

Out of Many, One?: the voice(s) in the crusade ideology
of Las Navas de Tolosa

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Setting the Stage: Context for Las Navas de Tolosa¹

July 16, 1212. Poised on the plains near the city of Las Navas de Tolosa, two armies prepared to engage in battle. On one side stood three kings of Spain, one prince, two archbishops, monks from the four crusading orders and between 6,000 to 10,000 soldiers.² Armed not just physically, but spiritually with the indulgences of crusade granted by Pope Innocent III, they faced Muhammed al-Nasir (Miramolin, according to the Christian sources), caliph of the Almohad Empire, and his army. Just a year earlier, al-Nasir had swept into the Iberian Peninsula with his army and taken the Christian stronghold of Salvatierra. Furthermore, as Cesarius of Hesterbach asserted, he coupled this act with the challenge that he would “seize all of Europe, transform the porch of St. Peters into a stable for his horses and establish his banner in the top.”³ This threat struck at the core of Christendom, for as St. Jerome penned in the early fifth century “If Rome can perish, what can be safe.”⁴

As a result, in October 1211, the kings of the Spanish peninsula’s two most powerful kingdoms, Alfonso VIII of Castile and Pedro II of Aragon, agreed to fight this threat, meeting in Toledo on May 20, 1212.⁵ During this interim, emissaries enlisted help from neighboring kingdoms, signed truces and reaffirmed papal support. All was going according to plan for the Christian crusaders until they encountered the Muslim army, who had the advantageous position and blocked all the known passes. That night, chroniclers record the miraculous arrival of a shepherd who revealed a passage through the mountains unknown to all that “had often crossed

¹ Unless otherwise noted, all English translations are my own.

² Ambrosia Huici Miranda, *Estudio sobre la campaña de las navas de tolosa* (Valencia: Anales del Instituto General y Tecnico De Valencia, 1916), 50-51. ; Francisco García Fitz, *Las navas de tolosa*, Ariel grandes batallas (Barcelona: Ariel, 2005), 48.

³ Martin Alvira Cabrer, “El desafío del miramamolín,” *Al-Qantara*, 18, (1997): 468.

⁴ Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: a biography* (Los Angeles: U of California P, 2000), 288.

⁵ Manuel G. López Payer and María Dolores Rosado Llamas, *La batalla de las navas de tolosa* (Madrid: Alemena Ediciones, 2002).

through those places.”⁶ On the day of the battle, July 16, 1212, buoyed by this advantage, the Christians “triumphantly won, by God alone and through God alone.”⁷ This victory shattered Almohad power and removed the threat of a Muslim attack of Europe through Spain.

This sequence of events comes from the point of view of those active on the ground of Las Navas de Tolosa. It reads a little differently in the narrative of the papacy. Since Pope Urban II’s first proclamation of crusade to the Holy Land in 1095, the papacy had expanded the scope of the venture beyond the eastern Mediterranean. Although Pope Urban II forced desirous Spanish participants to fight the enemy at home, many historians do not correlate this fact with multiple theaters of crusade.⁸ One of the first instances of this extension of the call to crusade away from the east was Pope Calixtus II’s 1123 decree during the First Lateran Council that all who fought persistently in the current expedition in Spain received the same remission of sins given to the defenders of the Eastern Church.⁹ Throughout the first decade of the 1200’s, Pope Innocent III furthered this expansion of papal crusade interest into Spain by issuing letters promising indulgences to individuals who undertook similar crusades in the peninsula. However, it was not until news of Miramolin reached the throne of St. Peter in late 1211 that Innocent successfully orchestrated a crusade. First, the pope harnessed the spiritual powers of the church through the granting of indulgences and the organization of a procession to pray for the expedition’s success. Then, he utilized the church network to spread the news and solicit aid for the Iberian Peninsula. Thus, the papacy played a key leadership role in Las Navas de Tolosa that destroyed the largest threat to Western Christendom since the Vikings.

⁶ *The Latin Chronicle of the Kings of Castile*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, Translated by Joseph O’Callaghan, Vol. 236 (Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies: Tempe, 2002), 47. (english translation provided by O’Callaghan)

⁷ Alfonso VIII, “Letter to innocent III,” *De Re Militari*, <http://www.deremilitari.org/RESOURCES/SOURCES/tolosa.htm>; Internet; accessed 4 Sept. 2009. (english translation provided by website)

⁸ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The crusades: A history* (London: Continuum, 2005), 8.

⁹ Joseph O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and crusade in medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2003), 38

The record of Las Navas de Tolosa offers two competing narratives: one papal and the other monarchical. Both possessed claims to leadership; but which one actually led in this case? My thesis will explore the ways in which the monarchy of Castile under Alfonso VIII and the papacy under Innocent III transformed crusade ideology through the incorporation of institutional ambitions into crusade records. Through the rhetoric and careful definition of unity, pilgrimage and penance, these two institutions presented different claims on the leadership of Las Navas de Tolosa and more importantly their identity as a power in medieval Europe. The medieval church was the dominant institution of the Middle Ages and Pope Innocent III was arguably its most powerful ruler. During Las Navas de Tolosa, Innocent III furthered the temporal reach of the see of St. Peter by promoting the papacy as the leader of crusade against all foes. King Alfonso VIII of Castile recognized the encroachment on his powers and contested the ideology with crusade ideology of his own. Not only did he combat the papal threat but also he elevated Castile as the principal kingdom of Spain. One final note: I will use the name Las Navas de Tolosa to stand for the battle itself, the process of assembling troops, and the political interactions between kings, ecclesiastics and pope.

Literature of Las Navas de Tolosa¹⁰

While historians debate details such as combatant attendance or al-Nasir's challenge, they separately agree upon the uniqueness of Las Navas de Tolosa to Spanish history. Peter Linehan states that “the victory at Las Navas came at the end of a five year period during which the Christian rulers of the peninsula had been urged as never before to combine against the common enemy.”¹¹ Prior to 1212, truces between the faiths were not uncommon for every rival kingdom was a potential ally against the aggression of neighbors. For instance, the main reason for

¹⁰ Not intended to be exhaustive but rather to demonstrate a prevailing trend in scholarship.

¹¹ Peter Linehan, *History and historians of medieval Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1993), 318.

delayed revenge after the disaster at Alarcos in 1195 was a ten-year truce signed in 1199 between the kingdom of Castile and the Almohad Empire. Typical of the period was that only one or two kingdoms joined against the Muslims; in addition, it was not unusual for a kingdom to find mutual benefit by joining with the Muslims against their neighbor. In 1198, Castile and Aragon invaded the kingdom of Navarre, with the intention of amalgamating it within their own land holdings. Faced with such a threat, Sancho VII of Navarre solicited help from the Almohad Empire.¹² However in 1212, this was not the case. King Alfonso VIII of Castile, King Sancho VII of Navarre, and King Pedro II of Aragon were present at the battle; King Ferdinand II of Leon sent the Infante Sancho Fernandez with a contingent to fight in his stead; the remaining monarch, King Afonso II of Portugal, agreed to leave his neighbors alone. This solidarity of Las Navas de Tolosa is unique in Spanish history to this point. King Alfonso VIII consequently capitalized on these sentiments to begin the creation of Spain; by virtue of his leadership during the campaign, he forwarded his name as the choice for the king of the new polity of Spain.

Las Navas de Tolosa was also unique in the stark deviation from normative medieval military theory. According to Vegetius in *De re militari*¹³ the common tactic was a series of maneuvers in order to gain the upper hand and force an advantageous treaty, this expedition chose to fight. Even more surprising about Las Navas de Tolosa was the enormous risk of loss, not only plausible through attack from opportunistic enemies but the participants on campaign faced uncertain profitability and poor opportunity for territorial expansion. At other times in Spanish history, such as in 1199, this would have warranted signing a truce or delay; yet this battle was unique in that despite the odds, they pressed forward in order to attack.¹⁴

¹² Joseph O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and crusade in medieval Spain*, 64.

¹³ A fourth century treatise on Roman warfare that was the main military guide for the Middle Ages.

¹⁴ Fitz, 83.

Martin Alvira Cabrer, in his illuminating work on the religious dimensions of the battle, suggests yet another cause for the distinctiveness of Las Navas de Tolosa: the conception of time. *El tiempo de la guerra* was the standard of the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages as there was always a Muslim threat. The work of the Reconquista mentally prepared the inhabitants of Spain for war. However, a battle was just an option and usually the least preferred one. On the other hand, *el tiempo de la batalla* offered a radically different view of war. Rather than one of several possibilities, the battle was the choice with the purpose of coercing the enemy to participate.¹⁵ Since the loss of the Iberian Peninsula in 711 A.D., the Reconquista had been concerned with the former, a defensive war against aggression, while steadily conquering back territory and avoiding set piece battles. The campaign of Las Navas de Tolosa from the outset was concerned with victory over al-Nasir and avenging the affront to Christendom suffered at Salvatierra. As such, when one understands it through this construction of time, while still integral to the Reconquista, Las Navas de Tolosa assumes more the ideology of crusade. Ultimately, the reconfiguration of war style and participation of Spanish kingdoms transformed the Muslim foe. They no longer had a rival territorial neighbor; the enemy of Las Navas de Tolosa became an enemy of the faith. The Christian people forefronted the Muslim identity marker in order to solidify their own position.

Finally, the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa was unique in reaching beyond the Pyrenees for help. With the exception of crusaders stopping in Lisbon on their way to the Second Crusade (1147-1149), typically only the inhabitants of the Spain undertook warfare against the Saracen menace in Spain. This placed the enthusiasm for combat within the framework of Reconquista.

¹⁵ Martin Alvira Cabrer, "Dimensiones religiosas y liturgia de la batalla plenomedieval: Las navas de tolosa," *XX Siglos*, 19 (1994): 35.

However, in 1212, Alfonso VIII sent a letter of a different tone to Philip Augustus of France requesting his help in the upcoming fight:

While you all may believe the wall to soundness as usual and the defenses to be made to fall over, we extend a request of your serenity with sobbing in so far as from your reign to our assistance send over expeditions and knights armed, nothing wavering because if one responds to blood in Christian conflict with our blood, truly we can be reckoned martyrs.¹⁶

The imagery of martyrdom in response to the suffering of Christ fits the language of crusade ideology. Alfonso VIII decided on this different approach in order to garner outside help. In order to have Castile act on par with other kingdoms of Western Christendom, it needed to adopt a similar language. This different style meant that he rejected the isolation of Reconquista in favor of a message of crusade unity. While ultimately, King Philip did not contribute to the endeavor¹⁷, nonetheless, Alfonso VIII's military passion was very different from the past.

