109. Ibid., 138.

110. Ibid., 138–139.

111. Ibid., 139–140, and note the following from a portion of *Grandi* cited at 139n6: "Tam pro saepe dicti regis quam ipsius regni utilitate."

112. Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *The Cortes of Castile-León, 1188–1350* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 15.

113. James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law* (London and New York: Longman, 1995), 225.

114. Joaquim Miret i Sans, "Escolars catalans a estudi de Bolonia en la XIIIa centuria," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 8 (1915): 138.

115. A charter from April 24, 1218, places him in Bologna: *San Raimundo de Penyafort: Diplomatario*, ed. José Rius Serra (Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona/Facultad de Derecho, 1954), 6–7.

116. Guillem M. de Broca, "Juristes y jurisconsults Catalans dels segles XI, XII, y XIII, fonts dels seus coneixements y trascendencia que exerciren," *Anuari* 2 (1908): 435–436.

117. Fraher, "Theoretical Justification for the New Criminal Law," 592.

118. Thus: "Iustitia est constans et perpetua voluntas ius suum cuique tribuens." In *Justinian's Institutes*, trans. Peter Birks and Grant McLeod, Latin text of Paul Krueger (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987), 1.1.1.

119. Stephan Kuttner, "A Forgotten Definition of Justice," *Studia Gratiana* 20 (1976): 91, repr. with original pagination as section V of *The History of Ideas and Doctrines of Canon Law in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1992).

120. Augustine made similar statements in his *City of God*. There, he said that a people comprised a group of rational humans bound by a common consensus regarding the objects of their love. The love and the consensus would help everyone govern themselves. Without these qualities, a group of people would be unable to experience justice. See *The City of God against the Pagans*, ed. R. W. Dyson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998; repr., 2002), 19.24.

121. R. J. Schoeck, *Erasmus of Europe* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), 1:91.

122. For example, judicial procedure was developing rapidly during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. During these years, jurists transferred the rules governing judicial procedure from the area of positive law to that of natural law. As Kenneth Pennington has pointed out, "The result of this shift was a significant limitation on the prince's authority. Since fundamental procedural norms were a part of natural law, the prince could not take these rights away from his subjects." Thus the rights owed to the members of the community receive greater emphasis. All of this has implications for the steady development of the multifaceted concepts of justice and community. See Kenneth Pennington, "Due Process, Community, and the Prince in the Evolution of the *Ordo iudiciarius*," *Rivista internazionale di diritto commune* 9 (1998): 10.

123. R. H. Helmholz, "Ethical Standards for Advocates and Proctors in Theory and Practice," in *Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. Stephan Kuttner (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1976), 286.

124. R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London: Cresset Library, 1987), 140–141.

125. Friedrich Merzbacher, "Alger von Lüttich und das Kanonische Recht," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung* 66 (1980): 237.

126. Ibid., 242.

127. Thus: "Utilitas, iusti prope mater et aequi," from *Satires* 1.3.98; quoted in Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask, new pap. ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 131.

128. Margaret Switten, *The Cansos of Raimon de Miraval: A Study of Poems and Melodies* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1985), no. 4 (stanzas 2 and 3), pp. 144–145.

129. Ibid., no. 4 (stanzas 4 and 6), pp. 145–146.

130. L. T. Topsfield, *Troubadours and Love* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 223.

131. Aelred of Rievaulx, *Spiritual Friendship*, trans. Mary Eugenia Laker (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1977), 3.125–3.126. Also see the discussion of these issues in C. Stephen Jaeger, *Ennobling*

Love: In Search of a Lost Sensibility (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 110–112.

132. Jaeger, *Ennobling Love*, 113.

133. Etienne Gilson, *The Mystical Theology of St. Bernard*, trans. A. H. C. Downes (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1990), 10–13.

134. 1 John 4:18.

135. Gilson, *Mystical Theology*, 31.

136. Lucy K. Pick, *Conflict and Coexistence: Archbishop Rodrigo and the Muslims and Jews of Medieval Spain* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 79.

137. C. S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), 87–88.

138. Ibid., 88.

139. Curtius, *European Literature*, 66–67.

140. James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from St. Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1974), 289.

141. Peter Dronke, "Medieval Rhetoric," in *The Medieval Poet and His World* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1984), 12.

142. R. W. Southern, "The Schools of Paris and the School of Chartres," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson, Giles Constable, and Carol D. Lanham, repr. ed. (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press in association with the Medieval Academy of America, 1991), esp. 113–118.

143. Peter Dronke, "New Approaches to the School of Chartres," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 6 (1971): 117–140.

144. Helen Waddell, *The Wandering Scholars*, 7th ed. (London: Constable; New York: Barnes and Noble, 1966); D. E. Luscombe, *The School of Peter Abelard: The Influence of Abelard's Thought in the Early Scholastic Period* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

145. Dronke, "Medieval Rhetoric," 9.

146. Ibid., 11.

147. Gerhart B. Ladner, *The Idea of Reform: Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers*, rev. ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), 347 and 377.

148. Ibid., 377.

149. Ibid., 373–377.

150. Schoeck, *Erasmus of Europe*, 2:264–265.

151. David Herlihy, "Family," in *Women, Family and Society in Medieval Europe: Historical Essays, 1978–1991*, ed. A. Molho (Providence, RI, and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1995), 120–121.

152. The twelfth century remains a pivotal period for examining these trends; see Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996; pap. ed., 1998).

153. Dronke, "Medieval Rhetoric," 9–11.

**5   The Matrimonial Adventures of Peter II
of Aragon and Marie of Montpellier**

1. *Liber feudorum maior*, ed. Francisco Miquel Rosell (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1945), 2:347, doc. 877. Also, the compilers of the *Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña* mention that Raymond Berenguer III added Provence to Barcelona and the rest of his holdings; see *The Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña*, trans. Lynn H. Nelson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 49.

2. Thomas N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 26.

3. Ferran Soldevila, *Història de Catalunya* (Barcelona: Editorial Alpha, 1963), 132.

4. *Liber maiolichinus de gestis Pisanorum illustribus*, Storia d'Italia 29 (Rome: Forzani, 1904), p. 17, lines 256–263, and p. 22, lines 417–422. See also Marco Tangheroni, "Economia e navigazione nel mediterraneo occidentale tra XI e XII secolo," *Medioevo: saggi e rassegne* 16 (1993): 11.

5. Charles Higounet, "Un grand chapitre de l'histoire du XIIe siècle: la rivalité des maisons de Toulouse et de Barcelona pour la prépondérance méridionale," in *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge dédiés á la memoire de Louis Halphen* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1951), 317–318.

6. Ibid., 318.

7. Fredric L. Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 2001), 254.

8. John Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire*, 2nd ed. (London: Arnold Publishers; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 18, 29–30.

9. Richard Benjamin, "A Forty Years War: Toulouse and the Plantagenets, 1156–96," *Historical Research* 61 (1988): 276–282.

10. Ibid., 282.

11. Ibid., on the deaths and the ending of the struggle described by William of Newburgh.

12. This is according to the *Chronicle of Tortosa*: "Era M.CC.XVI. anno M.C.LXXVIII. idus Septembris sol in tenebris conversus est: in mense Julio et rex Petrus natus est." *Chronicon Dertusense II*, in *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, ed. Jaime Villanueva (Madrid, 1806), 5:239.

13. Margaret Switten, "Marie de Montpellier: La femme et le pouvoir en occitanie au douzieme siècle," in *Actes du premier congrès international de l'association internationale d'études occitanes*, ed. Peter T. Ricketts (London: A.I.E.O./Westfield College, 1987), 485.

14. In 1190, he appears as procurator of Provence: "Preterea Barralus qui tunc temporis generalem Regis Arragonensis procurationem habebat in Provincia." *Gallia Christiania novissima Arles*, no. 675, col. 121, quoted in Marie-Louise Carlin, *La pénétration du droit romain dans les actes de la pratique provençale (XI–XIIIe siecle)* (Paris: Librairie Generale de Droit et de Jurisprudence, 1967), 203; also see 203n151.

15. Martin Aurell, *Les noces du comte: mariage et pouvoir en Catalogne (785–1213)* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1995), 430.

16. Ibid., 430–431. Johannes Vincke includes the text of her marriage agreement to Bernard IV of Comminges in "Der Eheprozess Peters II. Von Aragon (1206–1213)," *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* 5 (1935): 175–177.

17. In his summary of William's allegations in *Ad audientiam nostrum* (December 28 and 29, 1201), Innocent included this statement: "Memoratum comitem, ut uxorem suam, quam abjecit illicite, revocet et eam maritali affectione pertractet" (Vincke, "Der Eheprozess," 177).

18. David Herlihy, "The Making of the Medieval Family: Symmetry, Structure, and Sentiment," in *Women, Family and Society in Medieval Europe: Historical Essays, 1978–1991*, ed. A. Molho (Providence, RI, and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1995), 142.

19. John T. Noonan, "Marital Affection in the Canonists," *Studia Gratiana* 12 (1967): 479–509, especially 481, 482–483, 496, 500, 507, 509.

