

Capta est Dertosa, clavis Christianorum: Tortosa and the crusades

Nikolas Jaspert

In 1147–48, crusader contingents from north-western Europe took military action in the Iberian peninsula on several occasions. They were instrumental in the conquest of Lisbon in 1147,¹ attacked the town of Faro shortly thereafter and, finally, they participated in the siege and taking of Tortosa, the object of this chapter.² During the seven months they lay before Tortosa, the Anglo-Flemish crusaders formed part of a Christian army which consisted of Occitan, Italian, Aragonese and Catalan forces aided by members of the military orders.³ The *peregrini*, as the crusaders were termed, seem to have comprised three contingents, each commanded by a *stabularius*.⁴ We do not know if their participation in the attack on Tortosa was the fruit of long-term planning or rather an *ad hoc* development, but their presence in Catalonia visibly combined this operation with that in the Levant. This conjunction was perceived not only by the Anglo-Flemish crusaders, but by other members of the army. Rudolf Hiestand has pointed out an episode which makes this strikingly apparent.⁵ The *anglici* who had died during the siege and conquest of Tortosa were buried in a specially marked cemetery. Noticeably, just before the fall of the town, it was handed over to the canons regular of the Holy Sepulchre. These *canonici Sanctissimi Sepulcri* not only fulfilled liturgical services at the patriarchal see in Jerusalem, but guarded the most prized relics of Christendom – the Lord's sepulchre and the True Cross.⁶ In this way, the English and the Flemings who died before they could fulfil their vow to travel to the Holy Land found their final rest in sacred soil – in Jerusalem, so to speak – in the spiritual vicinity of the true canons of Jerusalem.⁷ The close conjunction between the crusade and the Tortosa campaign could hardly be made more plain. Indeed contemporary sources

reveal that the operation was heavily influenced by crusading ideals and was seen by locals and foreigners alike as part of a general struggle against Islam.⁸ The papacy in particular considered the Iberian peninsula as only one front of a large-scale offensive which was waged simultaneously on the coasts of the Baltic Sea, the Mediterranean and the Atlantic.⁹ The conquest of Tortosa was indeed exceptional in that it was an integral part of the enterprise known as the Second Crusade.¹⁰ And yet it was also set in a local context, the roots of which reached back far before the fall of Edessa in 1144. Christians had pursued the recapture of Tortosa from Muslim hands for over 200 years, but these plans and attempts were all either delayed or foiled until the winter of 1148. In order to put the conquest of Tortosa into its proper setting one must take its beginnings, even its preconditions, into account. A brief overview of the envisaged or effectively undertaken campaigns will reveal not only the persistence with which this aim was pursued, but the extent to which it had been associated with the crusade movement ever since Pope Urban II made his first call at Clermont in November 1095.

From the middle of the tenth to the end of the eleventh century, Christian forces had repeatedly raided the Ebro region to impose the payment of *parias*, tributes exacted by the Christians from Muslim *taifas* – the small kingdoms that formed after Umayyad rule broke up in 1031.¹¹ At the end of the century, the crusades changed the character of these attacks, and both military theatres – Spain and the Holy Land – underwent correlation.¹² This process, which laid the groundwork for the final conquest of 1148, can be divided into two phases. The first one lasted from 1089 until the end of the century. Warfare in the Iberian peninsula began to be tentatively compared, first with pilgrimage and then with the crusade to the Holy Land. In the second phase – which began in 1114 and includes the conquests of Lisbon, Almería and Tortosa during the Second Crusade – campaigns in the East and the West were explicitly put on the same level and favoured through similar, sometimes even identical, papal indulgences. Iberian expeditions effectively became crusades.

As early as 1089, Pope Urban II sent a letter to three Catalan counts urging them to strive, though not necessarily to fight, for the restoration of the archdiocese of Tarragona, just north of Tortosa. By explicitly stating that this was as laudable a service to God as the *iter hierosolimitanum*, he linked both areas in a novel and path-breaking fashion.¹³ Although – or possibly because – some Catalans embarked

for Palestine despite the pope's command,¹⁴ military campaigns in the Iberian peninsula were influenced by the developments in the Levant. The Church subsequently made further comparisons between the eastern and western theatres,¹⁵ and although both expeditions were not as yet put on the same level, fighting the Muslims in Spain began to acquire a crusading character. In 1095, Catalan troops under Berenguer Ramon II are known to have fought before Tortosa,¹⁶ and in 1097 his successor Ramon Berenguer III launched a further attack against the town.¹⁷ In contrast to earlier operations, this latter campaign was carefully planned and had objectives that went beyond the mere imposition of *parias*. Alliances were sealed with a Genoese fleet as well as with Christian nobles, and the total conquest of Tortosa and its territory was conceived, while elements of the eastern crusades were introduced to Spain.¹⁸ For example, among the donations of territories and revenues that Ramon Berenguer made to his allies in 1097 he explicitly singled out a church which was to be erected and dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre in the fortress of Amposta close to Tortosa, thus creating a nexus between the fighters' goal in Palestine and that in Catalonia.¹⁹ Although the expedition once again failed, Tortosa remained not only an objective of primary importance to the counts, but one intimately connected with the crusading movement. Two points make this particularly apparent. First, the papacy's strong support of the counts' plans, and, second, the international character of the operations planned or put into effect for the conquest.

In 1113/14, 1116, 1121 and 1147, whenever the counts of Barcelona planned the conquest of Tortosa, the Holy See actively supported the forces fighting for Christendom in *Hispania*. Paschal II sent his legate Boso of St Anastasia to join the Catalano-Pisan fleet against the Balearic Islands in 1113/14,²⁰ and Gelasius II specifically praised Ramon Berenguer III's stated intention of regaining Tortosa when he took the count under his tutelage in 1116.²¹ In 1121, Calixtus II promised those who joined the crusading army under Ramon Berenguer III remission of sins, pointedly stating that these indulgences were identical to those given to the crusaders to the Holy Land;²² and finally, Eugenius III supported the campaign of 1148 by issuing a call of aid to all Christians, and possibly by sending Nicholas Breakspear, then abbot of Saint Rufus in Avignon, as an unofficial legate.²³ The popes of the twelfth century left no doubt that they saw these campaigns in correlation with those in the

Levant. From 1114 onwards, the Iberian expeditions were propagated and seen as crusades.²⁴

As for the international character of the operations, the Catalans took up contact with a series of potential allies, from the Normans of Sicily and the Pisans to the Occitans and the Genoese. Naturally, both the local rulers and the great Italian sea-ports had many reasons for participating in operations against their Muslim rivals and enemies in the western Mediterranean, not the least of which were economic. Both Pisa and Genoa had suffered from Muslim piracy, and their commercial interests in the western Mediterranean were obstructed by the existence of thriving sea-ports which were not only emporiums of long-distance maritime trade, but the key to any commerce with their respective hinterland.²⁵ Genoa and Pisa already launched a joint attack against Tortosa in 1092,²⁶ and the expedition by Catalano-Pisan forces against the strategically important Balearic Islands in 1114 clearly had economic aims, as the *Liber Maiolichinus* illustrates.²⁷ But one should not underestimate the importance of religious devotion and ideals among these motives.²⁸ In 1116, Ramon Berenguer III sought and gained the support of the Genoese and the Pisans 'ad liberandam Hispaniarum ecclesiam',²⁹ and in 1148, after the conquest of Tortosa, Ramon Berenguer IV donated the cemetery to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre according to the express wish of the Genoese, 'assensu, consilio et voluntate nobilium consulum et gloriosi populi Ianue',³⁰ who themselves in turn combated the Muslims before Tortosa both 'pro honore Dei et civitatis Ianuensis'.³¹ In this respect, the activities of the Genoese on the Catalan frontier shows the same dichotomy of political and economic interests on the one hand and religious devotion on the other as their involvement in the Levantine crusades.³²