This did not mean that French knights entirely eschewed Las Navas de Tolosa. Inspired to rouse support amongst his native Frenchmen, a troubadour named Gavaudan lamented:

Lords, for our sins
grows the strength of the Saracens:
Saladin has taken Jerusalem,
which still has not been recovered.
For this, the king of Morocco sends to tell
that he will combat all the kings of Christianity
with his mendacious Andalusians and Arabs,
armed against the faith of Christ.¹⁸

¹⁶ *Cum igitur murum integritati solitum debeatis et vallum fiei procidere, serenitati vestrae preces porrigimus cum singultu quatenus de regno vestro veraculos expeditos et armatos milites ad nostrum coadjutorium transmittatis, nihil dubitantes quia, si sanguis noster in conflictu Christi respondet sanguini, vere poterimus inter martyres computari.* Julio González, *El reino de castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Escuela de Estudios Medievales, 1960), 558.

¹⁷ For a larger explanation see below, pg. 69.

¹⁸ *Senhors, per los nostres peccatz/ Creys la fosa dels Sarrasis;/ Jherusalem pres Saladis,/ Et encaras non es cobratz;/ Per que manda 'l reys de Maro/ QU'aab totz los reys de Crestiás/ Se combatrà ab sos trfás/ Andoloziz et Arabito./ Contra la fe de Crist garnitz* (original Occitan) Manuel Milá and Fontanals, *De los trovadores en España : Estudio de poesía y lengua provenzal* (Barcelona: Librería de Alvaro Verdaguer, 1889), 122; *Señores por nuestros pecados crece la fuerza de los sarracenos: Saladito ha tomado a Jerusalén que todavía no se ha recobrado. Por esto envía a decir el rey de Marruecos que combatirá a todos los reyes los reyes de los cristianos con sus mendaces andaluces y árabes, armados contra la fe de Cristo* (Spanish) Mila and Fontanel, 121.

Pope Innocent III issued letters to the prelates of France to hasten to the aid of their brothers to the south.¹⁹ In the letter to the Archbishop of Sens and his suffragans, the Pope urged the crusaders toward the loyal work of expelling the “Saracens this year entering Spain in oppressive multitudes,” and in return granted “the remission of all sins.”²⁰

Consequently, Archbishop Arnold Almaric of Narbonne, the archbishop of Bordeaux, the bishop of Nantes and the noble Theoblad of Blazon led a contingent of *ultramontanos* that contemporaries estimated as 60,000 strong. To contextualize this number (typically hyperbolic, in medieval fashion), one has to look at the estimates for Spanish participants. The letter by Alfonso VIII listed this as 185,000, which made the proportion of foreigners approximately one in three.²¹ Therefore, not only the supplication for outside aid but also the response of this contingent of fighters in the Iberian Peninsula with foreigner status makes exceptional Las Navas de Tolosa within Spain history.

In this thesis, I will argue that Las Navas de Tolosa was unique. It was unique to crusade history because against the thirteenth-century trend of crusade failure culminating in the fall of Acre in 1291, crusaders at Las Navas de Tolosa victoriously routed the Muslim foe. It was unique to papal history because it remade the policy of interaction with the Spanish peninsula. Pope Innocent III throughout his reign expanded the temporal authority of the church and Las Navas de Tolosa crystallizes a case study of how this was accomplished. Finally, it was unique to Spanish history. Previously separated from Christendom through the language of Reconquista, the transition to crusade created interactions that resonated through the rest of the Middle Ages. The fact that the endeavor was a success enabled the king of Castile to solidify his status as the

¹⁹ Demetrio Mansilla, ed, *La documentación Pontificia Hasta Inocencio III, 965-1216*. (Roma: Instituto Español de Estudios Eclesiásticos, 1955), letter #470.

²⁰ Mansilla, letter #468: *Sarraceni hoc anno intrantes Yspaniam in multitudine gravi... in remissionem omnium peccatorum*.

²¹ Fitz 483.

primary king in the Iberian peninsula. In retrospect, Las Navas de Tolosa was a moment where Castile launched itself toward becoming the modern polity of Spain.

Las Navas de Tolosa and Crusade Ideology

Papal and Spanish histories wielded crusade ideology to show the crucial role Las Navas de Tolosa played to crusade in this period. In doing so, they defined Las Navas de Tolosa as a crusade. Crusade ideology originated with Pope Urban II and will be explained more fully later. Historians have argued that Las Navas de Tolosa falls outside the tradition of crusade and therefore cannot be analyzed within the typical crusade rubric. Before continuing further, I wish to clarify how historians have defined medieval crusade and Las Navas de Tolosa in fact does fit within this definition. Before the late twentieth century, historians unquestioningly followed the view of Jean Flori who described crusade as an “ideological fusion of holy war and pilgrimage” justified by the desire to win and hold the Holy Sepulcher.²² Moreover, the multi-volume works of Steven Runciman and Kenneth Setton for the most part neglect military activity that did not occur in the Levant. Until the last fifty years, the traditional view has been to omit European activity from discussion concerning crusade ideology, with a few notable exceptions²³ Consequently, historians have for the large part left the 1212 campaign entirely out of the discussion of crusade.

Moreover, the few historians who do include some discourse on the endeavor have relegated the 1212 campaign as a holy war or part of the Reconquista. Spanish historians, more focused on creating a national agenda that identified the Spanish past as different and uniquely theirs, have largely neglected broader contextualization. More recently, Derek Lomax eschewed nationalist rhetoric but continued the conception that the term Reconquista developed after the

²² Norman Housley, *Contesting the crusades* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 3.

²³ For instance, Joseph Strayer, *The Albigensian Crusades* (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 2007).

Muslim conquest of Spain in 711 A.D. This term dominated peninsular thought by the ninth century.²⁴ Therefore, in his opinion, Spanish historians have correctly delineated Reconquista as the term for the military endeavors in Spain because it not only predated crusades but also precluded the need for them. Finally, the foremost skeptic of Las Navas de Tolosa as an example of thirteenth-century crusade is Christopher Tyerman. In his works on the crusade, he too has developed an extremely narrow definition that only allows certain situations to be considered crusade; the rest are holy war. Among his requirements are indulgences and support from the papacy as well as a commitment to the liberation of the Holy Land. According to these historians, the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa has no importance to crusade ideology.

I maintain that the term Reconquista limits the impact of Las Navas de Tolosa. The influx of foreign support and the severity of the threat brought the matter outside of Spain and into the medieval West. The papacy deployed crusade ideology to extend its influence as a temporal power into the previously secluded region of Spain. In reaction to this, the kingdom of Castile used equally essential crusade ideology in order to contest the papacy and create its own place as a dominant power in the wake of victory.

Some historians have made nods towards recognizing this. Jonathan Riley-Smith expanded the definition of the crusade in his 1977 work *What were the Crusades?* He and his students argued a pluralist view that what mattered was not the theatre of war but rather the response “to an appeal to take action... promulgated by the pope and preached by the Church.”²⁵ While he has included in other works brief mentions of the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, Jonathan Riley-Smith has not devoted significant time to contextualizing this battle in rejection of his peers’ assertions that it is simply a holy war.

²⁴ O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and crusade in medieval Spain*, 3.

²⁵ Housley, 4.

Jose Gaztambide first questioned the tendency of historians to isolate Spain was first accomplished in his work *Historia de la bula de la cruzada en España* in 1958. Although Gaztambide's groundbreaking work provides a broad description of the entire crusading effort in Spain, it relies too heavily on institutional history and papal documents and neglects the plethora of sources that could be used to bolster his argument and reinterpret a definition of crusade in the thirteenth century. Martin Alvira Cabrer has published numerous articles on facets of Las Navas de Tolosa, including its religious significance, the path from Alarcos to Las Navas, and the similarities of Almohad sources to their Abbasid counterparts in the east. Despite this, he has never written a more comprehensive history of the period. By incorporating a broader body of sources and intertwining all of the components, I hope to correct these omissions and offer a portrait of crusade ideology in Spain in the beginning of the thirteenth century.

In order to understand fully the crusade ideology as it existed in 1212, one should first understand how it came to be through the transformation from its original conception in 1095 to its 1212 incarnation. Although war had been fought against religious enemies almost since the inception of Christianity, the first event that can positively be called crusade occurred in 1098 with an attempt to recover the holy land from Muslim foes. Pope Urban II articulated the rhetoric that underpinned this event at the Council of Clermont in 1095. While no verbatim account of his speech exists, several extant sources report the main ideas of what was to become the crusade.

Foremost, crusade responded to attacks by people "alienated from God" that usually involved desecration of churches and the Christian people.²⁶ Yet those who went to fight were not just warriors but rather pilgrims. It was their avowed purpose to emulate the command that

²⁶ Paul Halsall, ed. "Urban II Speech at council of Clermont, 1095, five versions of the speech." *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*, 1997 <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/urban2-5vers.html>; Internet; accessed Mar. 2010.

“he that taketh not his cross and followeth after me, is not worthy of me.”²⁷ As such, knights undertook a holy pilgrimage, taking vows and wearing the sign of the cross to show how they had given themselves as a living sacrifice. In return for these acts, the crusader received the full remission of the debt of sins and in death “the assurance of the imperishable glory of the kingdom of heaven.” Furthermore, in order to guarantee attendance, Pope Urban II reminded listeners of the truce of God. Those signed by the cross and their enemies should “let your quarrels end, let wars cease and let all dissensions and controversies slumber.” Thus Urban facilitated the crusaders ability to “enter upon the road to the Holy Sepulcher,” Jerusalem, considered the center of the world and for the first crusade the crusade’s only goal. However, Urban II did give allowance to those fighting in Spain to remain since it was reckless to go to the Holy Land yet leave dangerous enemies unchecked at home. Gaztambide argues that Urban II believed knights in Spain were engaged in the same defense of Christianity against Muslim tyranny as in Asia: to “die in the Spanish war for the love of God was as meritorious as in the expedition overseas.”²⁸ Finally, only those fit for battle were allowed to participate; the infirm, women and poor were advised to remain at home and leave the battle to the nobility, ecclesiastical, and warrior classes.

These precepts for crusade remained largely stable through the ensuing two centuries. Essential for an analysis of Las Navas de Tolosa, slight permutations allowed Innocent III to enlist crusade ideology in defense of the Christian west from Muslim aggression. For instance, going to Jerusalem was no longer a requirement. Louis VII of France on the Second Crusade would not consider any other plans until he had completed his pilgrimage to Jerusalem.²⁹ Yet in the Third Crusade, Richard the Lionhearted strongly believed the best means of attack was to go

²⁷ Matthew 10:38

²⁸ Jose Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de la cruzada en España*. (Vitoria: Editorial del Seminario, 1958), 50.

²⁹ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The crusades: A history*, 129.

to Ascalon, Egypt, in order to secure the Christian position and keep Saladin from receiving reinforcements.³⁰ Furthermore, by the thirteenth century, it was not even necessary to go to Asia at all. With the Albigensian crusade, starting in 1209, it was possible to crusade against Christendom's enemies at home. This dispersion of the focus on Jerusalem made it possible for Innocent III to respond to the threat of al-Nasir by utilizing the ideology of crusade.