20. Vincke, "Der Eheprozess," 177.

21. Ibid.; and Aurell, *Les noces du comte*, 431.

22. This was *Ad audientiam nostrum*, issued on December 28 and 29.

23. Paul Amargier, "La politique matrimonial du comte Bertrand [*sic*] de Comminges," *Revue de Comminges* 92 (1979): 176–177.

24. Later Saint Raymond de Penyafort included it in the *Liber Extra*: X 4.17.13. (Cited from *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. Emil Friedberg, 2 vols. [Leipzig, 1879; repr., Graz, Austria: Akademische druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1959].) It was one of Innocent's most comprehensive and detailed statements on the relationship between church and state. For more treatments of this subject, see Kenneth Pennington, "Pope Innocent III's Views on Church and State: A Gloss to *Per venerabilem*," in *Law, Church and Society: Essays in Honor of Stephan Kuttner*, ed. Kenneth Pennington and Robert Somerville (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977), 49–67; and Brian Tierney, "'*Tria quippe distinguit iudicia*'…A Note on Innocent III's Decretal *Per venerabilem*," *Speculum* 37 (1962), 48–59.

25. Amargier, "La politique matrimonial," 177. Amargier reports this but does not indicate where he found the documentation.

26. Charles Higounet, *Le Comté de Comminges de ses origins à son annexion à la couronne* (Paris and Toulouse: E. Privat, 1949; repr., Saint-Gaudens: al'Adret, 1984), 86.

27. "Set quando Bernardonus reliquit dominam Mariam, audivit dici, quod divide poterant per consanguinitatem." Quoted from the depositions of January 28, 1212; Vincke, "Der Eheprozess," 181.

28. Marie's subsequent marriage to Peter would not have been valid without a divorce from Bernard IV; for more on the necessity of obtaining a divorce under these circumstances, see James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987; repr., 1990), 346.

29. Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Barcelona, Pergaminos de Pedro II, no. 118; also note Joaquim Miret i Sans, "Itinerario del rey Pedro I en Cataluña, II en Aragón," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 3 (1905–1906): 247.

30. *Layettes du tresor des chartes*, ed. Alexandre Teulet (Paris, 1863–1909; repr., Nendeln, Lichtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1977), 1:252–254. Jean Baumel describes these arrangements in *Histoire d'une seigneurie du midi de la France: Naissance de Montpellier (985–1213)* (Montpellier, France: Editions Causse et Cie, 1969), 234–235. See also Aurell, *Les noces du comte*, 433.

31. Archibald R. Lewis, "Seigneurial Administration in Twelfth-Century Montpellier," *Speculum* 22 (1947): 576; reprinted with original pagination as section II of Archibald R. Lewis, *Medieval Society in Southern France and Catalonia* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1984).

32. Baumel, *Histoire d'une seigneurie*, 96–97.

33. Stephen P. Bensch, *Barcelona and Its Rulers, 1096–1291* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 231.

34. Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Barcelona, Pergaminos de Pedro II, 154.

35. Olivia Remie Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 107–233.

36. Archivo Diocesano de Barcelona, Sta. Ana 6, Hill Museum and Manuscript Library, no. 70.

37. In 1169, Alfonso II confirmed the holdings of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre in Calatayud; *Alfonso II rey de Aragón, Conde de Barcelona y Marqués de Provenza: documentos (1162–1196)*, ed. Ana Isabel Sánchez Casabón (Zaragoza, Spain: Institución "Fernando el Católico, 1995), doc. 61, p. 102.

38. Gerónimo Zurita y Castro, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, mod. Antonio Ubieto Arteta and María Desamparados Pérez Soler (Valencia, Spain: Anubar, 1967), 2:145.

39. *Manual de historia del derecho español*, ed. Alfonso García-Gallo (Madrid: Artes Gráficas y Ediciones, 1975), 2:584, no. 822.

40. Claude Devic and Joseph Vaissette, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1731), no. 83, pr. 204–206 [hereafter cited as HGL]. Innocent III confirmed this agreement with *Cum illius locum* (April 13, 1207), addressed to the consuls and people of Montpellier, in *La documentación pontifica hasta Inocencio III (965–1216)*, ed. Demetrio Mansilla (Rome: Instituto Español de Estudios Eclesiásticos, 1955), 384.

41. *Spicilegium: sive, Collectio veterum aliquot scriptorium*, ed. Luc d'Achery (Paris, 1723; repr., Farnborough, UK: Gregg Press, 1967–1968), 1:567–568.

42. Miret i Sans, "Itinerario," 372: "Firmiter a domino Rege marito meo requisite, ut laudarem pactiones et conventiones . . . facta ab ipso futurorum sponsalium contrahendorum inter R. filium R. comitis Tolosani . . . et Sanciam, filiam meam et prenomininati domini P. Regis . . . considerans

supradictas conventiones ad magnum detrimentum mei esse, illas lau-
dare nec confirmare nolui concedere."

43. Ibid., 372–373: "Dixit quod, nisi illa laudabam, deinceps ville
Montispessulani…vel pertinentiis eiusdem continenti aliquod non
prestaret consilium, immo ea omnia in perpetuum derelinqueret, quia
nolebat terram, honorem nec uxorem, vel alia quelibet, cuius volun-
tatem suam facere non valeret…et super his ipse dictus dominus rex
iratus coram me recessit."

44. Ibid., 153.

45. Higounet, *Le Comté de Comminges*, 81n38.

46. In his autobiography, James said that his birth was a miracle, given
the animosity between his parents. He also said that one of his father's
associates, William of Alcala, arranged for Peter and Marie to meet at
Miraval. *The Book of Deeds of James I of Aragon*, trans. Damian Smith and
Helena Buffery (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), cap. 5.

47. Vincke, "Der Eheprozess," 122, and 164–166 for the document.

48. *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*, ed. Reinhold Röhricht (Oeniponti, 1904;
repr., New York: Burt Franklin, 1969), 2:52, no. 797a.

49. Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge:
Cambridge University Press, 1998), 45–46 and 228.

50. Henri Vidal, "Les marriages dans la famille des Guillems, seigneurs de
Montpellier," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 62 (1984): 239.

51. André Gouron, "L''invention' de l'impot proportionnel au Moyen
Age," *Comptes rendus des séances: Academie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*
1 (1994): 246.

52. Jonathan Riley-Smith, "Family Traditions and Participation in the
Second Crusade," in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. Michael
Gervers (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 102–105; and Riley-
Smith, *First Crusaders*, 44–46. On the *fideles*, see also Monika Gude,
"Die *fideles sancti Petri* im Streit um die Nachfolge Papst Gregors VII,"
Frümittelalterliche Studien 27 (1993): 290–291, 309. On support for cru-
sading activities, see H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian
Reform* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 221–222.

53. ACA, Pergaminos de Pedro II, nos. 26 and 39.

54. ACA, Pergaminos de Pedro II, no. 49.

55. Rafael Torrent, *Genealogía y gestas de los nobles de Crexell* (Olot, Spain:
Imp. Aubert, 1953), 29.

56. *La documentación pontifica hasta Inocencio III (965–1216)*, 369–370. The
document was dated at Ferentino on June 17, 1206. The judges del-
egate were John Tarazona, bishop of Pamplona; Peter of Castelnau; and
Ralph, a monk of the Cistercian abbey of Frontfroide.

57. Ibid.

58. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, 193.

59. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 45.

60. Peter W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374*
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 28–29.

61. On the Montferrat family connection, see Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 191–192.
62. Ibid., 46.
63. HGL 2:211–212.
64. This is an important theme in Lluis Nicolau d'Olwer, *L'expansió de Catalunya en la Mediterrània oriental* (Barcelona: Editorial Barcino, 1926).
65. This was on February 16, 1210; see Vincke, "Der Eheprozess," 167. The new judges delegate were Bishop Hugo of Riez, Bishop Raymond of Uzès, and Abbot Arnald of Cîteaux. They received their instructions from Innocent in his letter *Transmissa nobis carissimus*, instructing them to hear and settle the case.
66. Amell handled most of Peter's case, but he was not Peter's only proctor.
67. Vincke, "Der Eheprozess," 167 and 182–183.
68. This is a term from Roman law that denoted the beginning of a case by calling witnesses. It was in use at least from the classical period of Roman law, and for its use in discharging obligations, see *The Institutes of Gaius*, trans. W. M. Gordon and O. F. Robinson (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), bk. 3, sec. 180. Also see R. H. Helmholz, "The *litis contestatio*: Its Survival in the Medieval *ius commune* and Beyond," in *Lex et Romanitas: Essays for Alan Watson*, ed. Michael Hoeflich (Berkeley, CA: Robbins Collection, 2000), 73–89, especially 74–77 for this period.
69. Vincke, "Der Eheprozess," 167–169. For more on exceptions, see Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, 410–411.
70. Vincke, "Der Eheprozess," 169–171.
71. Ibid., 171–174.
72. Ibid., 180–181.
73. Ibid., 184–186.
74. Ibid., 186–188.
75. Ibid., 189.
76. The chroniclers stated that Peter obtained his sobriquet "the Catholic" ("*el católico*") because he always supported the church. They also stated that Peter went to Toulouse in support of his sisters, not any of the church's opponents. *Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña*, 56 and 61.
77. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, trans. W. A. and M. D. Sibly (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 1998), 192.
78. Ibid., 193.
79. *La documentación pontifica hasta Inocencio III (965–1216)*, 536–537.
80. Ibid., 537–538.
81. The phrase is from Saint Augustine, in his *de bono coniugali*; see Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe*, 238.
82. Ibid., 239.
83. The relevant passage from the *Decretum* is C. 27 q. 2 c. 36; see Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe*, 273–274.