Recruitment of Italian contingents was a direct result of the comparative weakness of the Catalan navy, a factor which had become all too apparent during previous failed attempts to take Tortosa by force. In 1116, Genoa and Pisa received a visit from Count Ramon Berenguer III to negotiate an offensive against the Muslims on the eastern Iberian coast.³³ The plans did not materialize, however, an outcome which was all the graver because the conquest of Tortosa became an increasingly pressing objective for quite another reason. In 1088, the metropolis of Tarragona, just 80 kilometres north-east of Tortosa, had been re-established under Christian rule, but in spite of massive papal support, it had not been possible to resettle the town.³⁴

The new ecclesiastical centre of the thriving county of Barcelona could only hope to prosper if its hinterland was stable – and in Christian hands. When the pallium was conferred on Archbishop Oleguer in 1118, the as yet unconquered city of Tortosa was explicitly named as one of the restored metropolis's suffragan dioceses.³⁵ The eyes of the count and the Church were closely set upon the Ebro Valley. In the following years, Oleguer, arguably the person who contributed most to extending the notion of 'crusade' in Catalonia through his activity as legate *a latere* to Calixtus II,³⁶ not only preached the Iberian crusade³⁷ and pleaded his count's cause against the Muslims before the papal *curia*,³⁸ but began to resettle Tarragona effectively. Foreign aid was needed for the task, and on this occasion it was not the Pisans or the Genoese but the Normans whose help was sought.³⁹ In the spring of 1129 the Norman adventurer Robert Bordet was made the town's *princeps*,⁴⁰ and a year before that Ramon Berenguer III of Barcelona and Count Roger of Sicily signed a treaty which agreed that fifty Norman galleys would be sent to Catalonia *in servitium Dei et auxilium exercitus*.⁴¹ The nearest goal for Catalan expansion that required a powerful naval force was Tortosa. But owing to Duke William of Apulia's death and the subsequent events in southern Italy,⁴² the project was delayed and never bore fruit. By the 1130s, although Tarragona had become firmly established as an archdiocese, Tortosa remained in Muslim hands.

Only after the fall of Edessa, in a general upsurge of crusading fervour and during the pontificate of a man who conceived the struggle against Islam as a battle fought on several frontiers, was the conquest of Tortosa pursued once again. This time the planning was meticulous – and effective. Above all, a series of alliances ensured that the Catalans could operate at ease. Several Catalan counts, including Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona, actively supported Alfonso VII in his campaign against Almería and forged close bonds with their powerful neighbour in the West.⁴³ Occitan troops under William VI of Montpellier were enlisted, and a treaty signed in 1146 guaranteed the essential naval support in the form of the Genoese fleet.⁴⁴ Finally, the necessary spiritual assistance was also secured by papal recognition of the enterprise. On 22 June 1147, in the wake of the campaign, Eugenius III issued a bull exhorting the Christians to assist Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona *ad expugnationem infidelium et inimicorum crucis Christi*.⁴⁵ The internal situation in the newly created confederation, later known as the Arago-Catalan

Crown, further favoured the offensive. Ramon Berenguer IV had become firmly established as the regent of Aragon and his position in his Catalan homeland was unquestioned. Now that Aragon and the greater part of Catalonia were under the count's leadership the archdiocese of Tarragona acquired even greater importance than before. It comprised Aragon as well as Catalonia, and was thus an ecclesiastical prefiguration of the nascent political entity. The metropolis of Tarragona served, therefore, as an important cohesive element in this process and strengthening it was of utmost importance. And this time the campaign was a success.

After arriving at the town in July 1148, the Christian forces proceeded to lay siege to it, encircling it by both sea and land. While half the Genoese contingent and some Catalan forces encamped before the outer town wall at the banks of the River Ebro, the other half, the count himself and his Provençal vassals lay before the town at the slopes of the hill Banyera. The crusaders, the Templars and the Hospitallers held the area just north of the town.⁴⁶ Tortosa had been an important military and commercial centre since pre-Islamic times. Under the Ummayyads and, later, under Almoravid rulers, it acquired renown in the Arab world for its high level of culture.⁴⁷ The town housed extensive dockyards and comprised a fortress, or *suda*, as well as a large urban area surrounded by a second wall which extended down to the Ebro. Although the crusaders gained the outer walls quite rapidly, the defenders held out in the *suda*, expecting the appearance of a relief force from their co-religionists in the south. But the *taifa* of Valencia was in too weakened a situation to furnish any help,⁴⁸ and on 30 December, after a seven-month siege, Tortosa surrendered.⁴⁹

The count and his army took only a short breathing space during late winter of 1148/49 and taking advantage of the situation they pressed on up the Ebro Valley. Muslim maritime towns traditionally fulfilled a double function as the commercial emporium and the frontier stronghold of a border region (*thaghr*) for their hinterland, where the administrative and political centres lay.⁵⁰ Subduing the political counterpart of the maritime towns was of utmost importance for the success of the *reconquista*. It was also vital for opening the inland market that the ports defended.⁵¹ Consequently, in the spring of 1149, the count and his army laid siege to Lleida, situated 90 kilometres inland on the banks of the Segre, which they took on 24 October of the same year.⁵² Anglo-Flemish contingents were

conspicuously absent during the campaign, which generally lacked the crusading lustre of the Tortosa expedition.⁵³ Perhaps this is the reason why the conquest of Tortosa caught the attention of contemporaries far more than that of Lleida, in spite of the latter's strategic importance.⁵⁴ A later charter sums up the importance given to the conquest of Tortosa: 'Capta est Dertosa, clavis Christianorum, gloria populorum, decor universae terrae.'⁵⁵ There can be no doubt that of all the Christian gains in Spain between 1145 and 1149 – Almería, Tortosa and Lleida – the delayed but finally successful conquest of Tortosa was the one most closely associated with the crusades.

Any visitor to the newly taken town on the Ebro would have noticed this at once because, as a consequence of the specific conditions of its conquest, Tortosa was a truly multicultural and multi-confessional town. Possibly on account of Catalonia's comparative demographic weakness the town was not only besieged and taken with as little bloodshed as possible, but continued to house important Muslim and Jewish communities. The Jewish inhabitants received a letter of franchise with extensive rights from Ramon Berenguer IV and this both enticed them to stay and attracted their co-religionists to settle in Tortosa.⁵⁶ The Muslim population did not enjoy the same privileges, but neither was it totally subdued and deprived of its rights. It was confined to an *Aljama*, or neighbourhood of its own, but was permitted to exercise a certain degree of self-government.⁵⁷ Taxes were levied on the *Aljama*, but in principle the Muslims still preserved freedom of religious practice. Ultimately, segregation policies led to a stifling of Muslim life, but during the twelfth century the *Aljama* and its inhabitants as a whole formed an integral part of Tortosa's society and in this, as in many other respects, post-conquest Tortosa showed astonishing similarities to a series of urban centres of the Latin East.⁵⁸

While studies on twelfth-century Jerusalem, Tyre or Antioch are obstructed, if not made impossible, by the loss of contemporary local documentation, the abundant Catalan sources for Tortosa's Christian history are only now being edited and put to use. Traditionally, Christian Valencia has been seen as the paradigm for the Iberian 'crusader kingdom',⁵⁹ but the conquest of Tortosa predated that of Valencia by nearly a century. The town on the Ebro with its substantial source material is a perfect case study for several aspects of twelfth-century crusader society.⁶⁰ Naturally, there are marked differences between the Iberian towns taken during the crusades and those in Palestine.