Another alteration was in who could participate. Previously limited to those who could afford the journey and those fit to fight, by the early thirteenth century, these standards had altered. In 1209, Innocent III permitted the commuting of the crusading vow by a monetary gift of alms. This measure drastically increased the number of Christians able to participate, and provided financial support for such endeavors. Finally, in 1212, Innocent III admonished regular Christians to do penitential processions and pray for the success of military ventures on behalf of Christendom, claiming that in doing so, they were now fully integrated into crusade.

In discussing crusade, historians have been too focused on delineating what exactly constituted crusade. In reality, while there were some fixed tenets, often crusade in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries was much more fluid. This project will concentrate on the manner in which kings and popes utilized this fluidity in order to promote their personal agendas in the midst of a campaign against an enemy of the faith. Secondly, it will examine Las Navas de Tolosa through the lens of crusade ideology in order to see how the event was molded by and in turn shaped crusade. Using the term Reconquista limits the scope of the moment to just within Spain. The ideology of Las Navas de Tolosa transcended the limitation, for the remade crusade ideology reflected the new realities of the monarchical state and papal powers in Europe during the later half of the Middle Ages.

³⁰ Riley-Smith, 145

This thesis examines how papal and monarchical voices utilized crusade ideology not only to fight a religious foe but also to advance their respective institution's agendas. By voice, I mean not just the pope or king but rather the group of individuals that weigh in on that side of the argument. For the pope, this includes ecclesiastics such as Arnaud Amalric. The monarchical voice includes not just Alfonso VII but rather the three chronicling bishops. Chapter one will explore the first voice, that of the papacy. Pope Innocent III, through his procession called on May 20, 1212, provided a credible physical commitment to his rhetoric of crusade leadership, a spectacle to remind his suffragans in Rome of his dominance, and a ritual precedent that expressed the papacy's hopes for Christendom to unite around crusade. Innocent III believed himself to take his rightful place at the head of the united body of Christ. I will first look at the processional event in Rome and its significance to the papal crusade ideology of unity. Next, the chapter will examine an emulation of this procession in the diocese of Chartres. The final part of the chapter will analyze how this procession bolstered the notion of pan-Christian unity that Innocent hoped to convey in urging crusade through inspecting the link of Innocent III's procession with the 1213 papal bull *Quia Maior* as well as a procession later called by Honorius III in 1217.

In chapter two, I will introduce the second voice, that of the monarch. King Alfonso VIII of Castile, aware of the papacy's encroaching influence, contested Innocent's claim to crusade leadership. In its place, he promoted himself as a local defender of the faith, one that did not need guidance from Rome. Court commissioned chroniclers crystallized this position through an appropriation of the language of *imitatio Christi*, minimizing the regulatory framework of pilgrimage and maximizing the individual's choice of following Christ. Just as a donor window in a cathedral recorded acts of patronage and pilgrimage, the chronicles acted as the means for

the kings to record and memorialize their pious actions. This chapter examines three chronicles: *Latin Chronicle of the Kings of Castile*, *Chronicon Mundi*, and *Historia de rebus Hispanie*. In doing so, I will demonstrate how the courts of Castile contested the papal vision of crusade and promoted the monarchical. Finally, not only chronicles represented the tension between Christian powers. Correspondence did as well. I will inspect how King Alfonso VIII, in a letter telling of the victory of Las Navas de Tolosa, constructed his own vision of *imitatio Christi* in order to promote his claim to primary defender of the faith. Innocent III then retaliated, not only stressing the need for humility but also asserting his own position of authority.

Chapter three will explore how the two separate visions of monarch at one extreme and pope at the other were reconciled toward the same goal of fighting the enemy of the cross. The contemporary theology of penance, including the crusade indulgence, forced cooperation. Innocent III offered spiritual incentives for participation but did not have a presence fighting in the field. Meanwhile Alfonso VIII had the leadership in Spain as well as troops; however due to the size of the threat, he did not have enough troops nor any incentives to bring support from abroad. The two sides needed each other. This chapter will trace the chronology of the two years before Las Navas de Tolosa through letters issued by Innocent III and Alfonso VIII. In doing so, I will demonstrate how each ruler utilized the other in order to defeat Miramolin together, although each still preserved his own personal agenda.

One problem of exploring the tension between the pope and king is that it tends to background the more physical threat of Miramolin. To correct this, chapter four will present a third voice, that of the troubadour. Troubadour crusade songs offered a call to arms. In the ideal vision they presented, the crusade was simply a matter of faith. With Christ as the head of the venture, claims of the pope and the monarch do not matter. By writing in a century-long

tradition, the troubadours rejected the new positions of the monarchy and papacy. They asserted a vision in which their native Occitania still held an integral role in the construction of crusade. This chapter will identify the common themes in the construction of the medieval troubadour crusade lyric. It then explores the two songs of Las Navas de Tolosa: *Hueimas no y conosc razo* and *Senhors, per los nostres peccatz*. In doing so, I will show that crusade ideology was not just a reflection of new ideas of power dynamics in medieval Europe but also a means through which to preserve past values.

Building the Body of Christ: the crusade ideology of unity in Innocent III's 1212 procession

Fundamental to crusade ideology and found in almost any crusading text was the theme of unity. Chroniclers of the First Crusade admonished Stephen of Blois for abandoning the effort at Antioch by cowardly fleeing in the middle of the night. This disruption of unity caused his family such shame that his wife forced him to join another venture. Furthermore, at a tournament before the Fourth Crusade³¹, Thibald of Champagne and Louis of Blois knelt and pledged to accept the cross, followed symbolically by all other knights and lords present.³² Pivotal to many texts was the attaching of a cloth cross to an outer garment, which signified a pilgrimage badge that united the participants in a single act. However, all of these events focus solely on the crusaders themselves. Within crusade ideology, there was no discussion about the possible inclusion of those left behind whether they were infirm, indigent or women. One needs to look no further than the success of Peter the Hermit³³ to see that these groups wished to participate. Yet crusade ideology until the thirteenth century only included important clerics, nobles and those who fought. The rest of Christendom remained behind, excluded from joining this pilgrimage for Christ.

Pope Innocent III, through a 1212 procession held in Rome in support of Las Navas de Tolosa, hoped to rectify this bifurcation of the Christian people. Crusaders had used penitential processions as early as the First Crusade defending the city of Antioch against the anticipated aggression of Kerbogha. The procession was an event with a crusade context that the papacy could perform with the same intent, but closer to home. Faced with the anxiety of lay usurpation of papal crusade primacy by King Alfonso VIII of Castile, similar to what had happened in the

³¹ 1199 November 28

³² Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 152.

³³ A charismatic priest rumored to have collected 40,000 peasant supporters for the first wave of the First Crusade.

lay dominated Fourth Crusade (1202-1204), Innocent capitalized on this form of a credible commitment to the cause. In their game of brinkmanship for supremacy, Innocent employed this spectacle to make a tangible claim outside of typical written and liturgical means. Furthermore, it helped to quell malcontents in Rome. In 1203, Innocent III fled the city in the wake of a popular rebellion; he reconciled with the city a year later and they “received [him] with great honor.” However, these sentiments did not last; a few years later, he once more had to evacuate due to the pressure of the citizens of Rome, returning in 1208 with an *adventus*³⁴ to the Lateran.³⁵ By proclaiming this procession, Innocent III not only provided a credible physical commitment to his rhetoric of crusade leadership but also provided a spectacle to remind his suffragans in Rome of his dominance.

While the 1212 procession worked to assuage these anxieties, it foremost acted to create a ritual precedent that expressed the papacy’s hopes for Christendom to unite around crusade. The purpose was in order to defend against the threats by the Muslim leader Miramolin “to seize all of Europe, transform the porch of St. Peter’s into a stable for his horses and establish his banner in the top.”³⁶ Non-fighting participants, through such ritual acts, fully engaged in crusade in communion with their fighting counterparts in Spain. Furthermore, the procession acted to bond the rest of the *populi Christianorum* by sparking copies. This chapter will first look at the event in Rome and its significance to the crusade ideology of unity. Beyond the creation of a common front, this ideology was rooted in the medieval ideas of order, especially revolving around a hierarchy of which Innocent III was the apex. Next, it will examine one instance of emulation in the diocese of Chartres. The final part of the chapter will assess the subsequent

³⁴ Ritual similar to a Roman Triumph but drawing upon the theological significance of the entrance into Jerusalem by Jesus.

³⁵ Susan Twyman, *Papal Ceremonial at Rome in the Twelfth Century* (London: Boydell Press, 2002), 169.

³⁶ As reported by Cesarius of Hesterbach in Martin Alvira Cabrer, “El Desafío Del Miramamolin,” *Al-Qantara* 18 (1997): 468.

impact on crusade ideology of unity through inspecting the link of Innocent III's processional with one called by Honorius III in 1217 as well as the 1213 papal bull *Quia maior*.

Around May 16, 1212, Pope Innocent III issued a letter³⁷ ordering to “let happen a general procession of men and also women³⁸” not only “for universal peace”³⁹ but that “God may be favorable to those in war, which is to be waged between them and the Saracens in Spain.”⁴⁰ The letter then delineated precisely the sequence of events to be followed. At the break of dawn, participants were to gather at three churches: women near S. Maria Maggiore, clerics near the Basilica of the Twelve Apostles, and laity near S. Anastasia. Surging forward at the sound of all the bells ringing together, they were to converge at the Lateran Basilica. At this point, the Pope with his curia descended into the Basilica, reverently taking the relic of the Holy Cross, and processed amongst the crowd to the *Scala Sancta*. Here the Pope encouragingly made a sermon to all before the women processed to S. Croce. With the women at S. Croce and the rest at the Lateran Basilica, both sites celebrated the mass. The Pope then led the clerics and laity to S. Croce, where another sermon was given before all departed back to their respective homes. Innocent ended with an admonition to fast, pray and give alms so that “the mercy of Christ might assuage the Christian people.”⁴¹ In his decree, Innocent III envisioned a unified Christendom, ecclesiastics with the laity, and men with women, all pursuing a common goal to repulse the enemy. At the same time, pervasive in the text was a specific conceptualization of unity that depended on scriptural interpretation of the body of Christ.⁴² And while the laity may be the

³⁷ Complete Latin text of Mansilla, letter # 473 and my translation can be found in the appendices.

³⁸ Mansilla, letter #473: *Fiat generalis processio virorum ac mulierum*

³⁹ *Ibid: Pro pace universalis*

⁴⁰ *Ibid: Deus propitius sit illis in bello quod inter ipsos et Sarracenos dicitur in Hispania committendum*

⁴¹ *Ibid: misericordia Conditoris reddatur populo christiano placante*

⁴² 1 Corinthians 12: 12 “The body is a unit, though it is made up of many parts; and though all its parts are many, they form one body. So it is with Christ.”

hands and feet, the pope positioned himself as the head, in this instance within the framework of crusade.