6   Mediterranean Communities in
Competition and Conflict

1. Bernard F. Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain, 1031–1157* (Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992), 174.

2. Ferran Soldevila, *Història de Catalunya* (Barcelona: Editorial Alpha, 1963), 132.

3. *Liber maiolichinus de gestis Pisanorum illustribus*, Storia d'Italia 29 (Rome: Forzani, 1904), 17, lines 256–263.

4. "Cui nomen Raimundus erat, qui laudis equestris / Fructus innumeros clarosque paraverat actus, / Hispanos cuius terror commoverat hostes" (Ibid., lines 261–263).

5. Ibid., 22, lines 417–422.

6. Reilly, *Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain*, 174.

7. Marco Tangheroni, "Economia e navigazione nel mediterraneo occidentale tra XI e XII secolo," *Medioevo: saggi e rassegne* 16 (1993): 11.

8. *The Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña*, trans. Lynn H. Nelson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 50.

9. Reilly, *Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain*, 174.

10. Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: the Limousin and Gascony, c.970–c.1130* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993; repr., Sandpiper Books, 1998), 108.

11. Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 218–219. The terms for Raymond Berenguer III included *dux pyrenus* and *Catalanicus heros*.

12. Bull, *Knightly Piety*, 108; and Reilly, *Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain*, 140, 159–160. More work remains to clarify the details concerning Boso's legation. He continued to work with Catalan clergy after the Balearic campaign as demonstrated by his letter *Venerabilibus* to Bishop Berengar of Girona, Bishop Raymond of Vic, and Archdeacon Peter of Barcelona, in *Papsturkunden in Spanien*, vol. 1, ed. Paul Kehr (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1926), 308–309.

13. "Devotione tue, karissime fili, congratulamur, quod inter curas bellicas, b. potissimum Petri optas munimine confoveri…Super hoc ad expugnandos mauros ac moabitas in Hispanie partibus, et Tortosam eorum presidium obsidendam animi nobilio industriam paras." In *La documentación pontifica hasta Inocencio III (965–1216)*, ed. Demetrio Mansilla (Rome: Instituto Español de Estudios Eclesiásticos, 1955), 69–70.

14. *Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña*, 51 and 119n187.

15. Elsayed Abel Aziz Salem, "Algunos aspectos del florecimiento económico de Almería islámica durante el período de los taifas y de los Almorávides," *Revista del Instituto Egipico de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid* 20 (1979–1980): 22.

16. Mario Chiaudano, "Sviluppi del diritto marittimo nel tardo Medio Evo," *Rivista di storia del diritto italiano* 46 (1975 for 1973): 192.

17. Claude Cahen, "Un texte peu connu relative au commerce oriental d'Amalfi au Xe siècle," *Archivo storico per le province napoletane* 73 (1955): 65.

18. S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), 1:40.

19. Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (2000; repr., Malden, MA, and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2004), 35.

20. Goitein, *Mediterranean Society*, 1:43.

21. Olivia Remie Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: The Commercial Realignment of the Iberian Peninsula, 900–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 114.

22. *Alfonso II Rey de Aragón, Conde de Barcelona y Marqués de Provenza: documentos (1162–1196)*, ed. Ana Isabel Sánchez Casabón (Zaragoza, Spain: Institución "Fernando el Católico," 1995), doc. 65, pp. 107–109.

23. *Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña*, 51.

24. *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, ed. Jaime Villanueva (Madrid, 1806): 5:249–250. The letter of Gelasius II to which Raymond Berenguer IV referred is *Tarraconensis civitatis* (1118), PL 163: 490.

25. Bull, *Knightly Piety*, 109.

26. *Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña*, 51.

27. Roberto Lopez, "Il predominio economico dei Genovesi nella Monarchia Spagnola," *Giornale storico e letterario della Liguria* 11 (1936): 70.

28. Geo Pistarino, "Liguria e Genova nel medioevo," "Genova medievale tra oriente e occidente," and "Genova e l'occitania," in *La capitale del mediterraneo: Genova nel medioevo* (Bordighera, Italy: Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, 1993), 52, 71, and 195, respectively.

29. Roger Le Tourneau, *The Almohad Movement in North Africa in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969), 72–73.

30. See the comments of al-Tadili regarding a figure flourishing around the year 1208 who, over the course of his career, lived in southern Morocco, Egypt, the Canary Islands, and the Sudan. See the portion of al-Tadili's work in *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources for West African History*, trans. J. F. P. Hopkins, ed. Nehemia Levtzion and J. F. P. Hopkins (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2000), 156.

31. Ibn Khaldun, *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale*, trans. Baron de Slane, 2nd ed. (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1927), 2:183–188, 192–196; O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, 236.

32. Ibn Khaldun, *Histoire des Berbères*, 2:195.

33. Ibid.; O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, 237.

34. Ibn Khaldun, *Histoire des Berbères*, 2:199.

35. O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, 237.

36. Leopoldo Torres Balbas, "Atarazanas hispanomusulmanas," *Al-Andalus* 11 (1946): 182.

37. Hermínia Maria de Vasconcelos Alves Vilar, "Uma fronteira entre poderes: as dioceses de Évora e da Guarda no nordeste alentejano," *Revista de Guimarães* 106 (1996): 251–274.

38. Ibn 'Idhari al-Marrakushi, *Al-Bayan al-Mughrib: Nuevos fragmentos almorávides y almohades*, trans. Ambrosio Huici Miranda (Valencia, Spain: Gráficas Bautista, 1963), 414–415; O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, 237. By the end of the twelfth century, it was clear that Santarém was very important in maintaining and advancing Christian communities on the frontier of the Tejo River in southwestern Portugal (this river is also known as the Tagus River). See Armando de Sousa Pereira, "Motivos bíblicos na historiografía de Santa Cruz de Coimbra dos finais do século XII," *Lusitania sacra*, 2a série, 13–14 for 20 (2001–2002): 317.

39. O'Callaghan, *History of Muslim Spain*, 237–238.

40. De Sousa Pereira, "Motivos bíblicos na historiografía de Santa Cruz de Coimbra," 316–317 and 320–322.

41. O'Callaghan, *History of Muslim Spain*, 237–238.

42. *Alfonso II Rey de Aragón*, doc. 281, pp. 378–380. The Treaty of Cazola has been also translated into English by James W. Brodman, "The Treaty of Cazola," in *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources*, ed. Olivia Remie Constable (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 162–163.

43. See the headnote to the treaty in Brodman, "The Treaty of Cazola," 162.

44. Brodman, "The Treaty of Cazola," 162, and *Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña*, 120n201.

45. *Alfonso II Rey de Aragón*, doc. 280, pp. 376–378.

46. Alfonso II and Fernando II made this agreement in 1162: *Alfonso II Rey de Aragón*, doc. 4, pp. 36–38.

47. The fleet may have an earlier origin, for apparently Raymond Berenguer I (1035–1076) requested its construction. Reilly, *Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain*, 72.

48. *Necrologio de la Iglesia de Tortosa*, Archivo de la Catedral de Tortosa, Hill Museum and Manuscript Library; fols. 278b, 285b, 287a, and 303b, respectively.

49. Robert I. Burns, *Islam under the Crusaders: Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth-Century Kingdom of Valencia* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973), 14.

50. *España Sagrada*, ed. Enrique Flórez et al. (Madrid, 1859), 42:318.

51. "Nec aliquid causa Ispaniae expugnandae, vel subjugandae, vel alia quacunque ocasione exigemus, seu requiremus"; *Viage literario*, 5:274.

52. "Dat. Ilerdae XI. cal. April. per manum Ferrarii notarii nostri, et mandato ejus script. a Petro Capellano Dertusae"; ibid.

53. He is listed after two viscounts and before one of Peter's other prominent associates, Michael of Lusia. His standing, therefore, seems equally prominent; ibid.

54. *Les constitucions de pau i treva de Catalunya (segles XI–XIII)*, ed. Gener Gonzalvo i Bou (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya/Departament de Justícia, 1994), 113 and 125 [hereafter cited as CPTC].

55. "Damus, concedimus et laudamus cum hac presenti scriptura perpetuo valitura vobis, Guillermo de Cervaria, et omni progeniei et posteritati vestre in perpetuum ad populandun et edificandum et meliorandum, locum illum nuncupatum Benifazza, in termino civitatis Dertuse…habeatis illum et possideatis cum omnibus supradictis plenarie et potenter, vos et posteri vestre omnes per nos et successores nostros omnes in feudum et honorem ad forum et consuetudinem Barchinone per secula cuncta"; Enric Guinot Rodríguez, *Les cartes de poblament medievals Valencianes* (Valencia, Spain: Generalitat Valenciana, 1991), 87–88.