The Iberian peninsula lacked the biblical tradition of the Holy Land, which was an important cohesive element for Latin society in the East. Neither did Tortosa comprise a variety of Christian denominations comparable to that of the Holy Land, where Armenians, Syriacs, Greek Orthodox, etc., coexisted with the Frankish settlers – albeit with some friction.⁶¹ But other formative elements can be traced both on the eastern and western frontiers of Christendom, such as the notion of recuperating and restoring ancient Christian territories.⁶² Also, the town's international character was comparable to that of centres such as Jerusalem or Acre. During the first years after the conquest, one can even talk of Tortosa's international status, for Genoa held important seigniorial rights until it was forced to sell them in 1153 because of a financial crisis.⁶³ Furthermore, settlers in Tortosa were also quick to form an identity of their own. In contrast to the kingdom of Jerusalem, where rapid dynastic changes and the power of the barons obstructed the development of strong kingship,⁶⁴ their new homeland was part of an established feudal entity governed by a long-established dynasty which was to rule Catalonia for centuries to come. One way of strengthening his power – and attracting new settlers – consisted in furnishing the inhabitants with extensive privileges. The *carta de pobla* (chart of regulations) of Tortosa issued shortly after the conquest not only marks the beginning of close co-operation between the count-kings and the town, but laid the foundations for the strong collective identity on the part of the *habitatores Dertosae* which was to find its culmination in the famous *costums de Tortosa* of 1272–77.⁶⁵

But were these the only formative elements in Tortosa's society? Did the town's specific relationship to the Holy Land which marked its beginnings have any effect upon the town and its inhabitants? Or, to put it differently: what traces of its crusading origins remained in Tortosa? The most visible one was the ethnic and cultural variety of the town's population, because Tortosa not only showed a wide inter-confessional spectrum, but also a marked intra-confessional diversity among the Christian community. Members of every contingent that participated in the conquest remained in Tortosa after 1149, forming the nucleus of the *habitatores Dertosae*. Genoese, French, of course Catalans and Aragonese – even Templars and Hospitallers: all stayed behind and endeavoured to make their luck in the new multi-ethnic and confessional world.⁶⁶ The same holds true for some of the Anglo-Flemish crusaders. Ramon

Miravall and Rudolf Hiestand have already identified some of the settlers who most probably belonged to the crusading contingent.⁶⁷ With the help of newly published documents one can increase their number and follow their careers on the Iberian frontier more closely.

The origins of a fair number of the early settlers can, with a good degree of probability, be situated geographically, especially when their bynames are derived from their homelands. Twenty English, Flemish and German inhabitants of twelfth-century Tortosa can thus be identified, the majority of whom are referred to as *anglici*. Conspicuously, the cemetery where the fallen crusaders were buried was also known as the *cimiterium anglicorum*.⁶⁸ The greater part of the crusaders – or at least the greater part of those who decided to remain in Tortosa – indeed appear to have arrived there from the British Isles.⁶⁹ A group of nearly thirty twelfth-century *anglici* has been established, of whom at least four – Gilbert, Gales, William and Geoffrey – can be argued to have participated in the siege, for they were recompensed by Ramon Berenguer IV with landed property during the distribution, the *repartiment*, of Tortosa after the conquest.⁷⁰ These early settlers tend to have made quite a career. The last wills of Gilbert Anglicus, Osbert Anglicus and Gosfred Anglicus are preserved and enable us to learn of their considerable wealth.⁷¹ The social and economic position of these English settlers, some of whom even gained access to the cathedral chapter,⁷² reflects how rapidly the crusaders' families became part of the local urban elite. Gilbert Anglicus in particular held an eminent position among his compatriots, probably also as a result of his close ties to the count of Barcelona, whose *fidelis* he was.⁷³ His last will reveals that he was a major landholder, money-lender and patron of several ships, and was at the centre of the English community in Tortosa.⁷⁴ The extant sources enable us to trace with great accuracy the intricate parental, economic and social ties which united this group, and which included a number of women of arguably Anglo-Norman origin.⁷⁵ It is impossible to determine how many of the *anglici* formed part of the crusading contingent and how many decided to join their relatives in Tortosa after the conquest, but they formed a compact, albeit not socially homogeneous, group.

The question remains: what role did Jerusalem and the Holy Land – the original goal of the Anglo-Flemish crusaders of 1148 – play in post-conquest Tortosa? Did the early settlers' thoughts ever turn to the vows they had taken? According to Duodechin of Lahnstein, the

greater part of the crusading contingent travelled on to the Holy Land after taking Lisbon because they felt bound by their *votum*, and the Anglo-Norman author of the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* went to great pains to reassure his compatriots at home that the delay in no way interfered with the crusaders' pledge.⁷⁶ Did this play no role in the crusading society established on the banks of the Ebro? One way of answering this question is by determining if the inhabitants of Tortosa undertook a belated pilgrimage to the Holy Land or at least fostered religious institutions which had originated in the Levant with particular emphasis.

Of the close to 500 twelfth-century documents of the Tortosan cathedral archive recently edited by Antoni Virgili i Colet, forty-one are last wills. Only three of them name pilgrimages, and only one mentions a *viaticum Iherosolimitanum*. True, this sole example is the last will of Osbert Anglicus, one of the crusaders of 1148.⁷⁷ Here we do appear to have an example of one who, nearly twenty years after his arrival in Tortosa, decided to fulfil his vow. But Osbert was an exception. None of the other crusaders is known to have followed his steps. In fact, contrary to the general situation in twelfth-century Catalonia⁷⁸ other centres of pilgrimage seem to have exerted a stronger attraction than Jerusalem because the other two pilgrimages mentioned were directed to the tomb of Saint James in Compostela.

If the Tortosans did not travel to the Holy Land then at least they might have endowed religious institutions from Palestine. The Orders of the Temple, the Hospital of St John and the Holy Sepulchre all held important possessions in Catalonia, and their members had even founded a series of houses there. In Tortosa the Templars were major landholders and enjoyed considerable seigneurial rights which they were able to augment in the course of the twelfth century.⁷⁹ The Hospitallers held the nearby castle of Amposta which was even converted into the Order's headquarters for eastern Spain.⁸⁰ But a comparative survey of the Tortosans' pious donations reveals that these institutions played only a secondary role in the town's religious life. The slightly more distant Hospitallers received a higher number of legacies and donations than the local Templars who only began to be favoured to any degree after they acquired seigneurial rights, and consequently political power, in Tortosa.⁸¹

What of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, who had been given a cemetery in order to bury and spiritually assist the Anglo-Flemish crusaders? In the mid-twelfth century the cathedral chapter of Jerusalem

founded a series of houses in Catalonia – in Barcelona, Marcevol, Perelada and elsewhere. But not in Tortosa. They continued to administer the estates the Genoese and the count of Barcelona had given to them in 1148, but they did this from their distant priory in Barcelona.⁸² Neither did their possessions grow, for the Tortosans hardly took them into consideration. The receipt of two donations during the entire twelfth century was too little on which to found a house.⁸³ The *cimiterium anglicorum* ceases to appear as a toponym in the second half of the twelfth century,⁸⁴ because the English settlers had long chosen other, more prestigious, places for burial.⁸⁵

Thus, despite the close ties to Palestine and the Second Crusade which led to the conquest of Tortosa, and although the town and its inhabitants may well be termed a paradigm of twelfth-century crusading society, the Holy Land played at most a very subordinate role in the life of the Tortosans. Fostered by the counts of Barcelona, who endowed the inhabitants with extensive privileges, united by their common cause as settlers on the Catalan frontier, they needed very little time to form a society with an identity of its own – an identity based, indeed, on its character as a crusading society, but not on the land the crusaders had vowed to liberate.