Integral in the display of unity was the day selected for the procession. In 1212, the “fourth holy day during the octave of Pentecost”⁴³ was 20 May, the very same date planned for the campaign to depart from Toledo.⁴⁴ Despite a separation of 1300 miles by land, the cities of Rome and Toledo were connected by virtue of the former being mindful of and praying for the protection of the latter. Moreover, the synchronous actions complemented each other. The thirteenth-century papacy espoused the relationship between church and state through an analogy of a government with two swords, the temporal and the spiritual.⁴⁵ In this instance, the crusaders were the earthly sword defending Christendom, whereas those in Rome, through the medium of devotional ritual, the spiritual sword fought the Saracens. Prior to 1212, the only individuals ever allowed to combat the foes of Christendom were those specifically in the field. Now, people who had previously been unable to help the crusaders (women, infirm, etc.) had a role. Through the same date of commencement, all could be part of the same effort.

Beyond the date of the procession, the choice of ritual was a conscious means of unification. Anthropologist Victor Turner states “ritual creates communities, a social unity through the release of commonly felt emotion.”⁴⁶ Likewise, Innocent III’s conscious creation of a specific ritual had an even more binding effect. By incorporating elements of penitential and mass processions into a new liturgy for crusade procession, it worked not only to broaden those able to participate but also to counteract the negative effects of sin on the campaign.

⁴³ *Quarta feria infra octavas Pentecosten*

⁴⁴ Payer, *La Batalla De Las Navas De Tolosa*, 174.

⁴⁵ Based in part on the writings of Pope Gelasius I and the gospel of Luke 22:35-38- “the disciples said, ‘See, Lord, here are two swords.’ ‘That is enough,’ he replied.”

⁴⁶ Victor Turner, *The ritual process: Structure and anti-structure* (Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co., 1969) quoted in Susan Twyman, *Papal ceremonial at Rome in the twelfth century*, Subsidia (Henry Bradshaw Society), Vol. 4. (London: Boydell Press, 2002), 117.

Based upon the structure of the events described, Innocent III's new ritual contained elements similar to a rogation procession. Stemming from the Latin for "to ask," this ceremony was designed to invoke God's mercy for the forgiveness of sins. Medieval liturgists believed the procession to have been formulated by Pope Gregory the Great in response to the plague of 590 A.D.⁴⁷ Modern research dates penitential processions about 200 years earlier, with the earliest written evidence consisting of Theodosius ordering processions as a plea for God's help on his imminent campaign. Other early processions are found in Rheims, 546; Limoges, 580; and another in Rome, 603. In fact, they are so common that Justinian devoted a portion of his *Corpus Juris Civilis* to its regulation.⁴⁸ Even though the early church's styles of processional execution had a wide variance, by the thirteenth century, the liturgy had become more institutionalized. Intended as an act of supplication to God, the Roman rite prescribed rogation processions to occur annually on the three days before Ascension Day.⁴⁹ The church adopted April 25th (St. Marks Day) as an additional day for the major litany.⁵⁰ In 1212, Ascension Day fell on May 3 and St. Mark's Day was still on April 25.⁵¹ Therefore, Innocent's ritual was not a rogation procession, for it did not occur on one of the prescribed dates. By the time of May 20, these events had already happened.

Instead, the procession called by Innocent III in 1212, desired to employ penitential elements, in order to unite the whole community as a body in support of crusade. Innocent III designed the ritual as a plea for God to "be favorable to those in war" and that "the mercy of Christ might assuage the Christian people." Furthermore, the procession was marked by "praying

⁴⁷ Gary Dickson. "Genesis of Children's Crusade." in *Religious Enthusiasm in the Medieval West: Revivals, Crusades, Saints*, Gary Dickson, ed. (Aldershot: Variorum, 2000), 39.

⁴⁸ Terence Bailey, *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church*. Vol. 21 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1971), 95-96.

⁴⁹ Dickson, 41.

⁵⁰ Bailey, 98.

⁵¹ Dickson, 41.

with devotion and also humility, in tears and groans, all with bare feet that are able.”⁵² Lastly the pope admonished all participants to “be content with bread and water,” “drink watered down good wine and of small expense, and “lay bare hands and hearts to the needy.”⁵³ The fact the Innocent ordered the acts to continue until the crusaders achieved victory mirrored the multi-day nature of the Easter penitential procession. Just as that event happened for three days from Good Friday until the victory of Easter Sunday, this pattern of prayer, fasting and almsgiving was to continue until the victory over the Saracens. However, the event was not just an act of prayer to God, but also a ritualized attempt by the Pope to instill in Christendom a unity of purpose. No longer was it solely the burden of the fighting crusaders to provide victory. Through this ceremony, it became the responsibility of every individual.⁵⁴ As such, the penitential character acted to frame the participants as pilgrims. Pilgrims performed similar penitential processions. Moreover, by the transformation into pilgrims, they also grew more connected to the crusaders in Spain, for, as evidenced by the frequent term in crusading texts of *peregrinatio*, a crusader was a specific type of pilgrim. Finally, Innocent III believed in the need for a penitential procession of non-fighting crusaders because only through a collective acknowledgment of sin and a universal attempt at penance would the venture succeed.

The failure of the Second Crusade most visibly showed sin as an impediment to crusade victory. Launched in response to the fall of Edessa, the campaign suffered due to a lack of trust between crusade leaders, withdrawn Byzantine support and a more unified Muslim opponent. Originally meant to support Edessa, the council at Acre decided to redirect the campaign against Damascus. Strategic mistakes during the siege forced a humiliating withdrawal and effectively

⁵² Mansilla, letter 473: *Orando cum devotione ac huiitate, in fletu et gemitu, nudis pedibus omnes que possunt*

⁵³ *Ibid: Pane pint et aqua content; bibant vinum bene limphatum et modice sumptum; aperiant manus et viscera indigentibus*

⁵⁴ *Ibid: unusquisque*

ended the campaign. It did not take long before theologians narrowed in on the reason why. The anonymous annalist of Würzburg pens the collective sentiment that “God allowed the Western church, on account of its sins, to be cast down.”⁵⁵ Rather than fight solely against “enemies of Christ’s Cross,” they choose to fight whomever “wherever opportunity appeared, in order to relieve their poverty”.⁵⁶ Even St. Bernard of Clairvaux, principal supporter of the endeavor, despite believing that man has no way to judge the wrath of God in His overall vision nonetheless conceded that the Lord was “provoked by our sins.”⁵⁷ In short, universal sin caused the colossal failure of the campaign. The next sixty years witnessed more failure to successfully achieve objectives in the Third and Fourth Crusades. Therefore, Innocent III attempted to resolve this dilemma through the liturgy of supplication. This pan-Christian procession at the same time as the crusaders embarked from Toledo not only removed the sins of his flock but also better provided for the success of his crusade venture.

Just as Innocent III employed elements of penance, he also utilized elements of a mass procession. Typically, a ceremony that terminated with a mass had different liturgical significance than one that was strictly penitential. It instead recognized a significant event, such as the consecration of a bishop, the translation of a saint or in this instance the commencement of the crusade. In the directions written by Innocent III, the congregants twice celebrated the mass. The first was in the S. Croce, where a cardinal celebrated the mass employing the oratio “All powerful, eternal God, in whose hands are all powers.”⁵⁸ A few lines later, in the Lateran Basilica, once more the supplicants were found “venerably celebrating the mass.”⁵⁹ Through

⁵⁵ James Brundage, *The Crusades: A Documentary Survey* (Milwaukee: Marquette UP, 1962), 121.

⁵⁶ Ibid

⁵⁷ Ibid 122

⁵⁸ Mansilla, letter #473 *Celebret eis missam dicendo illam orationem Omnipotens, semipiterne Deus, in cuius manu sunt omnia potestates.*

⁵⁹ Mansilla, letter #473: *Celebrat venerabiliter missa*

these actions, Innocent III created a community drawn together in Christ through the sacraments. Innocent explained this principle in his treatise entitled *The Sacrament of the Altar*. In it, he stated that the Eucharist both “signifies and effects ecclesial unity.”⁶⁰ Mass was a common meal. All ate together with a common focus of meditation upon the sacrifice of Christ. In the early church, the Episcopal Eucharist could be attended by the whole Christian community; however, over time the faithful grew too numerous and dispersed for this to be feasible. Thus, the stationary masses acted as a symbolic recognition of this fact and attempted in Rome to represent unity throughout the population of Christendom.⁶¹ The communions held at the Lateran Basilica and San Marco in Innocent III’s liturgy emulated this model. Multiple churches achieved unity not only amongst those in Rome but also representatively with their brothers and sisters in Christ fighting in Spain.⁶²

Moreover, for the medieval church, in the consecration of the host and chalice, the bread and wine literally became the body and blood of Christ. However, ecclesiastics qualify the taking of it with the scriptural admonition of Paul that “anyone who eats and drinks without recognizing the body of the Lord eats and drinks judgment on himself.”⁶³ Accordingly, a pivotal condition of this sacrament was that the supplicant must be spiritually clean in order to take it. Peter Lombard’s twelfth century exegesis of this text claimed the Eucharist was an expiatory sacrifice and the canon lawyer, Gratian, furthered this idea in that communion granted the remission of sin to the faithful.⁶⁴ None but those whom had shown repentance through confession must partake in

⁶⁰Erwin Fahlbusch and et al, eds, *The encyclopedia of Christianity*, vol. 2. (Michigan: WM B Eerdmans Publishing Co, 2001), 176.

⁶¹ Bailey 100

⁶² Christoph Maier discusses this spatial relocation through liturgy and the spiritual relocation in Christ centricism in his “Mass, the Eucharist and the Cross: Innocent III and the Relocation of the Crusade”, in: *Pope Innocent III and His World*, ed. J. C. Moore (Aldershot, 1999), 359.

⁶³ 1 Corinthians 11:29

⁶⁴ Henry Charles Lea, *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church*, 3 Vol. (Philadelphia: Lea Bros., 1896) vol. 1, 76-78

the ceremony.⁶⁵ Thus through the mass, Innocent III not only was able to offer spiritual absolution but also an absolution of political importance. The principal partakers in the 1212 ceremony were Romans, the very people who had twice before forced Innocent III to flee. Therefore, the Pope reaffirmed his supporters by denying those fomenting rebellion against him participation in the sacraments of the Church. For the medieval person, the material and spiritual repercussions of being outside of the Church would motivate him or her to be in good favor. Such a ritual that Innocent III offered served as a means of reconciliation; the penitential procession acted to gather all at the Eucharistic table for confession and absolution. The consecration of the Eucharist and the hearing of confession, reserved to priests, emphasized Innocent's sacred mission. From there the pope spiritually created a larger community of individuals obedient to him, principally in Rome but echoed throughout western Christendom. This resolution of secular anxieties made easier the removing of the impediment of sin railed against by St. Bernard.