56. "Manifestum sit tam presentibus quam futuris quod ego, Ildefonsis, Dei gratia rex Aragonum, comes Barchinone, marchio Provincie, laudo et concedo et dono tibi Pontio priori Dertuse et tuis, castrum de Beniphaçam quod est in montanna de Tres Eris cum terminis"; *Cartas de población y franquicia de Cataluña*, ed. José Maria Font Rius (Madrid and Barcelona: CSIC/Instituto de Historia "Jeronimo Zurita"/Escuela de Estudios Medievales, 1969) [hereafter cited as CPFC], 1:277.

57. "Tali vero conventu ut tu vel illi quibus hec omnia dimiseris et dederis, dones mihi et meis successoribus in perpetuum de omnibus que ex predictis populationibus exierint tam de pane quam de vino quam etiam de omnibus aliis exitibus que inde exierint fideliter medietatem, salva decima et primitia sedis Dertuse"; CPFC 1:278.

58. "Signum infantis Petri, Dei gratia filii eius…Signum Guillelmi de Cortone, notarii infantis Petri, qui hoc scripsit precepto domini regis, die et anno quo supra"; ibid.

59. Robert I. Burns, *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Reconstruction on a Thirteenth-Century Frontier* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 1:216–217.

60. Ibid., 1:216.

61. Burns, *Islam under the Crusaders*, 20.

62. CPFC 1:290.

63. "Predictum, vero, locum de meo in vestrum dominium transferens et potestatem cum omnibus terminis sicut dictum est et pertinentiis integre dono, laudo et concedo vobis, Gombaldo, dicto episcopo Dertusensi et universo conventui praesenti et futuro ut illum populare faciatis et habeatis illum in proprium, liberum et franchum alodium in perpetuum habendum, tenendum, et possidendum"; CPFC 1:290. For more on allods, see Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994; repr., 1996), 48, 52, 58–62; and William Chester Jordan, *Europe in the High Middle Ages* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2003), 15, 145, 181.

64. Archibald R. Lewis, *The Development of Southern French and Catalan Society, 718–1050* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965), 378–388.

65. "Sit notum cunctis quod nos Petrus, Dei gratia rex Aragonis et comes Barchinone, attendentes quod ecclesiam Dertusensem diligere multiplici ratione et ampliare tenemur...et vobis dilecto et familiari nostro Gombaldo honorabili eiusdem ecclesie episcopo et successoribus vestris in perpetuum, castrum de Ledó et castrum de Areins cum omnibus terminis et tenimentis et pertinentiis suis"; CPFC 1:319.

66. Ibid., 1:324–325.

67. "Ego Petrus, Dei gratia rex Aragonum et comes Barchinonae, asensu et consilio dominae matris meae Sanciae per eamdem gratiam reginae Aragonum, comitissae Barchinonae et marchionissae Provinciae...dono et concedo in perpetuum...locum illum desertum in terra nostra qui vocatur Alfama cum terminis suis inferius assignatis quatinus ibi hospitale"; ibid., 1:294.

68. Burns, *Crusader Kingdom of Valencia*, 1:182.

69. CPTC, 1:294–295.

70. "Illas libertates quas Raymundus Berengarii bonae memoriae, Dei gratia comes Barchinonae et princeps Aragonum, dedit et concessit habitatoribus Dertusae et quas dedit et afirmavit pater meus Ildefonsus, rex Aragonum, ipsis habitatoribus concedo et dono in perpetuum"; ibid.

71. "Si quis, huius donationis violator extiterit et contra illam venire contempserit vel in vobis sive in rebus vestris aliquam vim vel forciam fecerit mobilibus et immobilibus, regiam se noverit incurrisse ofensam et nostrae lesorem existere maiestatis"; ibid., 1:295. With this provision, Peter asserted jurisdiction over such cases. The articles on treason in the *Usatges of Barcelona* show the centrality of the lord's justice for these cases; see *The Usatges of Barcelona: The Fundamental Law of Catalonia*, trans. Donald J. Kagay (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), (articles 37–43), 73–75.

72. Eugeni Diaz Manteca, "El llibre de privilegis de l'Orde de Sant Jordi d'Alfama, de l'Arxiu del Regne de València," *Estudis Castellonencs* 3 (1986): 97. For additional details on their activities at Burriana during the siege of James the Conqueror, see Burns, *Crusader Kingdom of Valencia*, 1:182.

73. Gerónimo Zurita y Castro, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, mod. Antonio Ubieto Arteta and María Desamparados Pérez Soler (Valencia, Spain: Anubar, 1967), 2:164. The editors of this volume note, however, that they were unable to locate the document containing Peter's announcement of his intentions regarding Valencia; see 324n3.

74. Ambrosio Huici Miranda, *Historia musulmana de Valencia y su region* (Valencia: Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 1970), 3:208.

75. Miguel Gual Camarena, *Precedentes de la Reconquista Valenciana* (Valencia, Spain: CSIC/Instituto Valenciano de Estudios Historicos/Diputacion Provincial de Valencia, 1952), 208.

76. Ibid., 232–234.

77. Zurita y Castro, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, 2:165.

78. A. J. Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 35–36.

79. Ibid., 31.

80. Robert I. Burns, *Medieval Colonialism: Postcrusade Exploitation of Islamic Valencia* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975), 4.

81. Huici Miranda, *Historia musulmana de Valencia y su region*, 3:208.

82. Ambrosio Huici Miranda, *Estudio sobre la campaña de Las Navas de Tolosa* (Valencia, Spain: Imprenta Hijos de F. Vives Mora, 1916), 21.

83. Ibn 'Idari al-Marrakusi, *Al-Bayan al-Mugrib*, in *Colección de crónicas árabes de la Reconquista*, trans. Ambrosio Huici Miranda (Tetuán, Morocco: Editora Marroqui, 1953), 2:258.

84. O. R. Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain*, 106–107.

85. Robert I. Burns, "Piracy as an Islamic-Christian Interface in the Thirteenth Century," *Viator* 11 (1980): 165–166.

86. Eugene H. Byrne, *Genoese Shipping in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1930), 62.

87. The example Byrne gives in the case of contracts including well-known privateers comes from 1251; ibid., 62–63.

88. "Ego Rolandinus de Sancto Thoma confiteor me habuisse et recepisse mutuo a te Faciolo de Monelia sol. triginta quinque ian.,…promitto et convenio dare et solvere tibi vel tuo certo misso per me vel meum missum de uno alterum, ad modum cursus"; *Dieci documenti sulla storia della guerra di corsa*, ed. Robert Lopez (Casale Monferrato, Italy: Miglietta, 1938), 9.

89. "Renuncians capitulo civitatis Ianue de corsalibus, et omni auxilio legis et capitulorum quibus contra predicta me tueri possem"; ibid., 9.

90. Lopez suggests this dating in *Dieci documenti*, 9n1, where he also include a text of the statute: "Si quis vel si qua prestaverit alicui peccuniam in galea vel navi seu ligno alio quod vadat in cursum, nisi in lignis que iverint pro comuni Ianue in cursum vel occasione comunis, sine licentia consulum vel potestatis; ego, si inde ante me querimonia facta fuerit, non faciam ei inde iustitiam et hoc publice laudabo; et hoc capitulum locum habeat tempore pacis tantum." Giorgio Falco gives a brief discussion of two manuscript versions of this statute in "Un frammento statutario genovese del sec. XIII," *Bollettino storico-bibliografico subalpino* 37 (1935): 133–135.

91. David Abulafia, "The Norman Kingdom of Africa and the Norman Expeditions to Majorca and the Muslim Mediterranean," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 7 (1984): 30–31.

92. Michael Brett, "Muslim Justice under Infidel Rule: The Normans in Ifriqiya, 517–555 H/1123–1160 AD," in *Ibn Khaldun and the Medieval Maghrib* (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1999), 6.

93. Chiaudano, "Sviluppi del diritto marittimo," 196.

94. "Versa vice ego Andreas de Cafaro, legatus sive nuncios prenominatus per totum commune Ianue et universos homines totius eius districtus, absolve, diffinio et penitus remitto vobis domino Iacobo, Dei gratia

illustri regi Arag(onum) et regni Maioricarum, comiti Barchinonie et domino Montispesulani, omnes raubarias, iniurias, rapinas, toltas, fortias que facte fuerunt comuni Ianue vel quibuslibet aliis hominibus districtus Ian(uensis) ab himinibus vestre dominationis usque ad diem in quo navis que dicebatur Blasius capta fuit a venerabili patre vestro Petri, bone recordationis rege Aragon(um), comite Barchinonie et domino Montispesulani"; *I Libri iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, ed. Dino Puncuh (Genoa, Italy: Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali/ Ufficio centrale per i beni archivistici, 1996), 1/2: no. 300, pp. 75–76.

95. "Salvo tamen debito quod bos debitis comuni Ianue et antecessors vestry debuerunt pro precio tertie partis Tortuose"; ibid., p. 76.

96. Mario Chiaudano, "Genova e i Normanni: Note sulle relazioni tra Genovesi e Normanni dalla metà del sec. XII," *Archivio storico pugliese* 12 (1959): 74–78.

97. Steven A. Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese, 958–1528* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 51. Concerning the Genoese sale of their third of a share of Tortosa back to the Count of Barcelona, see additionally John Shideler, *A Medieval Catalan Noble Family: The Montcadas, 1000–1230* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1983), 102–103.

98. Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*, 120.

99. Diego Monfar y Sors, *Historia de los condes de Urgel*, in *Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo general de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. Próspero de Bofarull y Mascaró (Barcelona, 1853), 1:433; Eduardo Corredera Gutierrez, *Noticia de los condes de Urgel* (Lérida, Spain: Instituto de Estudios Ilerdenses, 1973), 121; Burns, *Crusader Kingdom of Valencia*, 1:129.

100. Monfar y Sors, *Historia de los condes de Urgel*, 1:455.

101. "Si contigerit me habere filium masculum antequam alius testamentum faciam volo quod sit ita de meo sicut continetur in cartis inter me et Petrum Ferrandum confectis salvo tamen in omnibus et per omnia jure Alvire Urgelensis comitisse sicut inferius in hoc testamento continebitur"; ibid., 1:454.

102. Simon Barton, *The Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century León and Castile* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 116. For additional particulars on his career, see Julio Gonzalez, *Reinado y diplomas de Fernando III* (Cordova, Spain: Publicaciones del Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Cordoba, 1980) 1:140. The compilers of the *Annales Compostellani* recorded his death in 1214; for this see the *Annales Compostellani*, in *Las crónicas latinas de la reconquista*, ed. Ambrosio Huici Miranda (Valencia, Spain: Hijos de F. Vives Mora, 1913), 1:77.

103. Charles Baudon de Mony, *Relations politiques des comtes de Foix avec la Catalogne* (Paris, 1896), 2:52–53. Peter Fernández also witnessed this document.

104. "Dictum est etiam, in composicione, quod P. Ferrandiz donet comiti Urgelli, pro hujusmodi solucione comitis de Fox, XXV millia solidorum barchinonensium." In ibid., 53. Peter Fernández witnessed this document as well.

105. "Et ideo ego E., Urgellensis comes, promitto et convenio vobis Raimundo Rotgerio, Fuxensis comiti, in bona fide et legalitate mea et in hominatico quod vobis facio, in hominatico quod a vobis recipio, me fore fidelem et legalem amicum vestrum de amiciciam [*sic*], contra cunctos homines et feminas et sine omni vestro malo ingenio. Adhuc convenio vobis dicto R., comiti Fuxi, me esse valetorem vestrum et coadjutorem de corpore et de evere et de honore ab omnibus personis, exceptis tamen Petrum Ferrandiz et Guillelmum de Cardona, absque ullo ingenio." In ibid., 2:60.

106. *Colección diplomatica de la catedral de Huesca*, ed. Antonio Duran Gudiol (Zaragoza, Spain: Escuela de Estudios Medievales/Instituto de Estudios Pirenaicos, 1969), 2:643–644.

107. Antonio Ubieto Arteta, *Historia de Aragón: los pueblos y los despoblados* (Zaragoza, Spain: Anubar Ediciones, 1986), 3:1241.

108. Thomas N. Bisson, *Fiscal Accounts of Catalonia under the Early Count-Kings (1151–1213)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 2:238–240. The relevant section dealing with Peter Fernández is, "Et si contingeret quod Petrus Ferrandi uel Geraldus de Capraria uel quilibet alius nollent accipere directum de ipso comitatu a domina Aluira comitissa Vrgelli et propter hoc facerent ei uel uobis guerram in ipso comitatu, promittimus uobis bona fide et sine aliquo ingenio ualere de illa guerra toto posse nostro" (2:239).

109. Zurita y Castro, *Anales de la corona de Aragón*, 2:158–161.

110. Bisson, *Fiscal Accounts of Catalonia*, 1:133.

111. "Cum igitur carissimus in Christo filius noster P[etrus] Aragonum rex illustris orthodoxe fidei zelo succensus, quam perfidia sarracenorum impugnat, ad expugnandum eos, sicut accepimus, viriliter se accingat, universitatem vestram monemus attentius et hortamur per apostolica vobis scripta precipiendo mandantes," in *La documentación pontifica hasta Inocencio III*, 436.

112. Ibid., 349.

113. Ibid., 349–350.

114. Ibid., 359.

115. Ibid., 351.

116. Ibid., 351–352.

117. Ambrosio Huici Miranda, *Las grandes batallas de la reconquista durante las invasiones africanas (almoravides, almohades y benimerines)* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos/Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1956), 228. For the text of *Significavit nobis*, see *La documentación pontifica hasta Inocencio III*, 472–473. He also sent copies specifically to the archbishop of Toledo and the bishops of Coimbra, Zamora, and Tarazona (ibid., 474–475). In the copy to these prelates, Innocent praised Fernando's proposal, stating that it was a "laudabile propositum" (ibid., 475).

118. *La documentación pontifica hasta Inocencio III*, 475–476. Fernando also received a copy of this letter (ibid., 476–477).

119. Huici Miranda, *Estudio sobre la campaña*, 22–23.

120. *La documentación pontifica hasta Inocencio III*, 500–501.

121. Ibid., 497–498.

122. Ibid.: "Quod sarraceni hoc anno intranter Yspaniam in multitudine gravi, quoddam castrum Cisterciensis ordinis fratrum, quod Salvaterra vocatur, hostiliter obsederunt, quod bellicis machinis infestantes ad ultimum occuparunt."

123. Ibid., 498: "Campestre illis bellum indixit in octavis Penthecosten proximo adfuturis."

124. *Chronica latina regum castellae*, ed. L. Charlo Brea, in *Chronica hispana saeculi XIII*, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medieualis* 73 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), 21.24–27, p. 57.

125. *La documentación pontifica hasta Inocencio III*, 511. It is difficult to estimate the size of crusading armies, and though smaller estimates may be more accurate than larger ones, one should use the estimates with caution. See Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951; repr., 1992) 1:336–341.

126. *La documentación pontifica hasta Inocencio III*, 512–513.

127. *Chronica latina regum castellae*, 22.43–48, p. 59: "In cetum abeunt proceres; conueniunt in temptorium regis Castelle, rex Aragonum et rex Nauarre, qui tunc iam aderat, licet cum paucis militibus aduenisset, archiepiscopi Toletanus et Narbonensis, nobilis uassallus regis gloriosi Didacus Lupi et alii magnates utriusque regni, deliberaturi quid in tanta necessitate agendum esset."

128. Huici Miranda, *Las grandes batallas de la reconquista*, 253.

129. *Chronica latina regum castellae*, 24.13–41, pp. 61–62.

130. Alfonso's claims may have been true, but he also minimized the roles of his allies as his description of the battle progressed: *La documentación pontifica hasta Inocencio III*, 513–515. The author of the *Chronica latina regum castellae* also stated that Alfonso led the charge through the enemy forces, breaking their line: 24.13–41, pp. 61–62.

131. Huici Miranda, *Las grandes batallas de la reconquista*, 261.

132. Ibid., 262–263.

133. Ibid., 264.

134. *La documentación pontifica hasta Inocencio III*, 519–521.

135. Huici Miranda emphasizes the personal contributions of Peter and Sancho in *Las grandes batallas de la reconquista*, 262n2.

136. From "Bel m'es q'ieu chant e coindei," or "It pleases me to sing and be agreeable," in Margaret Switten, *The Cansos of Raimon de Miraval: A Study of Poems and Melodies* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1985), no. 5 (stanza 7), p. 161.

137. Archibald R. Lewis discusses this campaign, as well as the other eleventh-century campaigns that culminated in the significant advantages the Genoese and Pisans would come to occupy in the Tyrrhenian Sea by the end of that century, in *Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean, AD 500–1100* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1951).

138. Brett, "Muslim Justice under Infidel Rule," 6.

139. The phrase "indirect rule" is from Brett, "Muslim Justice under Infidel Rule," 6.

140. Michael Brett, "Ifriqiya as a Market for Saharan Trade from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century AD," *Journal of African History* 10 (1969): 358–359; repr. with original pagination as section II of *Ibn Khaldun and the Medieval Maghrib*.

141. Dale R. Lightfoot and James A. Miller, "Sijilmassa: The Rise and Fall of a Walled Oasis in Medieval Morocco," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 86 (1996): 78–79.

142. Ibid., 78, 82, and 95.

143. Eugenia W. Herbert, "Aspects of the Use of Copper in Pre-Colonial West Africa," *Journal of African History* 14 (1973): 181.

144. James L. A. Webb Jr., "Toward the Comparative Study of Money: A Reconsideration of West African Currencies and Neoclassical Monetary Concepts," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 15 (1982): 455 and 457.

145. Lightfoot and Miller, "Sijilmassa," 82.

146. Ibid., 83.

147. Ibid., 97.

148. H. T. Norris, "New Evidence on the Life of 'Abdullah B. Yasin and the Origins of the Almoravid Movement," *Journal of African History* 12 (1971): 268.

149. Ronald A. Messier, "Quantitative Analysis of Almoravid Dinars," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 23 (1980): 102–118.

150. Michael Brett, "The Lamp of the Almohads: Illumination as a Political Idea in Twelfth Century Morocco," section VI of *Ibn Khaldun and the Medieval Maghrib*, 18.