Notes

- 1 F. Kürth, 'Der Anteil niederdeutscher Kreuzfahrer an den Kämpfen der Portugiesen gegen die Mauren', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband*, vol. 8 (1911), pp. 131–251, especially pp. 133–59; *EL*, p. 189; 'Annales S. Disibodi a. 1147', ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, in *MGH SS*, vol. XVII, pp. 4–30, especially pp. 27–8; Constable, 'Second Crusade', pp. 221–2, 258–62; cf. Klaus Herbers, 'Politik und Heiligenverehrung auf der Iberischen Halbinsel. Die Entwicklung des "politischen Jakobus"', in Jürgen Petersohn (ed.), *Politik und Heiligenverehrung im Hochmittelalter*, Vorträge und Forschungen, 42 (Sigmaringen, 1994), pp. 177–276, especially p. 254; Harold Livermore, 'The Conquest of Lisbon and its author', *Portuguese Studies* 6 (1990), pp. 1–16; Edgington, 'Lisbon Letter', pp. 328–39; Phillips, 'Saint Bernard' and the contribution by Matthew Bennett in this volume.
- 2 The 'Annales S. Disibodi' in *MGH SS*, vol. XVII, p. 28 and the 'Annales Elmarenenses', in *Les Annales de St-Pierre de Gand et de Saint-Amand*, ed. Philip Grierson (Brussels, 1937), p. 111, give the end of January and the beginning of February 1148 as the date of departure from Lisbon. Harold Livermore suggests that the Anglo-Norman contingent stayed in Lisbon until April (Livermore, 'The Conquest of Lisbon', p. 7) while the Flemings and the Germans left earlier. On Faro, see Giles Constable, 'A Note on the

- Route of the Anglo-Flemish Crusaders of 1147', *Speculum* 28 (1953), pp. 525–6. The crusaders did not participate in the conquest of Almería under Alfonso VII of Castile (Caffaro, *Historia*, pp. 79–91; Prefatio de Almaria, ed. Juan Gil, in *Chronica hispana saeculi XII*, vol. 1, ed. Emma Falque, Juan Gil and Antonio Maya, Corpus Christianorum, continuatio Mediaevalis, 71 (Turnhout, 1990), pp. 255–67; Otto Langer, *Politische Geschichte Genuas und Pisas im 12. Jahrhundert*, Historische Studien, 7 (Leipzig, 1882), pp. 23–35; Constable, 'Second Crusade', pp. 227–31; Manuel Recuero Astray, *Alfonso VII, emperador. El imperio hispánico en el siglo XII*, Fuentes y estudios de historia leonesa, 23 (León, 1979), pp. 177–83; Blanca Garí, 'Why Almería? An Islamic Port in the Compass of Genoa', *JMH* 18 (1992), pp. 211–31; John B. Williams, 'The Making of a Crusade: the Genoese Anti-Muslim Attacks in Spain, 1146–1148', *JMH* 23 (1997), pp. 29–53, especially pp. 34–6.
- 3 On the different contingents, see Hiestand, 'Reconquista', pp. 136–57. Antoni Virgili i Colet, '... *Ad detrimendum Hispaniae* ...'. *Conquesta i feudalització de la ciutat i la regió de Tortosa* (Barcelona, 1995), pp. 97–133.
 - 4 On the leaders of the expedition against Lisbon, cf. Phillips, 'Saint Bernard', pp. 490–1.
 - 5 Hiestand, 'Reconquista', pp. 156–7.
 - 6 On the order, see the bibliographical references in María Concepción García Albares, *Bibliografía de la Orden del Santo Sepulcro* (Zaragoza, 1991); María Concepción García Albares, *Bibliografía de la Orden del Santo Sepulcro. Addenda* (Zaragoza, 1995); Kaspar Elm, 'Umbilicus Mundi'. *Beiträge zur Geschichte Jerusalems, der Kreuzzüge, des Ordens der regulierten Chorherren vom Hlg. Grab und der Ritterorden* (Bruges, 1998), and Nikolas Jaspert, 'Die Ritterorden und der Orden vom Heiligen Grab auf der Iberischen Halbinsel', in Kaspar Elm and Cosimo Damiano Fonseca (eds), *Militia Sancti Sepulcri. Idea e Istituzioni*, Hierosolimitana. Acta et Monumenta, 1 (Rome, 1998), pp. 381–410.
 - 7 Cf. the description by contemporaries of the crusaders who fell before Lisbon as 'martyrs' in 'Annales S. Disibodi', p. 28; see also *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Michel J. J. Brial (Paris, 1877), vol. XIV, p. 327.
 - 8 Constable, 'Second Crusade'; Edgington, 'Lisbon Letter', pp. 335–6.
 - 9 Hans-Dietrich Kahl, 'Die weltweite Bereinigung der Heidenfrage – ein übersehenes Kriegsziel des Zweiten Kreuzzugs', in Susanna Burghartz *et al.* (eds), *Spannungen und Widersprüche: Gedenkschrift für František Graus* (Sigmaringen, 1992), pp. 63–89.
 - 10 Even though it has not found the attention it deserves in general overviews of the Second Crusade: Kugler, *Studien*; Reinhold Röhrich, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin, 1878), vol. II, pp. 57–104; Virginia Berry, 'The Second Crusade', in *HC*, vol. 1, pp. 463–512; Mayer, *Crusades*, pp. 93–106.
 - 11 Leonce Auzias, 'Les sièges de Barcelone, de Tortose et d' Huesca', *Annales du Midi* 48 (1936) 5–28; Enrique Bayerri, *Historia de Tortosa y su comarca* (Tortosa, 1954), vol. VI, pp. 689–735; Pierre Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu du Xe à la fin du XIe siècle. Croissance et mutations d'une société*,

- Publications de l'Université de Toulouse – Le Mirail, A23 and 29, 2 vols (Toulouse, 1975–76), II, pp. 663–5, 845–8, 865–8; Lawrence McCrank, 'Restoration and Reconquest in Medieval Catalonia: the Church and Principality of Tarragona, 971–1177' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1974), pp. 55–165; Virgili, *Detrimendum*, pp. 59–71. On the military activities of the Aragonese rulers and Rodrigo Díaz, El Cid, against the *taifas* of the Iberian Levant, see Carlos Laliena Corbera, *La formación del Estado feudal. Aragón y Navarra en la época de Pedro I*, Colección de Estudios Altoaragoneses, 42 (Huesca, 1996), pp. 138–51.
- 12 On the connections between crusade and reconquista see Richard A. Fletcher, 'Reconquest and Crusade in Spain', *TRHS* 37 (1987), pp. 31–49, specially pp. 43–6; Norman Housley, 'Jerusalem and the Development of the Crusade Idea, 1099–1128', in *HH*, pp. 27–40, especially pp. 32–6. Alfons Becker, *Papst Urban II. (1088–1099)* vol. II: *Der Papst, die griechische Christenheit und der Kreuzzug*, Schriften der MGH, vol. XIX, 2 (Stuttgart, 1988), pp. 333–76; Giovanna Petti Balbi, 'Lotte antisaracene e militia Christi in ambito iberico', in *'Militia Christi' e crociata nei secoli XI–XII, atti della undecima settimana internazionale di studio*, Mendola, 28.8.–1.9.1989, Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medoevali 13 (Milan, 1992), pp. 519–49, especially p. 543. José G. Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de la cruzada en España*, Victoriensia. Publicaciones del seminario de Vitoria, 4 (Vitoria, 1958), pp. 57–66, 76–8, 93–8, 133–4; Bernd Schwenk, *Calatrava. Entstehung und Frühgeschichte eines spanischen Ritterordens zisterziensischer Observanz im 12. Jahrhundert*, Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft, Reihe II, 28 (Munster, 1992); Ludwig Vones, *Geschichte der Iberischen Halbinsel im Mittelalter (711–1480). Reiche–Kronen–Regionen* (Sigmaringen, 1993), pp. 78–88; Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony c. 970–c. 1130* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 70–115.
- 13 *JL* 5401; Mansilla, *Documentación pontificia*, doc. 29. Similar orders to other Catalan counts in 1096: *Papsturkunden in Spanien. Vorarbeiten zur Hispania Pontificia*, vol. I: *Katalanien*, ed. Paul Kehr, Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.–hist. Klasse, NF 18, 2 vols (Berlin, 1926), doc. 23, pp. 287–8. On comparable prohibitions to secular and ecclesiastic powers in León-Castile, see *JL* 5814; *PL*, vol. CLXIII, cols 63–4, doc. 42 (*JL* 5839); *PL*, vol. CLXIII, cols 44–5, doc. 26 (*JL* 5840); *PL*, vol. CLXIII, col. 64, doc. 44 (*JL* 5863); cf. Nikolas Jaspert, "Pro nobis, qui pro vobis oramus, orate". Die Kathedrankapitel von Compostela und Jerusalem in der ersten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts', in Paolo Gaucci von Saucken (ed.), *Santiago, Roma, Jerusalén. Actas del III Congreso Internacional de Estudios Jacobeos, Santiago de Compostela 14–16 septiembre 1997* (Santiago de Compostela, 1999), pp. 187–212.
- 14 I hope to illustrate this shortly in a study on Catalan pilgrimage to Jerusalem. In the meantime, see Martín Fernández de Navarrete, 'Españoles en las Cruzadas', *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia*, vol. 5 (1817), pp. 37–205 (reprinted Madrid, 1986); Josep Gudiol i Cunill, 'De peregrins i peregrinatges religiosos catalans', *Analecta Sacra Tarracoenensia* 3 (1928), pp. 93–119.