Lastly, the syntax of the letter itself inculcated the crusade ideology goal of unity. For instance, the instructions were replete with variants of the word *omnis*: all were warned to come to the procession; all were to have bare feet; and all were to fast. Moreover, Innocent III utilized the terms "people of Christendom" and the "universal populace" whenever he desired to refer to all participants. This choice reflected the attempt to connect the individual to the larger affinities such as those in Spain with whom they were in communion, regardless of the physical separation. Lastly, there is the phrase "with all the bells of the church ringing together."⁶⁶ On the surface, it indicated a directive for the procession and liturgically it was a call to worship. However, the simultaneous ringing provided a clear vision by Innocent III for unity.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 86

⁶⁶ Mansilla, letter #473: *Pulsates simul istarum ecclesiarum campanis*

Symbolically, the bells throughout Rome mirrored bells throughout the Christian West. All rang in order to encourage people to join the crusade effort. Thus through purposeful syntax, Innocent III created a letter that continuously evoked an ideology of unity.

Thirteenth-century crusade ideology revolved around the conception of harmony, a single vision for the recovery and defense of Christendom. Yet in this procession, Innocent III wanted to achieve a specific type of unity, one in which he was the head. The Fourth Crusade had badly damaged the idea that the pope was the head of a crusade. As a result of the 1204 sacking of Constantinople was the sentiment that the “usurpation” by the Venetians transferred a desire to revenge Christ’s suffering into a quest for earthly treasures. And despite employing his most powerful tool –excommunication-- all Innocent III could do was to sit in Rome, helpless to affect the course. Within the context of the campaign of 1212, Innocent III faced a similar challenge from Alfonso VIII. The king of Castile had previously battled against the Saracens for strictly political reasons and he could quickly subvert this new religious effort toward those goals if the papacy was once more unable to position itself credibly at the head. Through this processional, the pope purposefully and repeatedly placed himself at the forefront in order to inculcate the tenet of crusade ideology that the Pope was not just the spiritual but also the literal leader of the people of Christendom.

Foremost, Innocent III accomplished this through the forms of his address. The letter was in essence a set of imperatives with the Pope as its author giving the commands. Moreover, Innocent III was the only individual listed in the singular; there are many *mulieres*, *laici* and even *cardinalibus* but only one *Romanus pontifex*. Logical from the standpoint that there truly was only one Pope in comparison with his curia full of cardinals, the letter nonetheless explicitly

delineated this message. Rather than individual roles, all participants were amalgamated as one. In this way, Innocent III situated himself among them but clearly from the vantage point of the head.

Of course, the general participant did not receive such written notification. Instead, Innocent III incorporated symbols of papal dominance within the liturgy of the procession. One visualization of this was in the hierarchies created. In the procession, the order of arrival at the Lateran was women, men, clerics. The latter was differentiated as Pope, bishops, cardinals and chaplains. Innocent III could find similar precedent in a 1210 *ordo* by Prepositinas of Cremona, which established a hierarchy of clerics, followed by men of laity, monks and then women.⁶⁷ While this was the reverse of Innocent's order, this was because Innocent's procession assigned hierarchy based upon when participants arrived at the Lateran Basilica. The other text instead listed decreasing importance as distance from the relic at the head of the procession increased. In 1212, the least important were to arrive and wait for the more important. Thus, when all the rest were present, the pope entered in splendor with the relic of the holy cross and surrounded by his curia.

More important than hierarchy was the role of the churches in portraying papal dominance. One of the two principal churches mentioned in the text was the Lateran Basilica. Rebuilt in 896, it measured 15.6 meters by 99.76 meters.⁶⁸ Besides this colossal size, it held a connection to the emperor Constantine. In the fourth century, he ordered the construction of the basilica as the cathedral for Rome. This combined with the necropolis of popes created a lineage, which Innocent III appropriated in order to employ the Lateran Basilica as a symbol of

⁶⁷ Dickson 40.

⁶⁸ Richard Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae. the Early Christian Basilicas of Rome (IV-IX Cent.)*, 5 Vol. (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1937), vol 5, 66.

dominance.⁶⁹ The *Constitutum Constantini* echoed this sentiment, claiming the Lateran Basilica as the “head and vertex of whole universal church in the world.”⁷⁰

The selection of the other churches likewise was a premeditated decision in order to reflect papal supremacy. For instance, the first church mentioned, S. Anastasia, measuring 57 meters by 23 meters, was one of the larger churches in Rome.⁷¹ Furthermore, Innocent had connected this church with the papacy through various gifts of patronage, including a 1210 ambon as well as having his name inscribed on the pulpit.⁷² The second church, S. Maria Maggiore, logistically lay with the Via Merulana acting as a straight path to the Lateran Basilica and the Via Carlo Alberto to S. Croce.⁷³ However, more relevant to the issue of dominance, it sat on the summit of the Esquiline, with steep escarpments only sixty meters to the north and west.⁷⁴ Similar to S. Anastasia, these features created a vision of dominance, which towered over secular institutions. In terms of the crusade, Innocent III hoped to loom as large. Finally, the participants moved from the Lateran Basilica to S. Croce, the old palace that once belonged to Empress Helena.⁷⁵ As her former property, the basilica was an imperial remnant, which further strengthened the imperial connection envisioned by Innocent III. Instead of simply a land donation as with the Lateran Basilica, S. Croce was an imperial residence. Having established an imperial presence, Innocent III evoked the specter of the Roman Empire, drawing together Rome, Spain and Jerusalem, once more in a unity closer than they had been in nearly a thousand years.

⁶⁹ Twyman 116.

⁷⁰ Ibid, *caput et vertex omnium ecclesiarum in universo orbe terram*

⁷¹ Krautheimer, vol 1, 44.

⁷² Ibid

⁷³ Ibid, vol 3. 14.

⁷⁴ Ibid vol 3, 11.

⁷⁵ Ibid, vol 1, 194.

Yet even more crucial to the idea of unity was the fact that Helena brought back the relic of the True Cross from Constantinople. Held in S. Croce, it was one of the most revered objects of Western Christendom. Aware of this fact, Innocent III utilized not only the church but also the relic for his procession. Upon entering the Lateran Basilica, the Pontiff took the relic of the “wood of the life giving cross”⁷⁶ for veneration. One of the most common symbols of the crusade was the cross: the pilgrims are often referred to as “those who are signed by the cross”⁷⁷ due to the cloth badges worn on outer garments; the main days for crusade sermons were the feast days of the cross, feast of invention and exaltation of cross⁷⁸; and lastly propaganda revolved around images of the passion of Christ and his scriptural message that “he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me.”⁷⁹ The decision for Innocent III to produce this relic was a purposeful decision to remind people of the way of Christ and then extol them to follow in his footsteps as pilgrims in unity with this crusade.

Beyond the theme of unity, Innocent III’s newly created liturgy included several other elements that incorporated the ideology of crusade. During the first mass, Innocent III ordered the oratio “all powerful, eternal God, in whose hands are all powers”⁸⁰ to follow. This line alone is a relatively innocuous oration with just this line; however, its origins were specifically against pagans. The work continued with the verse “provide for the army of Christendom and may the pagan people, who have trust in the right of their savageness, be obliterated by your powers.”⁸¹ Part of a larger mass against pagans, here it has been appropriated for use against the Saracens in Spain.

⁷⁶Mansilla, letter #473: *Ligno vivifice crucis*

⁷⁷ *crucesignati*

⁷⁸Christoph. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (University of London, 1994),112.

⁷⁹ Matthew 10:38

⁸⁰Mansilla, letter #473: *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates*

⁸¹ Catholic Church, *Missale ad usum ecclesie westmonasteriensis* (London: Harrison and sons, 1891-1897):*respice in auxilium christianorum : et gentes paganorum qui in sua feritate confidunt dextere tue potencia conterantur.*

Amnon Linder traced the origin of this liturgy to an adaptation of the Good Friday prayer for the Emperor in the Gregorian Sacramental.⁸² The date of Good Friday brings forth the imagery of the cross, instrumental to the ideology of the crusader. Moreover, the church by 1212 had already linked the oratio with crusade. Roger of Howden recorded a program of continuous prayers at Westminster Abbey in 1188 for the liberation of Jerusalem.⁸³ This Holy Land clamor⁸⁴ was anchored in the oratio *Omnipotens, sempiterna Deus, in cuius manu*. However, this was distinct from the implementation of Innocent III. Howden chronicled an event that occurred within the closed confines of the monastery; Innocent's was available to all of Christendom.

Second, in Innocent III's instructions for the Lateran Basilica, he ordered "sitting on steps (*scalis*) let him encouragingly make a sermon to the general populace."⁸⁵ The ritual direction of steps rather than a pulpit yields a clue as to the sermons location. Within the Lateran complex was a set of stairs favored by pilgrims known as the *Scala Sancta* or *Scala Pilati* in the Middle Ages. Medieval legends recorded that these 28 marble steps constituted the staircase that Jesus took to arrive at the praetorium of Pilate. Moreover, Empress Helena brought them to Rome in 326.⁸⁶ Therefore, sanctified by the feet of Christ, the steps were a relic. Significant for the crusade, pilgrims utilized them since in this instance they could literally follow in the steps of Christ. When allowed on Fridays and during lent, they would ascend the stairs on their knees. Consequently, in 1212, these stairs provided a visual forum for Innocent III to unite his words to the verbal image of the way of Christ.

⁸² Amnon Linder, *Raising Arms: Liturgy in the Struggle to Liberate Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Belgium: Brepols, 2003), 115.

⁸³ *Ibid*, 8-9.

⁸⁴ "A complete rite inserted into a break in the routine celebration of the Eucharistic service. Its insertion so close to the climax of the Eucharistic rite—after the Consecration and before the Fraction and the Communion—further highlighted its extraordinary nature." Linder, 98.

⁸⁵ Mansilla, letter #473: *sedens in scalis exhortatorium faciat sermonem ad populum universum*.

⁸⁶ Olier, Livarius. "Scala Sancta (Holy Stairs)." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 13. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912. 20 Sept. 2009 <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/13505a.htm>>.

Lastly, symbolically important to the crusade was the flow of the procession. The groups at the original three churches moved in an eastwardly direction toward the Lateran. From there, they progressed as one to S. Croce in Jerusalem. Thus, the effort once more emulated the path of crusade. The stational churches represented the people of Christendom collecting from all points on the continent; the Lateran, like Toledo was the point to join the papal endeavor; and finally, they moved east toward the destination, a symbolic Jerusalem. Yet it is important to note they were not moving toward Jerusalem itself but instead performing the act of pilgrimage following the footsteps of Christ and taking up His cross.

In 1212, penitential and mass processions were nothing original; the novelty was the enlistment of these liturgies within the context of crusade. Innocent III utilized them to create a sense of unity; albeit one within which he was the clearly defined head. However, one must take into account this event occurred in Rome. The letter, addressed to his suffragans, was only an expectation from the papacy as to what should occur. In order for this expanded trope of unity for the crusade to be evident throughout Christendom, one must look to a 1212 procession held in Chartres for the transnational presence of unity with Las Navas de Tolosa outside of Rome.