151. Lightfoot and Miller, "Sijilmassa," 97.

152. Collen E. Kriger, "Mapping the History of Cotton Textile Production in Precolonial West Africa," *African Economic History* 33 (2005): 92–93 and 96–99.

153. Burns, *Medieval Colonialism*, 5.

154. René Dagorn, "Le document almohade de Poblet (1217)," *Cahiers de Tunisie* 23 (1975): 69–90. On Poblet and Catalonia, see Burns, *Crusader Kingdom of Valencia*, 1:215.

7   Fracturing a Regional Community, Part 1: Peter II and the Genesis of the Albigensian Crusade

1. John Hine Mundy, *Liberty and Political Power in Toulouse, 1050–1230* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954), 48.

2. Walter L. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade, and Inquisition in Southern France, 1100–1250* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1974), 59–60.

3. Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1923), 1:205–206.

4. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade, and Inquisition*, 60–61.

5. Philippe Wolff, "Civitas et burgus: L'exemple de Toulouse," in *Regards sur le Midi médiéval* (Toulouse: Privat, 1978), 203.

6. John Hine Mundy, *Society and Government at Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1997), 17, 20, and 22.

7. On the end of the expansion of Toulouse at the beginning of the Albigensian Crusade, see John Hine Mundy, "Urban Society and Culture: Toulouse and Its Region," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson, Giles Constable, and Carol D. Lanham (Toronto: University of Toronto Press and the Medieval Academy of America, 1991), 230. On the resumption of village (and villa) expansion near Toulouse after the end of the Albigensian Crusade, see Paul Ourliac, "Les villages de la région Toulousaine au XIIe siècle," *Annales* 4 (1949): 276.

8. See the two documents establishing a council of the commune; the first deals with the council and the laws of the city, whereas the second deals with matters of finance, trade, and security; *La commune de Toulouse et le sources de son histoire (1120–1249): Etude historique et critique suivie de l'édition du Cartulaire du Consulat*, ed. Roger Limouzin-Lamothe (Toulouse: Édouard Privat; Paris: Henri Didiér, 1932), 266–271 (docs. 4 and 5).

9. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade, and Inquisition*, 62–63.

10. Mundy, *Liberty and Political Power*, 67–68.

11. John Hine Mundy, *Studies in the Ecclesiastical and Social History of Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), 113 and 115.

12. Yves Dossat, "La clergé méridional à la veille de la Croisade Albigeoise," *Revue historique et littéraire du Languedoc* 1 (1944); repr. with original pagination as section I of *Eglise et hérésie en France au XIIIe siècle* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1982), 273.

13. Mundy, *Liberty and Political Power*, 48.

14. Ibid., 68.

15. Ibid., 68.

16. Ibid., 71.

17. *La commune de Toulouse*, 313–315 (doc. 26).

18. Laurent Macé, "Pouvoir comtal et autonomie consulaire à Toulouse: analyse d'une miniature du XIIe siècle," *Mémoires de la Société archéologique du Midi de la France* 62 (2002): 56.

19. *La commune de Toulouse*, 366–369 (doc. 55). On the merchant group at the heart of this consulate and its growth from 1202 to 1206, see Mundy, *Liberty and Political Power*, 67–68.

20. Note especially *The Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña*, trans. Lynn H. Nelson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 161n216.

21. Ibid., 56.
22. Ibid., 61.
23. Ibid., 161n216.
24. Charles Higounet, "Un grand chapitre de l'histoire du XIIe siècle: la rivalité des maisons de Toulouse et de Barcelona pour la prépondérance méridionale," in *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge dédiés á la memoire de Louis Halphen* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1951), 321.
25. Mundy, *Liberty and Political Power*, 67.
26. Ibid., 68.
27. José Lladonosa Pujol, "Marchands toulousains à Lérida aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles," *Annales du Midi* 70 (1958): 224.
28. Ibid., 227–228. The relevant section of William Huc's will, quoted from Joaquim Miret i Sans, *Les cases de Templers y Hóspitalers en Catalunya* (Barcelona: Impremta de la Casa Provincial de Caritat, 1910), 319, follows: "Volo et mando quod si ambo filii mei decesserint sine liberis sint alfondech in perpetuum in quo mercatores tolosani habitent et hospitent perpetuo et quod ipsi mercatores donent directum sive hostalagium sicut ius est ac consuetum manumissores vero predicti accipiant et colligant omnes exitus sive redditus predicti alfondech et operatorium sibi continuorum in omni vita ipsorum manumissorum. Post obitum vero manumissorum antedictorum et volo ut Capitulum Civitatis Tolose et suburbii habeant plenum posse et licitum in predicto alfondech et in operatoriis antedictis sibi continuis in perpetuum sicuti manumissores mei antedicti. Ita quod illud totum quod exierit ex dicto alfondech et operatoriis predictis Capitulum tolosanum donec singulis annis in perpetuum pro salute anime mee…" Material from this will also appears in Lladonosa Pujol, "Marchands toulousains à Lérida," 228n31. For a brief description of this same provision, see Mundy, *Society and Government*, 11.
29. "Dominus Johannes rex Angliae, habens in proposito ducere in uxorem filiam regis Portugalensium, cujus fama animum ejus pellexerat, ad eam perquirendam transmisit a Rotomago illustres et magnificos viros, scilicet episcopum Lisioensen, Willelmum de Stagno, Radulfum de Ardene, Hubertum de Burch, et alios plures, tam de Anglia quam de Normannia." Ralph de Diceto, *Imagines Historiarum*, in *The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto, Dean of London*, ed. William Stubbs, Rolls Series no. 68 (London, 1876), 2:170. John also sent instructions along with his messengers to Portugal, and though I have not yet seen instructions to this delegation, a communiqué from 1199 asks the Portuguese authorities to extend every courtesy to the messengers; *Foedera, conventiones, literae, et cujuscunque generis acta publica*, ed. Thomas Rymer, 17 vols. (London, 1726–1735), 1:113.
30. "Sed ipse, eorum saluti minus forte quam regiam deceret magnificentiam consulens, dum essent in itinere, ipsis nec preaemunitis, desponsavit Ysabel filiam unicam et haeredem comitis Engolismensis"; Ralph de Diceto, *Imagines Historiarum*, 2:170.

31. W. L. Warren, *King John* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), 73.

32. Ibid., 69–70.

33. Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. Joseph Stevenson, Rolls Series no. 66 (London, 1895), 128–129.

34. *Foedera*, 1:122.

35. Ralph V. Turner, "Eleanor of Aquitaine in the Governments of Her Sons Richard and John," in *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady*, edited by Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 87–91.

36. "Rursus omnes haereticos, Aragonenses, familias quae mainatae dicuntur, piratas quoque, et illos qui deferunt arma seu armamenta vel lignamina galearum aut navium Sarracenis, de consensu omnium sub anathemate posuit"; *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi (Florence, 1759; repr., Paris: H. Welter, 1901) [hereafter cited as Mansi], 22:668.

37. The relevant sections from *Ita quorumdam* include the following passages: "Sunt etiam qui pro sua cupiditate in galeis et piraticis Sarracenorum navibus regimen et curam gubernationis exercent…Praecipimus etiam ut per ecclesias maritimarum urbium crebra et solemnis excomunicatio proferatur in eos. Excommunicationis quoque poenae subdantur, qui Romanos aut alios christianos pro negotiatione vel aliis causis honesties navigio vectos, aut capere aut rebus suis spoliare praesumunt." *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, 3rd ed., ed. Joseph Alberigo et al. (Bologna: Istituto per le scienze religiose, 1973) [hereafter cited as *COD*]. 223. See also Raymonde Foreville, *Lateran I–IV* (Mainz, Germany: Matthias Grünewald Verlag, 1970), 186 and 259.

38. "Valdenses videlicet, qui vulgariter dicuntur Sabatati, qui et alio nomine se vocant pauperes de Lugduno, et omnes alios haereticos quorum non est numerus nec nomina sunt nota, a sancta Ecclesia anathematizatos, ab omni regno et potestativo nostro tanquam inimicos crucis Christi Christianaeque fidei violatores et nostros etiam regnique nostril publicos hostes exire ac fugere districte & irremediabiliter praecipimus"; Mansi, 22:673.

39. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade, and Inquisition*, 65–66.

40. *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Othmar Hagender and Anton Haidecker (Rome and Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1995), 6:127–129 esp. at p. 128. The key passage of *Si notasses melius* for this discussion is as follows: "Invaserunt enim iam gregem tibi commissum lupi rapaces, ex eo in tuum amplis sevientes ovile, quod velut canismutus latrare non valens nec eos latratu deterres nec boni pastoris exemplo animam tuam pro ovibus tuis ponis, sed fugis potius eis luporum morsibus derelictis. Ecce etenim, dum opus Dei negligenter exerces, vulpes parvule demoliuntur vineam et messem Dominicam facibus colligatis ad caudas adurunt, et bono heretici

absentee tue oportunitate captata, cuius utinam vel presentiam evitarent, perversa dogmata publice iam in provincia Narbonensi proponunt, quos, dum eis minus resistitur, multa sequitur populi multitudo." Innocent also preached a sermon on the theme of the Good Shepherd, stressing similar points as here concerning the necessity of protecting the flock of the community from heresy. For more on this theme, see Elaine Graham-Leigh, "Hirelings and Shepherds: Archbishop Berenguer of Narbonne (1191–1211) and the Ideal Bishop," *English Historical Review* 116 (2001): 1098.