- 15 *Papsturkunden*, vol. I, no. 2, doc. 23. Permission by Urban II to the archbishop of Toledo to substitute his vow to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem for participation in the restoration of Tarragona in 1096: *JL* 5674. Decision to let arsonists perform penitential service for one year 'in Hierusalem vel in Hispania' in 1097–99 (*JL* 5776) – repeated at the Councils of Clermont (1130) and Reims (1131), and at the Second Lateran Council of 1139 (Giovanni Domenico Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Paris–Arnheim–Leipzig, 1901–27), vol. XXI, pp. 440, 462, 531; *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. Josepho Alberigo *et al.*, 3rd edn (Bologna, 1973), p. 201.) Comparison by Urban II between fighting the Muslims in the East and the West in 1098: *PL*, vol. CLI, col. 504, doc. 237 (*JL* 5703).
- 16 See the reference to the knight Guillem Novaton, 'iacens ante Tortuosam civitatem, sauciatis vulnere, quo obiit', in *España Sagrada. Teatro geográfico – histórico de la iglesia de España. Origen, divisiones y límites de todas sus provincias*, 56 vols, ed. Henríque Florez *et al.* (Madrid, 1749–1957), vol. XLII, p. 102; Caffaro, *Annales*, pp. 3–75, especially p. 13; cf. Bonnassie, *Catalogne*, vol. II, pp. 868–9.
- 17 *España Sagrada*, vol. XLII, pp. 102–4; docs 1, 2, pp. 279–84; Bayerrí, *Historia*, vol. VII, pp. 740–1; Lawrence McCrank, 'La restauración canónica e intento de reconquista de la sede Tarraconense, 1076–1108', *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, 61–2 (1977), pp. 145–245, especially pp. 229–33; McCrank, *Restoration*, pp. 264–7.
- 18 *España Sagrada*, vol. XLII, p. 103.
- 19 *Ibid.*, docs 1, 2, pp. 279–84: 'In primis dono, atque concedo ecclesiae Sancti Sepulcri de Emposta, quae tuo et aliorum multorum virorum sudore, atque labore, et pro delictorum suorum poenitentia, atque redemptione, ad honorem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ejusdemque Sanctissimi Sepulcri, in quo pro nostra redemptione sanctissima ejus Caro secundum humanitatem nostram requievit, fundatur, aedificatur, atque construitur, omnem decimam ...'.
- 20 *Etruria*, ed. Paul Kehr, Italia Pontificia, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1908), doc. 25, p. 359; *Liber Maiolichinus de gestis Pisanorum illustrantibus*, ed. Carlo Calisse (Rome, 1904), pp. 8, 68, verses 74–5, 1688; Carlo Servatius, *Paschalis II. 1099–1118, Päpste und Papsttum*, 14 (Stuttgart, 1979), p. 138.
- 21 *España Sagrada*, vol. XLII, pp. 104–5; Mansilla, *Documentación pontificia*, doc. 50, pp. 69–70 (*JL* 6524): 'Huius devotionis petitionem libenter admittimus, quia te in Dei et ecclesie servitio efficaciter labore cognoscimus ... Super hoc ad expugnandos mauros et moabitas in Hispanie partibus, et Tortosam eorum presidium obsidendam animi nobililis industriam paras.'
- 22 *PL*, vol. CLXIII, col. 1305, doc. 219; Mansilla, *Documentación pontificia*, doc. 62, p. 79–80 (*JL* 7116): 'Omnibus enim in hac expeditione constanter militantibus, eandem peccatorum remissionem, quam orientalis ecclesie defensoribus fecimus, apostolica auctoritate et concessa nobis divinitus potestate benigne concedimus.' In granting full remission of sins to all participants the pope went further than his predecessor, who in 1118 had promised it only to those who lost their lives before Saragossa (*PL*, CLXIII, col. 508, doc. 25).

- 23 Navarrete, 'Españoles en las Cruzadas', apéndice 3, pp. 155–6; *Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo general de la Corona de Aragón*, 47 vols (Barcelona, 1847–1985), vol. IV, doc. 128, pp. 314–15. Cf. *PL*, vol. CLXXX, pp. 1203–4 (*JL* 9017). On Nicolas Breakspear in Spain, see *Papsturkunden*, vol. I, no. 2, doc. 10, pp. 90–1. Cf. Bayerri, *Historia*, vol. VII, p. 77; Constable, 'Second Crusade', p. 262; Ursula Vones-Liebenstein, *Saint Ruf und Spanien. Studien zur Verbreitung und zum Wirken der Regularkanoniker von Saint Ruf in Avignon auf der Iberischen Halbinsel (11. und 12. Jahrhundert)*, 2 vols, Bibliotheca Victorina, 6 (Paris–Turnhout, 1996), pp. 239–80. On Bernard of Clairvaux's influence over the Iberian campaigns through his friend and 'agent' count William VI of Montpellier, see Constable, 'Second Crusade', pp. 233, 245–6.
- 24 Constable, 'Second Crusade', pp. 257–60. See also the indulgences granted to the participants of the campaign against Saragossa of 1118: *PL*, vol. CLXIII, col. 508, doc. 25 (*JL* 6665), and canon 10 of the First Lateran Council, in which both crusades are equated: *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, pp. 191–2. Nikolas Jaspert, 'Frühformen der geistlichen Ritterorden und die Kreuzzugsbewegung auf der Iberischen Halbinsel', in Klaus Herbers (ed.) *Europa an der Wende vom 11. zum 12. Jahrhundert. Beiträge zu Ehren von Werner Goetz* (Stuttgart, 2001), pp. 90–116.
- 25 Geo Pitarino, 'Genova medievale tra Oriente e Occidente', *Revista Storica Italiana* 81 (1969), pp. 44–73; Geo Pitarino, 'Genova e l'Islam nel Mediterraneo occidentale, s. XII–XIII', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 10 (1980), pp. 189–205; Garí, 'Why Almería'; Williams, 'Making of a Crusade'.
- 26 Caffaro, *Annales*, p. 13; Luigi Tommaso Belgrano, 'Frammento di poemetto sincrono per la conquista di Almeria del MCXVII', *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* 19 (1888), pp. 387–423, especially p. 400. Michael Matzke, *Daibert von Pisa: zwischen Pisa, Papst und erstem Kreuzzug*, Vorträge und Forschungen, Sonderband 44 (Sigmaringen, 1998), pp. 79–83.
- 27 *Liber Maiolichinus*, verses 71–81, 1150–9, 1199–1201; Giuseppe Scalia, 'Epigraphica pisana. Testi latini sulla spedizione contro le Baleari e su altre imprese antisaracene del secolo XI', in *Miscellanea di studi ispanici* (Pisa, 1963), pp. 235–85; Giuseppe Scalia, 'Contributi pisani alla lotta anti-islamica nel Mediterraneo centro-occidentale durante il secolo XI e nei primi decenni del XII', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 10 (1980) 135–43.
- 28 Petti Balbi, 'Lotte antisaracene'; Williams, 'Making of a Crusade', pp. 38–42; Constable, 'Second Crusade', pp. 227–9.
- 29 Belgrano, 'Frammento di poemetto', pp. 401–2, cf. Petti Balbi, 'Lotte antisaracene', p. 543.
- 30 Hiestand, 'Reconquista', pp. 156–7.
- 31 Caffaro, *Historia*, p. 85. For other examples, see Constable, 'Second Crusade', p. 228, n. 80.
- 32 'De liberatione civitatum Orientis', in *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori*, ed. Luigi Tommaso Belgrano, *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia*, 11 (Genoa, 1890), pp. 97–124; Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie, *Die Italiener im Heiligen Land: vom ersten Kreuzzug bis zum Tode Heinrichs von Champagne (1090–1197)* (Amsterdam, 1989); Geo Pitarino, *Genovesi d'Oriente*