Accounts of the 1212 Chartres procession occur chiefly within the context of the Children's Crusade. The *Chronica monasterii Sancti Bertini* gives the following account⁸⁷:

Others departed to Spain and joining with the Spanish against Saracens, they worked wonders... [notice of defeat and retreat of Saracens] and while by the

⁸⁷ Gary Dickson, in his work on the genesis of the Children's Crusade, provides evidence for the credibility of this passage. Despite a date of compilation in the fourteenth century, by virtue of this event having no interest to the monastery, it acted as a referential historical marker in the text. There existed very little reason to be skewed by the biases of the monastery. Furthermore, the compiler Jean le Long (d. 1383) had a reputation as one who attempted to be a very conscientious historian. Finally, the Mortemer Chronicle (*Auctarium Mortui Maris*) (Cistercian monastery of Mortemer located in duchy of Normandy) corroborated this event. Under a corrected year of 1212 (the chronicle states 1213; however, this can be revised in light of the next statement of a Roman legate visit to the region. This has verifiable proof to have occurred in 1212.), that account described a procession of a similar nature also as an impetus for the venture subsequently known as the Children's crusade.

grace of God acting against infidels, at that time happened processions through France, a certain *pastorello* in the Chartres diocese comes to mind, such that he was going to the procession and went.⁸⁸

Innocent III's 1212 procession praying for the success of the fight against the Saracens in Spain clearly inspired this later procession in the "*dyochesi Carnotensi*," more than likely within his diocese of Chartres. This diocese fell under the Archdiocese of Sens, whose archbishop and suffragans were the recipients of the 1212 May letter of Innocent III. Consequently, their ritual was in emulation of the liturgy created in Rome and sent out to the provinces. Moreover, the phrase "while by the grace of God acting against infidels, at that time happened processions through France (*dum ad Dei gratiam impetrandam contra infideles tunc processiones per Franciam fierent*)" should be emphasized. The presence of "while" (*dum*) indicates an act of unity, for the concurrent activity stresses the work of not just the crusaders but also those who were formerly left behind in conjunction against the enemy. Finally, according to this account, it was not just a singular procession but instead several that occurred throughout France. Thus, the area typically regarded as the greatest contributor of persons to Crusades⁸⁹, even though prevented by political tension with England⁹⁰ from physically fighting was nonetheless able to be active in the Las Navas de Tolosa campaign. Furthermore, the procession expanded unity to a degree that typical non-participants, including children, were so drawn into the effort that they ventured forth to take part themselves.

The use of the new ritual in the subsequent Fifth Crusade demonstrated the impact Innocent III's new ritual had on crusade ideology. Firstly, it had direct influence on the 1213

⁸⁸ Dickson, 43: *Alii vero ad Hispanias profecti et Hispanis iuncti contra Sarracenos mirabilia sunt operati...[notice of defeat and retreat of Saracens] et dum ad Dei gratiam impetrandam contra infideles tunc processions per Franciam fierent, cuidam pastorello in dyochesi Carnotensi venit in mentem, ut iret ad processionem et ivit.*

⁸⁹ To such a degree, the participants of the First Crusade are often called Franks in the sources and the most employed record is the *Gesta Francorum*, deeds of the people of France.

⁹⁰ Culminating in the battle of Bouvines just two years later in 1214.

liturgy attached to the end of *Quia Maior*, the encyclical calling that crusade. Furthermore, Innocent's renewed vision of unity resonated in the 1217 procession called by Honorius III for the Fifth Crusade. The repetition of the papal procession signifies the lasting impact of the notion of unity that Innocent's attitude toward the campaign of Las Navas de Tolosa had upon future crusades.

The encyclical *Quia Maior* of 1213 crystallized legal, liturgical and fiscal stipulations to form the "basis and model for future crusades."⁹¹ Most pivotal to this paper was the liturgical clamor and mass *Deus qui admirabili* that was attached at the bottom. Amnon Linder maintains that the procession of 1212 was this new crusading texts largest influences.⁹² Jonathan Riley-Smith describes the relevant passage as "the penitential sections underlined the conviction that crusading could only be successful if accompanied by a spiritual awakening of Christendom"⁹³ However, he stops short of attributing any precedent for this inclusion. Yet in Innocent's mind, with the success of Las Navas de Tolosa stemming in part from liturgical processions that awakened the holiness of the Christian people, he hoped to recreate the success in other endeavors. *Quia Maior* codified and promulgated the liturgical tradition created in 1212 to place Innocent III securely at the head of a unified front against Saracen aggression.

Honorius III penned the letter on 24 November 1217 to the archbishop of Rheims and his suffragans. It commenced with the exhortation to fight "against visible enemies and invisible armies" as "instructed by the example of the ancients."⁹⁴ He then mentioned a recent example of this, a battle held against an infidel army in Spain. Because of the battle to be held, Honorius foresaw a need for penitential ritual of lamentation and spreading of ashes upon the head. After a

⁹¹Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (London: Allen Lane, 2006), 487

⁹²Linder, 37

⁹³Riley-Smith, 174-175

⁹⁴Honorius III. *Honorii iii... opera omnia quae exstant*. Medii ævi bibl. patristica ser.1. Vol. 2, 1879.:*Adversus hostes visibiles invisibilibus armis... dimicare veteribus exemplis instruimur*

brief digression to encourage the King of Hungary and his men to join the crusade, Honorius III returned to the theme of struggle against the infidels. He explicitly mentioned the body of Christ and that a participant should “enter the contest through faith in Christ,” since he should be “despairing of his own strength.”⁹⁵ The following section argued that since the crusaders are rightfully hopeless without Christ, the clerics would call “the people of the city into the basilica of salvation,” so that through processing and prayer, they will gain not only the “approval of Jesus Christ” but also “supernatural help for which we know that our merit did not suffice.”⁹⁶ Honorius then referred to scripture, citing the case of Nineveh, Amalechitas and Joshua, for support of his plan. The letter then concluded with the desire that all the aforementioned should happen in the hope that “those who have been fortified by the sign of the cross” might “deliver the faithful.”⁹⁷

While there are many interesting elements to Honorius’ letter *Adversus hostes visibiles*, the most important here was the connection to the ideology of unity as propagated by Innocent III. For instance, the lines “which in our time also is discovered, when God delivered a multitude infidel army in Spain with war into the hands of the loyal and glorious few”⁹⁸ referenced the 1212 event. The timeframe was an explicit contrast to the “example of the ancients,” and occurred within living memory. Therefore, when combined with the regional identifier of Spain, Honorius III described the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa.

The theme of unity first appeared in the references to the body of Christ. Implicit to the understanding of Innocent’s letter, here Honorius III bluntly stated that “the church, of whose

⁹⁵ Ibid: *Profide Christi certamina ineat, suisque diffidens viribus*

⁹⁶ Ibid: *Tam clerum quam populum Urbis convocacimus in basilica Salvatoris... Jesu Christi assensu... supernum impetremus auxilium, ad quod nostra non sufficere merita sciebamus.*

⁹⁷ Ibid: *Qui muniti sunt cruces signaculocum...vos certiores reddamus*

⁹⁸ Ibid: *Quae nostris quoque temporibus innovate, quando exercituum Deus infidelium multitudinem bello in Hispania tradidit in manus paucorum fidelium et gloriam.*

body Christ is the head, of whose body, we individuals are members.”⁹⁹ As a unified whole, every Christian has a place in the Fifth Crusade.

But most importantly to our concerns here, what role do those left behind play? Honorius III replied in the next paragraph with the answer of supplication. Furthermore, it was to be a group ritual procession. Unfortunately, Honorius was not as loquacious as Innocent as to what form the event would take, though he gave a few indications. First, it much more clearly drew on the penitential procession. The pope still admonished participants to be bare foot and to present supplication to Jesus and the Virgin Mary. As such, they would bring about the success of the endeavor. Honorius cited three scriptural examples of this logic: Nineveh, who with humility of hearts was recalled from wretchedness; Moses, who by preaching to the Amalekites, refined them in the fire; and Joshua, who through supplication and procession was able to destroy the city of Jericho. Consequently, just as these events occurred throughout the realm, so too could processions be held in support of the crusade in both “singular states and other places in which there is a frequency of population.”¹⁰⁰

How closely does this letter conform in precedent to the liturgy of Innocent III? The similarities existed in terms of the expansion of the crusade effort to those who were previously not involved. Furthermore, there were heavy penitential tones that hoped to cause Jesus to absolve their sins and allow them success in the venture. The most obvious difference was the lack of emulation of the way of Christ. For instance, the relic no longer involved the cross but instead the procession carried the heads of the apostles Peter and Paul. Furthermore, there was no longer the verbal attempt for Honorius III to position himself at the head of crusade. This could be in part a result of Innocent III’s success. By the end of his pontificate, he had so

⁹⁹ Ibid: *Ecclesia, corporis cuius est Christus caput, corporis cuius singuli cumus membra*

¹⁰⁰ Ibid: *Propter hoc processions in singulis citatibus et aliis locis in quibus est frequentia populorum.*

strongly asserted the right that it became commonplace. Honorius III did not have to inculcate the idea but rather only stated it using relics. Peter and Paul were the patrons of Rome and through incorporating their heads, Honorius hoped to pacify local tensions by signifying the potential wrath of their patrons should they not abide. Furthermore, Honorius desired to associate himself with these head apostles charged with carrying on Christ's work in order to lead all the people of Christendom in this upcoming pilgrimage. Finally, it was a direct reference to the Fifth Crusade, already launched in 1215 at the Fourth Lateran Council, which prayed for success "trusting in the mercy of almighty God and in the authority of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul."¹⁰¹

Another crucial facet to emphasize was the removal of the impediment of sin to the crusade. All of the people of Christendom must then be unified in this work so that their brethren will meet with success. The end of the letter *Adversus hostes visibiles* and in particular the procession drew upon the influence of Las Navas de Tolosa. Within the first three lines, Honorius III explicitly mentioned that the work of Las Navas de Tolosa should be an exemplar for his time. Furthermore, the ritual of penitential supplication undertaken by all the people of Christendom on behalf of the crusaders was a perpetual theme of Innocent III. This made an impact on crusade ideology which resurfaced again at the next crusade this time called by Honorius III.

In the thirteenth century, the crusading theme of unity undertook a dramatic shift. At the beginning of the century, the only people unified were those who directly fought in the campaigns. However, by the end of the century, all the people of Christendom were encouraged

¹⁰¹Paul Halsall, ed., "Innocent III: summons to a crusade, 1215," *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*, 1997, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/inn3-cdesummons.html>; Internet; accessed Oct. 30, 2009.

to be involved. More than that, their acts of penitence were considered pivotal to the success or failure of a campaign. But what was the catalyst for the change?

The answer was the reimagination of unity by Innocent III on the occasion of the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa. Through his penitential procession of May 20, 1212, concurrent to the departure of crusaders from Toledo, all members of the body of Christ were unified as one under the direction of the papacy. This influence then spread to the provinces. One tangible example was the processions in Chartres that caused previously quiet members of the body of Christ to vocally express a desire to join in this matter of the faith, particularly evident in the subsequent start of the Children's crusade. Finally, the matter of unity as open to all was solidified by the continuation of this processional tradition by Honorius III for the Fifth Crusade. Therefore, Las Navas de Tolosa and particularly the procession in support of it created a new model for the idea of unity, headed by the Pope, within the crusade movement.