41. Graham-Leigh, "Hirelings and Shepherds," 1096–1097.
42. Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania, 1145–1229* (Rochester, NY: York Medieval Press/Boydell Press, 2001), 138–139.
43. Dossat, "La clergé méridional," 276.
44. Gerónimo Zurita y Castro, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, mod. Antonio Ubieto Arteta and Maria Desamparados Pérez Soler (Valencia, Spain: Anubar, 1967), 2:132. On the border dispute between Foix and Urgel, see Claude Devic and Joseph Vaissette, *Histoire générale de Languedoc* (Paris, 1737), 3:108.
45. Dossat, "La clergé méridional," 276.
46. On Amaury's career in the Midi, see Martín Alvira Cabrer, "El *venerabile* Arnaldo Amalarico (h. 1196–1225): idea y realidad de un cisterciense entre dos cruzadas," *Hispania sacra* 48 (1996): 569–591, and Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy, and Crusade*, 138–161.
47. Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum* 1.5.21; quoted in Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy, and Crusade*, 152–153.
48. Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy, and Crusade*, 157.
49. Alvira Cabrer, "El *venerabile* Arnaldo Amalarico," 576.
50. Raymonde Foreville, "Innocent III et la Croisade des Albigeois," in *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, vol. 4, *Paix de Dieu et guerre sainte in Languedoc au XIIIe siècle* (Toulouse: Privat, 1969), 209.
51. Mansi, 22:756.
52. Richard Kay, "Mansi and Rouen: A Critique of the Conciliar Collections," *Catholic Historical Review* 52 (1966): 155–185.
53. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, trans. W. A. and M. D. Sibly (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 1998), 16–17, and see 16n2.
54. Ibid., 17.
55. Ibid., 28.
56. Ibid., 29. See especially the following passage: "One of our men, Dominic by name, a man of consummate piety, and a companion of the Bishop of Osma, put down in writing the authorities he had produced and handed the paper to a certain heretic so that they could discuss its contents."
57. Ibid., 30.

58. *La documentación pontifica hasta Inocencio III (965–1216),* ed. Demetrio Mansilla (Rome: Instituto Español de Estudios Eclesiásticos, 1955), no. 362, p. 384.

59. William of Tudela and an Anonymous Successor, *The Song of the Cathar Wars: A History of the Albigensian Crusade*, trans. Janet Shirley (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), laisse 2.

60. Ibid. The note about the possibility of two separate meetings occurs at 12n4.

61. Ibid., laisse 4. William called the squire "evil-hearted." Though William gives tantalizing details about the murderer, the actual identity of this person has never been established conclusively; see 13n4.

62. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 31. The full Latin text has been printed in *Layettes du trésor des chartes*, ed. Alexandre Teulet, 5 vols. (Paris, 1863–1909; repr., Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1977), 1:314–317.

63. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 31–32.

64. Ibid., 32.

65. Ibid., 32–33.

66. Ibid., 34–35.

67. Ibid., 35–36.

68. William of Tudela, *Song of the Cathar Wars*, laisse 5.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid., laisse 7.

71. Ibid.

72. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 47–48.

73. Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Barcelona, Pergaminos de Pedro II, no. 347. See also the discussion in Joaquim Miret i Sans, "Itinerario del rey Pedro I en Cataluña, II en Aragón," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 3 (1905–1906): 507.

74. William of Tudela, *Song of the Cathar Wars*, laisses 11–23.

75. Ibid., laisses 24–25.

76. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 49.

77. Ibid.

78. Ibid., 50.

79. Ibid., 50 and 50n33.

80. William of Tudela, *Song of the Cathar Wars*, laisses 26–30.

81. Matthew Strickland, *War and Chivalry: The Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy, 1066–1217* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 208–209.

82. Ibid., 218–219.

83. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 54.

84. Ibid., 56–59.

85. Ibid., 58. The editors comment on the lost letter of Innocent at n82.

86. Ibid., 58–59. The editors note the date of the abbot's reading of Innocent's letter at n83.

87. Ibid., 59.
88. Ibid. Donald Queller and Thomas Madden describe Simon's deter-
    mined opposition to the attack on Zara in Donald E. Queller and
    Thomas F. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*,
    2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 74–76
    and 92–93. Robert of Clari gives a similar account of Simon's reluc-
    tance to join the attack on Zara; see Robert of Clari, *The Conquest
    of Constantinople*, trans. Edgar Holmes McNeal (New York: Octagon
    Books, 1966), 44. Villehardouin describes Simon's departure from the
    crusading host to Hungary, but does not detail Simon's opposition to
    the attack on Zara; see *The Conquest of Constantinople* in *Joinville and
    Villehardouin: Chronicles of the Crusades*, trans. Caroline Smith (New
    York: Penguin Classics, 2008), sect. 109, p. 30.
89. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 61.
90. Ibid., 64.
91. Ibid., 65.
92. Thomas N. Bisson, *Medieval Crown of Aragon* (Oxford: Clarendon
    Press, 1991), 38; Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian
    Crusade*, 67n3.
93. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 67.
94. Ibid., 67–68.
95. Ibid., 68.
96. Ibid., 74.
97. Ibid., 81 and 81n21.
98. Ibid., 81.
99. Ibid.
100. Ibid.

8   Fracturing a Regional Community, Part 2: Peter II and the Conflicts of the Albigensian Crusade

1. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*,
   trans. W. A. and M. D. Sibly (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 1998),
   78. The translators mention the date of the beginning of Lent in 1210
   at 78n1.
2. William of Tudela and an Anonymous Successor, *The Song of the Cathar
   Wars: A History of the Albigensian Crusade*, trans. Janet Shirley (Aldershot:
   Scolar Press, 1996), laisse 50, p. 33.
3. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 78.
4. William of Tudela, *Song of the Cathar Wars*, laisse 49, p. 33.
5. Ibid., laisse 56, p. 36.
6. Ibid., laisse 57, pp. 36–37.
7. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 102 and
   also 102n6.

8. Ibid., 103.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid., 105–106.

11. Ibid., 107.

12. Ibid., 107–108. The translators mention Peter's "'evenhanded policy'" at 108n36. Innocent excommunicated Raymond with *Cum exspectaverimus* in March 1211, PL 216: 410–411.

13. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 108.

14. William of Tudela, *Song of the Cathar Wars*, laisse 62, p. 39.

15. Ibid., laisse 63, p. 39 and 39n5.

16. Ibid., laisses 63–66, pp. 39–40.

17. Ibid., laisses 63 and 66, pp. 39 and 41.

18. Ibid., laisse 67, p. 41.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid., laisse 68, p. 41 and 41n3. In 41n3, Janet Shirley notes that Aimery had surrendered Montréal and Laurac to Simon de Montfort after the crusaders took Minerve, but he believed that he had not been properly compensated for his surrender. Thus he went to join his sister at Lavaur.

21. Ibid., laisses 68 and 71, pp. 41 and 42.

22. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 110 and also 110n4.

23. Ibid., 113.

24. William of Tudela, *Song of the Cathar Wars*, laisse 59, pp. 37–38. Though the location is given as Arles in the text, the translator notes that it likely was Montpellier; 38n2.

25. Ibid., laisse 59, p. 38.

26. Ibid., laisse 60, pp. 38–39.

27. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 114.

28. Ibid., 114n26, where the translators mention the confraternity membership of these men.

29. John Hine Mundy, *Society and Government at Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1997), 25–26.

30. Ibid., 208.

31. William of Tudela, *Song of the Cathar Wars*, laisse 47, p. 32.

32. James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 145–149.

33. Ibid., 148.

34. Ibid., 149.

35. Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, *supplementum* q. 26 a. 3, in *Opera omnia*, vol. 4 (New York: Musurgia Publishers, 1950): "Respondeo dicendum quod Papa habet plenitudinem pontificalis potestatis, quasi rex in regno. Sed episcopi assumuntur *in partem sollicitudinis*, quasi iudices singulis civitatibus praepositi…Et ideo potestas faciendi indulgentias

plene residet in Papa." Aquinas left the supplement to his *Summa theologiae* incomplete at his death, and followers of his completed it by inserting selections from his works. See also Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, 153.

36. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 119.

37. Ibid., 112, 119–121.

38. Ibid., 125–126.

39. Ibid., 130n9.

40. Ibid., 129.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid., 129–130. The translators include specific information on Gaston of Béarn at 130n10. He had associated himself with Peter's policies as early as 1201; see his appearance in a witness list of that year in Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Barcelona, Pergaminos de Pedro II, 111.

43. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 130 and 130n12.

44. Ibid., 131.

45. Ibid., 131 and 131n17.

46. Ibid., 131–132.

47. Ibid., 136–137.

48. Ibid., 143 and 151.

49. Ibid., 152–166, 168.

50. Ibid., 168.

51. William of Tudela, *Song of the Cathar Wars*, laisse 114, p. 58.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid., laisse 115, p. 58. Concerning Hugh of Alfaro, Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay discussed his Navarrese origins when he described Hugh's custody of Penne: "The Count of Toulouse had entrusted this place to his Seneschal, a knight called Hugh d'Alfaro from Navarre to whom he had given an illegitimate daughter in marriage." *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 155.