- (Genoa, 1990); Gabriella Airaldi (ed.), *Le vie del Mediterraneo. Relazioni tra Genova e Gerusalemme nel medioevo e nell'età moderna* (Genoa, 1996); David Abulafia, 'Trade and Crusade', in Michael Goodich, Sophia Menache and Sylvia Schein (eds), *Cross Cultural Convergences in the Crusader Period. Essays Presented to Aryeh Grabois on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (New York, 1995), pp. 1–20; and, for the late Middle Ages, Steven A. Epstein, 'Genoa and the Crusades: Piety, Credit and Fiscal-Military State', in Laura Balletto (ed.), *Oriente e Occidente tra medioevo ed età moderna – studi in honore di Geo Pitarino* (Acqui Terme, 1997), pp. 245–59.
- 33 *España Sagrada*, vol. XXIX, doc. 21, pp. 475–6.
- 34 Emilio Morera Llauredó, *Tarragona christiana. Historia del arzobispado de Tarragona y del territorio de su provincia*, 2 vols (Tarragona, 1889–99, reprinted Tarragona, 1981–82) Institut d'Estudis Tarraconenses Ramon Berenguer IV. Secció d'Arqueologia i Història, 46, vol. I, pp. 352–73; Josep Iglesias, *La restauració de Tarragona* (Barcelona, 1963); Johannes Vincke, *Staat und Kirche in Katalonien und Aragon während des Mittelalters* (Munster, 1931), pp. 362–7; McCrank, *Restoration*, pp. 116–289; McCrank, 'Restauración canónica', pp. 171–3; Servatius, *Paschalis II*, pp. 23–5; Johannes Fried, *Der päpstliche Schutz für Laienfürsten. Die politische Geschichte des päpstlichen Schutzprivilegs für Laien, 11.–13. Jahrhundert*, Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Jahrgang 1980, 1 (Heidelberg, 1980), pp. 87–97; Francisco Javier Faci Lacasta, 'Algunas observaciones sobre la restauración de Tarragona', in *Miscellània en homentage al P. Agustí Altisent* (Tarragona, 1991), pp. 470–85.
- 35 *España Sagrada*, XXV, doc. 16, pp. 221–3 (*JL* 6636). This was repeated with Oleguer's successors (*Papsturkunden*, vol. I, no. 2, doc. 53, pp. 320–2, doc. 54, pp. 322–4, cf. *JL* 8928). Already in 1091, the counts of Barcelona had started planning the ecclesiastical reorganisation of the diocese (*PL*, vol. CLI, col. 331–3, doc. 52 – *JL* 5450; McCrank, 'Restauración canónica', p. 239; Servatius, *Paschalis II*, p. 25). See the last will of Ramón Berenguer I, in which he disposed of the as yet unconquered town of Tarragona and the entire southern territory as far as the Ebro (*Liber Feudorum Maior. Cartulario real que se conserva en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. Francisco Miquel Rosell, Textos y estudios de la Corona de Aragón, 1 and 2, 2 vols (Barcelona, 1945–47), vol. II, doc. 492). Reference to a further attack in 1119: McCrank, *Restoration*, pp. 312–22. In 1119, tributes had once again been exacted from Tortosa (Bonnassie, *Catalogne*, p. 870).
- 36 *España Sagrada*, vol. XXV, doc. 17, pp. 223–4; Mansilla, *Documentación pontificia*, doc. 62 (*JL* 7116). Cf. Oleguer's *vita*: *España Sagrada*, vol. XIX, Appendix 21, pp. 472–92; Appendix 22, p. 497.
- 37 *OV*, vol. VI, pp. 252–77. Oleguer was also instrumental in forming anti-Muslim alliances with the Pisans and possibly the Genoese (*España Sagrada*, vol. XIX, Appendix 21, pp. 475–6).
- 38 *España Sagrada*, vol. XIX, Appendix 21, pp. 476–7.
- 39 Even though relations between Barcelona and Genoa were particularly friendly in the second half of the 1120s. See the treaties signed between Ramon Berenguer III and the commune of Genoa in 1127: *Codice diplomatico della repubblica di Genova I*, ed. Cesare Imperiale di Sant' Angelo,

- Fonti per la storia d' Italia, 77 (Rome, 1936), doc. 46. Cf. José Ruíz Doménec, 'Génova y Barcelona en el siglo XII: la estructura básica de su realidad', in *Saggi e documenti* 4 (1983), pp. 23–86; Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, 'Catalans i Genovesos durant el segle XIII. El declivi d'una amistat', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 26 (1996), pp. 783–823.
- 40 *España Sagrada*, XXV, Appendix 18; Morera, *Tarragona Christiana*, vol. I, pp. 374–96; *Cartas de población y franquicia de Cataluña*, ed. José María Font i Rius, 2 vols (Madrid, 1969–83), vol. I, doc. 51; Lawrence McCrank, 'Norman Crusaders in the Catalan reconquest: Robert Burdet and the Principality of Tarragona, 1129–1155', *JMH* 7 (1981), pp. 67–82.
- 41 *Rogerii II regis diplomata latina*, ed. Carlrichard Brühl, *Codex diplomaticus Regni Siciliae*, vol. II, no. 1 (Cologne–Vienna, 1987), doc. 9. Cf. the rather apodictic opinion of Antonio de la Torre: 'Sicilia y España no tuvieron relaciones en tiempo de Ruggero II' (Antonio de la Torre, 'Ruggero II y Alfonso VII', in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Ruggeriani, 21–25 aprile 1954* (Palermo, 1955), vol. I, pp. 49–52, especially p. 49).
- 42 Hubert Houben, *Roger II. von Sizilien: Herrscher zwischen Orient und Okzident* (Darmstadt, 1997), pp. 42–3. On the slight importance of the Holy Land for southern Italy during the twelfth century, see Graham A. Loud, 'Norman Italy and the Holy Land', *HH*, pp. 4–62, especially pp. 55–62.
- 43 The climax of this close co-operation was the signing of the Treaty of Tudilén in 1151 (*Liber Feudorum Maior*, vol. I, doc. 29).
- 44 *Codice diplomatico*, vol. I, docs. 168, 169; *Colección de documentos inéditos*, vol. IV, docs 22, 51, 141, 144; *Liber Feudorum Maior*, vol. I, docs 462, 463.
- 45 *Colección de documentos inéditos*, vol. IV, doc. 128; Bayerri, *Historia*, vol. VII, pp. 437–8.
- 46 On the military aspects of Tortosa's conquest, see Bayerri, *Historia*, vol. VI, p. 786–985; Constable, 'Second Crusade', pp. 231–7; Julio Belza, 'La conquista de Tortosa en su aspecto militar' *Revista de Historia Militar*, 5 (1961), pp. 31–50; Randall Rogers, *Latin Siege Warfare in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 179–80; McCrank, *Restoration*, pp. 339–97; Antoni Virgili i Colet, 'Conquesta i feudalització de la regió de Tortosa (1148–1200)', in *Les darreres investigacions arxivístiques de la història de Tortosa* (Tortosa, 1995), pp. 36–49, 39; Virgili, *Detrimendum*, p. 82–164.
- 47 Morera, *Tarragona Christiana*, vol. I, pp. 272–324; Bayerri, *Historia*, vol. VI, pp. 319–688; Juan Vernet Ginès, 'Ambiente cultural de la Tortosa del siglo XII', *Tamuda* 5 (1957), pp. 30–9; Al-Himyari, *Kitab Ar-Rawd Al-Mi'tar*, tr. María Pilar Maestro González, *Textos medievales*, 10 (Valencia, 1960), pp. 253–6; María J. Viguera Molíns, *Los reinos de taifas y las invasiones magrebíes. Al-Andalus del XI al XIII*, (Madrid, 1992), pp. 60, 75–7; Virgili, *Detrimendum*, pp. 230–41; *Tortosa i les terres de l'Ebre. La Llitera i el Baix Cinca. Obra no arquitectònica, dispersa i restaurada*, Catalunya Romànica XXVI (Barcelona, 1997), pp. 11–13, 35–9. See the bibliographic references in Pere Balaña i Abadia, *Bibliografia comentada de l'Islam a Catalunya del 713 al 1153* (Lleida, 1998), p. 321.
- 48 Maria Jesús Viguera Molíns, *De las taifas al reino de Granada. Al-Andalus, siglos XI–XV* (Madrid, 1995), pp. 42–4; Viguera Molíns, *Reinos de taifas*,