Contesting Papal Hegemony: the monarchical promotion of a national Catholicism

Pope Innocent III, as spiritual head of the Catholic Church, also envisioned himself as a temporal head in many of the affairs of the world. In no area was this desire more obvious than in the crusade. As we have just seen, the Pope created liturgy, which worked to promote himself as the head of the body of Christ in the efforts against religious enemies. However, that picture became complicated in 1212 as Alfonso VIII, king of Castile, contested this papal dream. As the primary leader in the field and the one who physically fought in the battle, this king promoted a counter narrative. Alfonso's claim challenged papal conceptions of power through the crystallization of his own personal view as chief Defender of the faith. Historians of Spain have seen these moves as part of a medieval trend against foreign encroachment. One historian, Peter Linehan, advanced that argument further by coining the term "National Catholicism"¹⁰² Having examined the events of Alfonso VIII's reign, Linehan utilized this phrase to underscore the fact that this reign believed the work and defense of the church to be local endeavors. Or at least headed by local kings and ecclesiastics. Thus Spain and the Lateran, while having many mutual spiritual and temporal goals, nonetheless were set in opposition through the attempts to promote one's leadership and to minimize the other's.

One arena in which this struggle was contested was in the appropriation of the term *imitatio Christi*, the imitation of Christ. Depending on its context, the papacy gained primacy but so could the monarch. *Imitatio Christi* took its scriptural precedent from the gospel of Matthew "He that taketh not his cross and followeth after me, is not worthy of me."¹⁰³ One of the most literal interpretations of how to accomplish this was through the replication of the footsteps of Christ. This ritual act of devotion evolved into the practice of pilgrimage. Deriving from the

¹⁰² Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*, 297.

¹⁰³ Matthew 10:38

Latin term *perigrinatio*, it meant a stranger or one who, like Christ, was homeless in this world and divorced from its sins.¹⁰⁴ Crusaders looked to the exemplar of early Christians for spiritual justification of this act. For instance, Origen declared his purpose in Jerusalem was to “walk in the footsteps of the Master.” Fellow church Father, Paulinus of Nola argued, “no other sentiment draws men to Jerusalem than the desire to see and touch the places where Christ was physically present and to be able to say from our very own exercises we have gone into his tabernacle and adored in the very places where his feet have stood.”¹⁰⁵ Finally, Augustine, in *the City of God*, tells how citizens of the City of God “sojourn as a stranger in the world” as members of “the pilgrim city of King Christ.”¹⁰⁶ Thus in the first centuries of Christianity, Christians urged others to emulate Christ and to undertake pilgrimage.

However, the average layperson often considered this religious fervor unachievable. In the thirteenth century, Christians humanized Christ through cathedral’s mosaics, stained glass windows and tympanums, which allowed for an easier participation in the acts of faith. For instance, in Hagia Sophia a pair of mosaics reflects this process. An eleventh-century Christ in Majesty in the neighboring twelfth-century panel removes Christ into the lap of the Virgin Mary.¹⁰⁷ By bringing him down from the throne and into the innocent form of a child, it became easier to follow His example. For at one time, we were all children. This transition bolstered desire to undertake pilgrimage since now it was more feasible to envision oneself in relation to aspects of Jesus’ life and to relate to Jesus’ trials and tribulations. For instance, the biographer of Silvanus records the saint “stood on the mount of Calvary and although he could not see God with his bodily eyes he could nevertheless see Him with his spiritual eyes standing in the very

¹⁰⁴ James Brundage, *Medieval canon law and the crusader* (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1969), 5.

¹⁰⁵ Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An image of medieval religion* (London: Faber and Faber, 1975), 89

¹⁰⁶ Brown, 288.

¹⁰⁷ See the appendices for images of these two mosaics.

spot where he had saved humanity... by the shedding of His precious Blood.”¹⁰⁸ Thus by the 11th century, pilgrimage was a religious act of devotion undertaken by many to literally follow in the footsteps of Christ.

The papacy, as the agent who granted the right to be a pilgrim, utilized this privilege to gain command of the Crusade.¹⁰⁹ Urban II welded the language of devotion of the cross to the destructive warrior ethos of the day to create peace and a new military order devoted to the defense of the cross. The other major difference was that this group accepted not only spiritual authority but also temporal authority from the papacy. Therefore, not unusual were accounts of the crusades in which authors adopted the language of pilgrimage and referred to those on expeditions as “pilgrims.”¹¹⁰

However, sometimes the most interesting thing is not what chroniclers wrote but what they omitted. In all of the monarchical literature concerning Las Navas de Tolosa, the term pilgrim is absent. Therefore, does the historian understand this lacuna as a rejection of the imitation of Christ? No, because the texts utilized alternative language in order to convey a similar message. For the chroniclers of Iberian history, the term pilgrimage bestowed too much agency on an encroaching papal hegemony. A wholly religious term, this was unacceptable for histories of kings. Instead, the Spanish chroniclers incorporated a language that, while still reflective of a Christ centric mission, made the kings in Spain agents of God’s will. Most pivotally, the kings of Castile chiefly received this role. For it was under their patronage that chroniclers wrote the majority of extant works. This alternate identity of a crusader minimized the importance of the papacy in favor of a national Catholicism defended primarily by the kingdom of Castile and its ruler, Alfonso VIII.

¹⁰⁸ Sumption, 92

¹⁰⁹ Brundage 11-12

¹¹⁰ *perigrinatio*

This chapter examines this contestation of power between Spain and the Lateran, firstly looking at what was constructed by the, primarily French, crusade texts. From there, it will explore the fluidity in terms that allowed the three Spanish chronicles of the early thirteenth century (*Latin Chronicle of the Kings of Castile*, *Chronicon Mundi*, *Historia de rebus Hispaniae*) to provide a different lens of authority. Since the struggle existed not just in the chronicles written about the events, I will inspect this construction of crusade ideology as seen by the records produced by King Alfonso VIII and Pope Innocent III during the aftermath of the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa. King Alfonso VIII desired to be recognized as the primary defender of the faith for his work in Spain. Innocent III rebuked this claim for he wished to extend the influence of the papacy under a unified Christendom, which as explored in the previous chapter, placed him at the head.

Crusade incorporated the act of pilgrimage into its ideology from the outset of the movement. Urban II declared at the Council of Clermont, 1095, that “whoever, therefore, shall determine upon this holy pilgrimage, and shall make his vow to God to that effect . . . shall wear the sign of the cross of the Lord on his forehead or on his breast.”¹¹¹ Just as Jesus Christ sacrificed himself for humankind, these people were to follow “with one accord the footsteps of Christ”¹¹² in order to “enter upon the road to the Holy sepulcher [and] wrest that land from the wicked race.”¹¹³ These excerpts provided the basic tenets that the religious holy war was to follow: veneration of the cross and imitation of Christ. Yet as opposed to simple pilgrimage, the ultimate goal was to do these things in pursuit of the reclamation of lost land and the defeat of

¹¹¹ Paul Halsall, ed. "Urban II: Speech at the Council of Clermont five versions of the speech".

¹¹² Paul Halsall, ed. , "Gesta Francorum," *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*, 1997, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/gesta-cde.html>; Internet; accessed Mar. 2010, 2.

¹¹³ "Urban II: Speech at the Council of Clermont five versions of the speech"

enemies of the cross. Consequently, Urban II by uniting secular military conquest into the religious pilgrimage asserted the papacy as the leader in the framework of pilgrimage as crusade.

This was the religious tone that resonated throughout the primary First Crusade text, the *Gesta Francorum*. Written around 1101 by an anonymous monk, the narrative began with the 1095 council of Clermont and ended with a hope for a vision of peace after the reclamation of the city of Jerusalem. Although the narrator had a positive bias towards the Norman crusader Bohemond of Antioch, throughout the text, he referred to the expedition and its participants as pilgrims. Peter, discoverer of the holy lance, was called “a certain pilgrim of our army.”¹¹⁴ Upon capturing the city of Jerusalem and opening the “gate at which the pilgrims had always been accustomed to pay tribute,” through the same gate the crusaders as “pilgrims entered the city.”¹¹⁵ Finally, they completed their pilgrimage through the arrival at “The Sepulcher of Jesus our Savior to worship and pay their debt.”¹¹⁶ Bohemond desired such an affiliation with the Western Church because he still needed its support against the aggression of the Byzantines. Emperor Alexius accused Bohemond of a conquest of Antioch without returning it as previously agreed.¹¹⁷ Rather than using the language of war, Bohemond needed a language that cloaked the endeavor with an ecclesiastical backing. Under the authority of the Catholic Church, the crusader state was justified and protected against the schismatic city of Constantinople and its Eastern Orthodox patriarch.

The insecurity of the crusader states throughout the following decades enabled the Roman pontiff to extend his authority over the region. Those sent in the support were incorporated into a papal hegemony through the acceptance of spiritual authority that often

¹¹⁴ *Gesta Francorum*, 18

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, 23

¹¹⁶ *Ibid*

¹¹⁷ Jonathan Riley-Smith. *The Crusades: A History*, 40.

translated into a temporal authority. The texts of the expeditions often reflected such control. For example the record of King Richard I's involvement in the Third Crusade was entitled *Itinerarium Perigrarum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, forefronting the role of pilgrimage over any deeds of the king. Geoffrey of Villehardouin, organizer and principle chronicler of the Fourth Crusade, described the preparations, as "thus did the pilgrims make ready in all lands."¹¹⁸ Furthermore, he reported the entry into Constantinople, as "the joy of the father and of the son was very great... because by God's help and that of the pilgrims they had passed from poverty and ruin to such high places."¹¹⁹

One ruler who had the means to reject the authority of the Roman Pontiff was King Louis IX; however, instead of disapproving of papal hegemony over temporal affairs, Joinville, the king's biographer intentionally utilized the language of the church. On one expedition, he wrote of the "great hardships [the king] underwent in the pilgrimage of the cross."¹²⁰ He then took the message further, equating Louis death in 1270 while on crusade to Jesus' own death on the cross.¹²¹ As a hagiographic text used in defense of sainthood, it benefited Joinville to adapt the language of the church. French kings since Louis VII had taken up the cross. Tradition dictated that the deed was almost hereditary for the king. Therefore, Joinville had the potential to bring forward this monarchical genealogy. Yet it was more important, due to the king's intense religiosity, to favor the papal terminology as a sign of participation in a system of "practical spirituality." According to Christopher Tyerman, Louis desired religious crusade for it "acted as

¹¹⁸Halsall, Paul, ed., "Geoffrey Villehardouin: Chronicle of the fourth crusade and the conquest of Constantinople," *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*, 1997, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/villehardouin.html>; Internet, accessed Mar. 2010, 12

¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, 47

¹²⁰ Ethel Wedgwood, ed., *The memoirs of the lord of joinville* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1906) <http://etext.virginia.edu/toc/modeng/public/WedLord.html>; Internet; accessed 2010 Jan 11, 3

¹²¹ Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1998), 52

a sort of personal and spiritual emancipation.”¹²² Consequently, while Alfonso VIII and Louis IX were both secular leaders who organized crusade, they disseminated this fact in two different manners. St Louis intended the action to be an obedient action toward God and the church at Rome; meanwhile Alfonso VIII desired to negate this papal influence by performing local acts that imitated Christ in the defense of Christendom.