55. William of Tudela, *Song of the Cathar Wars*, laisse 115, p. 58.

56. Thus, according to Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, Martin Algai was a "Spanish knight." *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 134.

57. William of Tudela, *Song of the Cathar Wars*, laisse 115, p. 59.

58. As reflected in the second stanza of the troubadour Raimon de Miraval's song "*Tot quan fatz de be ni dic*," or "It is fitting that my lady accept everything good I do or say." There the narrator of the song likens the power his lady has over him to being held prisoner by a Spanish mercenary; see Margaret Switten, *The Cansos of Raimon de Miraval: A Study of Poems and Melodies* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1985), no. 21 (stanza 2), p. 227.

59. William of Tudela, *Song of the Cathar Wars*, laisse 117, pp. 59–60. Also note Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade*,

164–165: "Meanwhile the townsmen of a nearby *castrum* belonging to the Count of Toulouse, called Castelsarrasin, came to our Count and surrendered to him."

60. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 160. See also William of Tudela, *Song of the Cathar Wars*, laisse 116, p. 59: "They put Martin Algai to a shameful death, dragged out by a horse, that is the proven truth, and then hanged in the meadow in the sight of all."

61. The siege of Moissac began shortly after the crusaders arrived there, which was "on the eve of the feast of the assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary," that is, on August 14, 1212. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 161 and 161n104.

62. Ibid., 162.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid., 162–163.

65. Ibid., 163.

66. A cat was similar to a covered wagon. It was "mounted on wheels or rollers, which could be dragged up to the walls of a besieged town or fortress and provide cover for besieging troops engaged in filling up a moat or ditch, or undermining a wall." Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 53n47.

67. Ibid., 164.

68. Ibid., 165.

69. Ibid.

70. "I believe they killed more than three hundred of them, and took possession of their armour, horses and packhorses." William of Tudela, *Song of the Cathar Wars*, laisse 124, p. 62.

71. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 165 and 165n126.

72. Ibid., 170.

73. For more details on the intricate linkages connecting Toulouse, tolls, and the Midi during this period, as well as a discussion that has contributed much to the one that follows here, see Ernest E. Jenkins, "The Interplay of Financial and Political Conflicts Connected to Toulouse during the Late Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries," *Mediterranean Studies* 17 (2008): 46–61.

74. *Justinian's Institutes*, trans. Peter Birks and Grant McLeod, Latin text of Paul Krueger (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987), 2.1.1: "Et quidem naturali iure communia sunt omnium haec: aer et aqua profluens et mare et per hoc litera maris. nemo igitur ad litus maris accedere prohibetur."

75. This point is developed in *Institutes* 2.1.1: "Quia non sunt iuris gentium, sicut et mare"; *Institutes* 2.1.2: "Flumina autem omnia et portus publica sunt: ideoque ius piscandi omnibus commune est in portubus fluminibusque"; and *Institutes* 2.1.4: "Riparum quoque usus publicus est iuris gentium, sicut ipsis fluminis." The jurist Celsus also held that the sea was

available for all to use, *The Digest of Justinian*, ed. Theodor Mommsen and Paul Krueger; trans. and ed. Alan Watson, 4 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 43.8.3.1.

76. According to Ulpian, in *Digest* 43.8.2.3.

77. Ibid., 19.2.60.8.

78. Jean Brissaud, *A History of French Public Law*, trans. James W. Garner (South Hackensack, NJ: Rothman Reprints, 1969), 236 and 236n6.

79. S. T. Loseby, "Marseille: A Late Antique Success Story?" *Journal of Roman Studies* 82 (1992): 165–179.

80. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, appendix H, 328.

81. *The Etablissements de Saint Louis*, trans. F. R. P. Akehurst (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 1.148.

82. Ibid., 1.151.

83. Ibid., 1.149.

84. *The Code of Cuenca*, ed. James F. Powers (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 1.9.

85. Ibid., 1.17.

86. Archives Municipales de Montpellier, *Mémorial des nobles* (AA 1), fols. 95–96, no. 244. I thank the staff of the Archives Municipales de Montpellier for their generous hospitality and kind assistance during my visit.

87. François L. Ganshof, "A propos du ton lieu à l'époque carolingienne," in *La città nell'alto medioevo 10–16 aprile 1958* (Spoleto, Italy: Presso la sede del centro, 1959), 485.

88. *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. Alfredus Boretius, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Legum sectio II (Hanover, 1883), 1:124–125, no. 44.

89. *Liber iudiciorum*, in *Leges Visigothorum*, ed. Karl Zeumer, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Legum sectio I (Hanover and Leipzig: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1902), 11.3.1–4.

90. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 170.

91. *Processus negotii Raymundi comitis Tolosani, Patrologiae cursus completus . . . series Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1891) [hereafter cited as PL], 216: 90: "Item quod indebita pedagia vel guidagia colligo vel colligi facio."

92. Ibid., 92: "Item praecipio ut pedagiorum seu guidagiorum exactiones tam in terra quam in aquis penitus dimittas."

93. Ibid.: "Nisi quas regum vel imperatorum concessione probaveris te habere, nec dimissa guidagia seu pedagia deinceps resumas."

94. Ibid., 93: "Item pedagia seu guidagia vel exactiones aliquas a transeuntibus per stratas vel etiam per flumina nullatenus accipiemus, nisi quae vel quas antiqua regum vel imperatorem concessione constiterit nos habere."

95. Ibid., 95: "Item super pedagiis et guidagiis dimittendis et nullo unquam tempore resumendis."

96. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, appendix H, 328.

97. Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, trans. L. A. Manyon (Chicago: Phoenix Books/University of Chicago Press, 1965), 1:204–205.

98. For the preference of primogeniture in Brittany expressed in the Assize of Count Geoffrey in 1185, see *The Charters of Duchess Constance of Brittany and Her Family, 1171–1221*, ed. Judith Everard and Michael Jones (Woodbridge, UK, and Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1999), 24–25. See also Frederick Pollock and Frederic William Maitland, *The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), 2:268.

99. Yannick Hillion, "La Bretagne et la rivalité Capétiens-Plantagenets: un exemple: la duchesse Constance (1186–1202)," *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'ouest* 92 (1985): 120.

100. Simon de Montfort provides a good example of someone with this kind of experience; for more on his career during the Fourth Crusade, see Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 74–76, 85, 92–94.

101. Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1973), 133.

102. Philippe de Novara makes this broad point in his *Livre*, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades* (Paris, 1841; repr., Farnborough, UK: Gregg Press, 1967), *Lois* 539–540, chap. 69.

103. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, appendix H, 328.

104. Christine Woehl, *Volo vincere cum meis vel occumbere cum eisdem: Studien zu Simon von Montfort und seinen nordfranzösischen Gefolgsleuten während des Albigenserkreuzzugs (1209 bis 1218)* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2001), 205–207.

105. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 180–182.

106. Ibid.

107. Ibid., 189.

108. Ibid., 190.

109. Ibid.

110. Ibid.

111. Ibid., 190–191.

112. Ibid., 193.

113. Ibid., 192–193.

114. Ibid.

115. Ibid., 193 and 193n44.

116. Ibid., 193.

117. Ibid., 200–210.

118. Ibid., 201.

119. Ibid., 202.

120. Ibid., 194.

121. Ibid., 194 and 194n55.
122. Ibid., 203.
123. Ibid., 204.
124. William of Tudela, *Song of the Cathar Wars*, laisse 137, p. 69.
125. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 210.
126. Ibid., 210–211.
127. William of Tudela, *Song of the Cathar Wars*, laisse 140, p. 70. In 70n5, the translator notes that this phrase means that they attacked without proper discipline.
128. Ibid.
129. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 211 and 211n46.
130. William of Tudela, *Song of the Cathar Wars*, laisse 140, p. 70.
131. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 211, and William of Tudela, *Song of the Cathar Wars*, laisse 140, p. 71.
132. "And the day that he went into battle he had lain with a lady. For we later heard his steward, who was called Gil, and was to become a brother of the Hospital, and was present there, along with others, who saw it with their own eyes, say that even at the Gospel he was unable to stand on his feet, so he sat in his seat while it was read." *The Book of Deeds of James I of Aragon*, trans. Damian Smith and Helena Buffery (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), cap. 9. See also *The Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña*, trans. Lynn H. Nelson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 122n235.
133. Mark Gregory Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245–1246* (Princeton, NJ, and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001), esp. 15–19.
134. "Eodem anno Symon de Monte-forti occidit in bello regem Arragonum apostatam in virtute Dei"; *Annales Monastici III: Annales Prioratus de Dunstaphia*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, Rolls Series no. 36 (London, 1866), 39.

9   Alfonso II, Peter II, and the Tradition of Community in the Mediterranean World

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4. Ibid.
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8. Ibid., 79–80.

9. Ibid., 83.

10. Ibid., 84.

11. S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 6 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967–1993), 1:55.

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16. Ibid., 187.

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34. Ibid., 61–62.

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