- pp. 189–201; Josep Massip i Fonollosa, ‘Els moriscos de Tortosa i la Ribera de l’Ebre a l’Arxiu de Tortosa’, in *L’Expulsió dels moriscos: conseqüències en el món islàmic i el món cristià* (Barcelona, 1994), pp. 225–34; The hands of Ibn Mardanish, the ruler of the greater part of the Iberian Levant, were also tied by his diplomatic relations with Ramon Berenguer IV (Pierre Guichard, *Les musulmans de Valence et la reconquete*, 2 vols (Damascus, 1990/91), vol. II, pp. 116–17).
- 49 On the capitulation see Virgili, *Detrimendum*, pp. 155–63.
- 50 Garí, ‘Why Almería’, p. 213.
- 51 *Ibid.*, pp. 222–3.
- 52 José María Font i Rius, *La reconquista de Lérida y su proyección en el orden jurídico* (Lleida, 1949); J. Tortosa Durán, ‘La conquista de la ciudad de Lérida por Ramon Berenguer IV, conde de Barcelona’, *Ilerda* 17 (1953), pp. 27–46; Josep Lladonosa i Pujol, *La conquesta de Lleida* (Barcelona, 1961), pp. 28–46; Josep Lladonosa i Pujol, *Història de Lleida*, 2 vols (Tàrrrega, 1972), vol. I, pp. 119–24.
- 53 Even though some later documents did claim the conquest of Lleida had been achieved ‘ad fidem et cultum Domini nostri Iesu Christi’ (Vones-Liebenstein, *Saint-Ruf*, vol. I, p. 359).
- 54 *España Sagrada*, vol. XLII, p. 113; Sigibert de Gembloux, ‘Continuatio Praemonstratensis an. 1113–1155’, in *MGH SS*, vol. VI, pp. 447–56, especially pp. 453–4; cf. the list of citations in Bayerri, *Historia*, vol. VI, pp. 781–3; Hiestand, ‘Reconquista’, p. 141; María Desamparados Cabanes Pecourt, ‘Datos históricos en la documentación de Veruela (siglo XII)’, *Aragón en la Edad Media* 12 (1995), pp. 13–29, especially pp. 18–20. Cf. *Cartulaire général de l’Ordre du Temple 1119?–1150*, ed. Marquis d’Albon (Paris, 1913), docs 532, 534, 549.
- 55 *España Sagrada*, vol. XLII, pp. 310–16; *Diplomatari*, doc. 301; *Tortosa i les terres de l’Ebre*, pp. 118–19.
- 56 Francesc Carreras i Candi, *L’aljama dels jueus de Tortosa* (Barcelona, 1928); Bayerri, *Historia*, vol. VII, pp. 49–51, 100–1, 201–5, 323–31; Elisenda Casanova Querol, ‘Estado de la cuestión sobre los judíos de Tortosa (XII–XIV)’, in *Actes del primer colloqui d’història dels jueus a la Corona d’Aragó* (Lleida, 1991), pp. 393–401.
- 57 See the treaty of capitulation signed in 1148: *Colección de documentos inéditos*, vol. IV, doc. 56; Bayerri, *Historia*, vol. VII, pp. 202–12; Virgili, *Detrimendum*, pp. 158–63, 226–85; Carmel Biarnes, *Moros i moriscos a la Ribera de l’Ebre (710–1650)* (Barcelona, 1972), pp. 25–36. On the status of Muslims under Christian rule in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see the short overview in David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ, 1996), pp. 20–30.
- 58 Hans Eberhard Mayer, ‘Latins, Muslims and Greeks in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem’, *History* 63 (1978), pp. 175–92; Joshua Prawer, ‘Social Classes in the Crusader States: the “Minorities”’, in *HC*, vol. 5, pp. 59–116; Joshua Prawer, ‘Social Classes in the Crusader States: the Franks’, *ibid.*, pp. 117–92; Benjamin Z. Kedar, ‘The Subjected Muslims of the Frankish Levant’, in James M. Powell (ed.), *Muslims Under Latin Rule, 1100–1300* (Princeton, NJ, 1990), pp. 135–74. ‘The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem – the First

- European Colonial Society?', *HH*, pp. 341–66; Rudolf Hiestand, 'Nam qui fuimus Occidentales, nunc facti sumus Orientales' – Siedlung und Siedleridentität in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten', in Christof Dipper and Rudolf Hiestand (eds), *Siedler-Identität: neun Fallstudien von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Frankfurt, 1995), pp. 61–80; *KMG*; D. E. P. Jackson, 'Some Considerations Relating to the History of the Muslims in the Crusader States', in Krijnie Ciggaar, Adelbert Davids and Herman Teule (eds), *East and West in the Crusader States. Context–Contacts–Confrontations* (Leuven, 1996), pp. 1–21; Hannes Möhring, 'Die Kreuzfahrer, ihre muslimischen Untertanen und die heiligen Stätten des Islam', in Alexander Patschovsky and Harald Zimmermann (eds), *Toleranz im Mittelalter*, Vorträge und Forschungen, 45 (Sigmaringen, 1998), pp. 129–58, especially pp. 138–46.
- 59 Robert I. Burns, *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Reconstruction of a Thirteenth Century Frontier*, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA, 1967).
- 60 See the forthcoming study by Cynthia Maya: 'A Medieval City in Transition: The Tortosa Frontier, 1148–1294' (doctoral dissertation, UCLA 1997), which I have not seen.
- 61 See note 57 as well as Jean-Maurice Fiey, *Chrétiens syriaques entre croisés et Mongols* (Rome, 1974); Gérard Dédéyan, 'Le rôle politique et militaire des Arméniens dans les Etats croisés pendant la première partie du XIII^e siècle', in *KMG*, pp. 153–64; Ronnie Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 3–40, 119–44; Johannes Pahlitzsch, 'Greci' und 'Suriani' im Palästina der Kreuzfahrerzeit. *Beiträge zur Geschichte des griechisch-orthodoxen Patriarchats von Jerusalem*, Berliner Historische Studien 33, Ordeusstudien XV (Berlin, 2001).
- 62 McCrank, *Restoration*, pp. 528–38; Becker, *Urban II*, pp. 333–76. Even though the notion of the *hereditas Christi* (cf. Hiestand, 'Nam qui fuimus') could not apply to the Iberian peninsula.
- 63 *Codice diplomatico*, vol. I, docs 243, 244. *Liber Feudorum Maior*, doc. 462; Hilmar C. Krueger, 'Post-War Collapse and Rehabilitation in Genova 1149–1162', in *Studi in onore di Gino Luzzatto* (Milan, 1950), vol. I, pp. 117–28; Garí, 'Why Almería', pp. 223–4; cf. the reassessment of the financial aspects of the campaign offered by Williams, 'Making of a Crusade'.
- 64 Steven Tibble, *Monarchy and Lordships in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1099–1291* (Oxford, 1989); see Hans Eberhard Mayer's review in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeiger* 245 (1993), pp. 59–70; Hans Eberhard Mayer, 'Herrschaft und Verwaltung im Kreuzfahrerkönigreich Jerusalem', *Historische Zeitschrift* 261 (1995), pp. 695–739.
- 65 Bayerri, *Historia*, vol. VII, pp. 100–1, 199–201, 212–71; Ramon Miravall, *Fonaments de l'autodeterminació medieval de Tortosa* (Barcelona, 1973). José María Font i Rius, 'El procés de formació de les Costums de Tortosa', *Revista Jurídica de Catalunya* 62 (1973), pp. 155–78, also in José María Font i Rius, *Estudis sobre els drets i institucions locals en la Catalunya medieval* (Barcelona, 1985), pp. 141–62. Carles Duarte i Montserrat, *El vocabulari jurídic del Llibre dels Costums de Tortosa (Ms de 1272)*, Col·lecció estudis, 4 (Barcelona, 1985); Josep Massip i Fonollosa, *Inventari de l'Arxiu Històric de Tortosa*, 2 vols (Tortosa, 1995), docs 118, 129, 137, 141, 281; *Costums de Tortosa*, ed. J. Massip i Fonollosa, Fundació

- Noguera, textos i documents, 32 (Barcelona, 1996). Gerard Marí, 'Evolució històrica dels privilegis de Tortosa, de Ramon Berenguer IV a Ferran II', in *Darreres investigacions històriques*, pp. 53–66.
- 66 Nikolas Jaspert, 'Bonds and Tensions on the Frontier: the Templars in Twelfth-Century Western Catalonia', in Jürgen Sarnowsky (ed.), *Mendicants, Military Orders and Regionalism in Medieval Europe* (Aldershot, 1999), pp. 19–45; Marcelin Defourneaux, *Les français en Espagne au XI et XII siècles* (Paris, 1949); Ramon Miravall, *La societat tortosina de la post-conquesta* (Barcelona, 1970); Carmen Batlle, 'Els francesos a la Corona d'Aragó', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 10 (1980), pp. 361–92; Maria-Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, 'Els italians a terres catalanes (segles XII–XV)', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 10 (1980), pp. 393–467; Virgili, *Detrimendum*, pp. 285–337. One could add Castilians and Navarrese (Virgili, *Detrimendum*, pp. 311–14).
- 67 Ramon Miravall, *Immigració britànica a Tortosa (segle XII)* (Barcelona, 1980); Hiestand, 'Reconquista', pp. 150–1.
- 68 In Lisbon, a cemetery was also founded in which *anglici* were buried: see Livermore, 'Conquest', pp. 4–5.
- 69 Antoni Virgili describes the crusaders solely as 'flamencs i alemanys' (Virgili, *Detrimendum*, p. 128), but cf. Hiestand, 'Reconquista', pp. 148–9; Edgington, 'Lisbon Letter', p. 335. The *Chronica regia* of Cologne does report that the same contingent which took Lisbon, i.e. a force also comprising crusaders from the imperial territories, conquered Tortosa (*Chronica regia Coloniensis*, ed. Georg Waitz, in *MGH* (1880), vol. XVIII, p. 86; cf. Hiestand, 'Reconquista', p. 140), but the extant Catalan sources do not support this argument: For one, the antroponymic evidence speaks in favour of an Anglo-Flemish contingent; and, second, the leaders of the three contingents are termed 'stabularius Anglerii', 'stabularius Flandrensis' and 'stabularius Lohernensis' respectively (Hiestand, 'Reconquista', p. 157), i.e. there is no mention of an independent German contingent. Possibly, the contingent which took Tortosa was the same that lingered on in Lisbon until April 1148, while the group which departed in late winter first attacked Faro and then sailed on to the Holy Land. On the chronology and its problems, see Hiestand, 'Reconquista', pp. 138–9.
- 70 Alard Anglicus, Berenguer Anglicus, Franc Anglicus, Gerard Anglicus, Gilbert Anglicus, Geoffrey Anglicus, John Anglicus, Jordan Anglicus, Nicholas Anglicus, Osbert Anglicus, Paganus Anglicus, Renald Anglicus, Robert d'Otenes, Theobald Anglicus, Vives Anglicus, William Anglicus, probably also Peter Renard, Renald Ranchalios, Peter de Holms, Peter de Gales and Ramon de Gales, *El Llibre Blanch de Santes Creus (Cartulario del siglo XII)*, ed. Francisco Udina Martorell, Textos y estudios de la Corona de Aragón, 9 (Barcelona 1947), doc. 414; *Diplomatari*, pp. 625–6; Virgili, *Detrimendum*, pp. 325–7; Miravall, *Immigració*; Hiestand, 'Reconquista'. The number would be larger still if one included the members of the family Selvanyac, whose origin is unclear but who maintained close relationships with the English community. On the repartiment see Virgili, *Detrimendum*, pp. 164–226. See also *De Al-Andalus a la sociedad feudal: los repartimientos bajomedievales* (Madrid, 1990).

- 71 *Llibre Blanch*, docs 157, 173; *Diplomatari*, doc. 180.
- 72 As is the case of Theobald Anglicus (*Diplomatari*, docs 127, 140, 144, 243, 249, 251, 259, 260, 263, 264, 265, 267, 268, 274, 278). Two further Englishmen, Gilbert and Godafred, entered the Cistercian monastery of Santes Creus late in life (*Llibre Blanch*, docs 177, 195, 227, 231).
- 73 *Llibre Blanch*, docs 114, 414; Miravall, *Immigració*, pp. 7–23; Hiestand, ‘Reconquista’, pp. 150–1; *Diplomatari*, p. 655.
- 74 *Llibre Blanch*, doc. 157. Five individuals of Anglo-Norman origin are named.
- 75 Alembors, wife of Alard (*Llibre Blanch*, doc. 70); Rose, wife of John Anglicus (*Ibid.*, doc. 289, 332); Julia, mother of Godafred (*Ibid.*, doc. 51); Eloise, wife of Peter de Gales (*Ibid.*, doc. 131; *Diplomatari*, doc. 177).
- 76 ‘Annales Disibodi’, p. 28; *EL*. Cf. Constable, ‘Second Crusade’, p. 222.
- 77 *Diplomatari*, doc. 155. Osbert returned to Tortosa from his pilgrimage (*Diplomatari*, doc. 180)
- 78 See note 14 above.
- 79 Jaspert, ‘Bonds and Tensions’, pp. 28–9; Hiestand, ‘Reconquista’, Virgili, *Detrimendum*, p. 285–337.
- 80 *Tortosa i les terres de l’Ebre*, pp. 172–4; Maria M. Villalbí, Toni Forcadell and Pere L. Artigues, ‘El castell d’Amposta. Nota preliminar’, *Quaderns d’Historia Tarraconense* 13 (1994), pp. 183–207.
- 81 *Diplomatari*, docs 233, 283, 362, 432, 472, 276.
- 82 Nikolas Jaspert, *Stift und Stadt. Das Heiliggrabpriorat von Santa Anna und das Regularkanonikerstift Santa Eulàlia del Camp im mittelalterlichen Barcelona, 1145–1423*, Berliner Historische Studien, 24, Ordensstudien X (Berlin, 1996), pp. 451–2.
- 83 Last will of Gilbert Anglicus in 1172 (*Llibre Blanch*, doc. 157) and Pere Esteve in 1176 (*Diplomatari*, doc. 282).
- 84 *Diplomatari*, doc. 157 (1166): ‘iuxta civitatis Dertose circa cimiterium anglorum’.
- 85 In particular the cathedral and the Cistercian abbey of Santes Creus, which was strongly favoured by the Anglo-Normans, *Llibre Blanch*, docs 157, 172, 173, 195; Maria Lurdes Mallart Raventós, ‘Empremtes iconogràfiques angleses en els monstres del claustre de Santes Creus’, *Quaderns d’Història Tarraconense* 10 (1990), pp. 7–30.