In the majority of crusade literature, the term *perigrinatio* dominated the descriptions of the people on crusade. According to a study of around 300 Latin documents that specifically mentioned crusade activity, conducted by Christopher Tyerman, *perigrinatio* appeared sixty-six times.¹²³ Despite the high proportion, this term was never adopted as the official title to describe the activity. In fact, no precise and universally acceptable term (i.e. crusade) was coined until the modern era. Most popular were words of journey: *iter*, *expeditio*, *passagium*, *perigrinatio*.¹²⁴ This terminology served, as a metaphor for following in the footsteps of Christ; however, this imitation was never assigned a fixed phrase. The resulting ambiguity of language meant that political institutions could manipulate the term. Courts patronized authors to employ alternate words in order to give differently nuanced meanings. For the Spanish authors, this meant the rejection of the religiously infused *perigrinatio* in favor of more monarchical terms such as “army of God.”¹²⁵ This did not preclude instances of this language in *gestae*. In fact, the *Gesta Francorum* had similar phrases in several instances. However, the phrase pilgrim dwarfed this phrase in usage; for every three instances of pilgrim, there existed one instance of army of God. Consequently, the efforts of Innocent III to extend papal power into temporal realms were

¹²² Ibid, 87

¹²³ Tyerman, 50

¹²⁴ Ibid, 49

¹²⁵ *Bellum dei*

challenged by an alternative narrative of the strength of the Spanish Christian kings as defenders of the faith.

After nearly seventy years in Spain without a Latin historical work¹²⁶, within two decades, three such chronicles were produced.¹²⁷ Something of this magnitude was not a spontaneous coincidence. Peter Linehan argues the spark was a surge in confidence for the future, one that a stable Castilian dynasty could provide.¹²⁸ Throughout the twelfth century, intermittent warfare by neighboring states, including the Almohad Empire, provided serious threats to security. The chroniclers had good reason to believe theirs would be an incomplete text. The battle of Las Navas de Tolosa broke this Moorish threat of invasion. Although the crusaders did not know this in 1212, by the 1230s the stability was evident for the newly recombined nation of Leon-Castile. Optimism flowed from the court of Fernando III, most obviously in the proliferation of works celebrating his royal lineage. For example, Lucas of Tuy, author of the *Chronicon Mundi*, considered this era a golden age, where “Catholic faith was honored, heresy was repressed... Christian kings battled for the faith... and the peasantry ... enjoyed peace and no one dispossessed them.”¹²⁹ The same attitude applied to the other two authors, Archbishop Rodrigo and Bishop Juan, also under the patronage of the court.¹³⁰

These men captured this enthusiasm through the production of chronicles, drawing inspiration from the scriptures to create histories of kings. A very different format from the *gestae* employed to record the Mediterranean crusades, these works, in the words of Gloria

¹²⁶ The events of the Almeric and Lisbon campaigns precipitated the last such instance. Linehan 246

¹²⁷ Bernard F. Reily, “Bishop Lucas of Tuy and the Latin Chronicle Tradition in Iberia,” *The Catholic Historical Review*, 93.4 (2007): *Project Muse*, 768.

¹²⁸ Linehan, 247.

¹²⁹ Reily, 777.

¹³⁰ Linehan, 247.

Spiegel, rather than narrate “personal characteristics and deeds” provided their “history as the collective action of royal lineages.”¹³¹ As such, they had a different purpose, to show the political strength and heritage of the kingdom of Castile. The papacy had no role for each section revolved around the king ascending into the role of his ancestors. For Las Navas de Tolosa, rather than an international effort, headed by Innocent III, it was a national source of pride for Alfonso VIII. Rather than pilgrims, one finds an army of God. The western *gestae* asserted papal authority, but in the Spanish chronicles of the early thirteenth century, there existed a different, more nationalized Catholicism.

Alfonso VIII approved of this image and sought to exemplify it through his actions. Castilians, prior to the thirteenth century, “by their exertion, had created an empire.”¹³² Charters utilized phrases such as *imperator* or *Rex Hispaniarum* and as recently as Alfonso VIII’s grandfather¹³³, the kings were crowned as emperors.¹³⁴ Upon reaching his majority, Alfonso VIII changed this; charters began to refer to the king of Castile as a Christian king or defender of the faith.¹³⁵ These words became actuality when he took charge of the defense of Christendom in an international crusade against Miramolin, who spurned the cross and threatened St. Peter’s basilica. Furthermore, Alfonso VIII perpetuated the idea that Spain alone defended the cross while others fled. For both Alfonso VIII and chroniclers of the events surrounding the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, their aim was to record a narrative which provided a national Catholicism, able to defend the faith without ceding any temporal authority to the papacy.

¹³¹ Gabrielle Spiegel, *The past as text: The theory and practice of medieval historiography*, Parallax, (Baltimore: John Hopkins UP, 1997), 197

¹³² Linehan, 297

¹³³ Alfonso VII in 1135

¹³⁴ Linehan, 297; Reily, 772

¹³⁵ Linehan, 297

The Latin Chronicle of the Kings of Castile, one of the primary Spanish texts of Las Navas de Tolosa, reflected this alternative language. Although an anonymous work, many historians credit its authorship to Bishop Juan of Osma, chancellor of Castile from 1217-1246.¹³⁶ Divided into three parts, the first chronicled the politics of Spain from 970 to 1158. The second concentrated on the major events in the reign of Alfonso VIII and the final section recorded the reign of Fernando III until 1236. Composed around 1226, the text consisted of just the first two sections.¹³⁷ For examining the circumstances of Las Navas de Tolosa, I will focus on selections from the section on Alfonso VIII.

Prior to 1212, the events recorded by the author centered on feudal society and the language reflected such a relationship. Around 1193, the Archbishop of Toledo took a “host of knights” on a raid in the neighboring Moorish kingdom, only to have a retaliatory strike launched by the king of Morocco. As the threat was specific to Castile, Alfonso “commanded his vassals to follow him with all speed.”¹³⁸ This contrasted with the threat of 1212 against the “enemies of the cross of Christ.”¹³⁹ Here an “edict went forth from the glorious king through the whole realm.”¹⁴⁰ It was not a feudal summons, unlike the one previously mentioned, but rather the launching of a voluntary mission done in the defense of Christendom. When the Infante “burned with a desire for war with the Saracens,” there was no mention of a religious vow. Instead, he satiated the urge through chivalric means: “no other study could now please him except knighthood and the use of arms.”¹⁴¹ Thus, the early history of the reign of Alfonso VIII utilized a

¹³⁶ *The Latin Chronicle of the Kings of Castile*. Tran. Joseph O'Callaghan, xxx

¹³⁷ Joseph O'Callaghan believes the third to be a continuation completed around 1239.

¹³⁸ *Latin Chronicle*, 25

¹³⁹ *Ibid*, 28

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 40

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*, 36

secular language that treated the Almohad Empire as a troublesome neighbor rather than religious foe.

After the capture of Salvatierra, the author transitioned to a more religious tone, which inculcated the image of the cross and the imitation of Christ; however, this new style still placed the king of Castile at the forefront of the enterprise. The author foreshadowed the upcoming crusade by describing it as “the glorious battle that occurred in the following year at Las Navas de Tolosa, in which through the power of the cross of Christ the king of Morocco was conquered.”¹⁴² Here, the participants were intimately linked with the ideal of *imitatio Christi* because just as the fall of mankind was redeemed by Jesus, the “disgrace in the battle of Alarcos” and “the capture of Salvatierra” was “erased that day by the power of Lord Jesus Christ” and the “glorious king” of Castile. Another instance where the crusaders follow in the footsteps of Christ was the introduction to the battle where “the dawn of the sun shone brightly announcing the most brilliant and most felicitous day.”¹⁴³ The first seven words were an introit to an ancient Easter hymn, when Christians assert Christ defeated death and rose from the dead.¹⁴⁴ This reference was made explicit a few lines later when “the Christians arose after midnight, the hour at which Christ... rose up victorious over death.”¹⁴⁵ In these cases, the chronicles made it clear that the participants sought to emulate Christ.

In addition to the emulation of Christ, the importance of the cross was central to the battle. The enemies “blasphemed with a foul mouth” “the most victorious cross” and “all who adored the sign of the cross.”¹⁴⁶ As mentioned earlier, it was “through the power of Christ [that]

¹⁴² *Latin Chronicle*, 39

¹⁴³ *Ibid*, 47

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid* fn. 4

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 49

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 48

the king of Morocco was conquered.”¹⁴⁷ In addition, on the morning of the battle, after performing the usual ritual of hearing mass and taking the Eucharist, they “fortified themselves with the sign of the cross.”¹⁴⁸ This action was indicative of taking the vow that combined holy war and pilgrimage.¹⁴⁹ Rather than explicitly stating pilgrims, a classification under the authority of ecclesiastics, by infusing spiritual significance into the language of war, the agency remained with the temporal leaders present at the battle.

By infusing a history of kings with religious terms, the chronicler granted authority for the endeavor not to Innocent III but rather Alfonso VIII. This was mostly done by consistently placing the king of Castile at the head of a “Christian army.”¹⁵⁰ He was the cause for the victory:

At one point, certain wretched Christians who were retreating and fleeing cried out that the Christians were overcome. When the glorious and noble king of Castile, who was prepared rather to die than to be conquered, heard that cry of doom... [He hastened] quickly up the hill where the force of the battle was... When the Christians came up, the Moors... fell back, overcome by the power of our Lord Jesus Christ.¹⁵¹

In addition to giving responsibility to Alfonso VIII for rallying victory, the phrase “our Lord Jesus Christ,” linked Alfonso and Jesus by virtue of an ambiguous subject not fully clarified until after the word “Lord.” Finally, the phrase “prepared rather to die than to be conquered” bore resemblance to St. Bernard of Clairvaux *Liber de laude novae militiae*: “rejoice, brave warrior, if you live and you conquer in the Lord, but rejoice the more if you die and you join the Lord.”¹⁵² This text written about the new crusading order of Knights Templar distinguished between the virtues of proper use of the knightly class for spiritual gain and the evils of its employment for temporal greed. By alluding to this text, the author provided a religious exhortation of fighting for the Lord but by not being explicit, he maintained authority in a martial context. Lastly, the

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, 39

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, 49

¹⁴⁹ Tyerman, *Invention* 79

¹⁵⁰ *Latin Chronicle*: 45, 46, 47, 50

¹⁵¹ Ibid, 50

¹⁵² Ibid, 49

author clearly stated, “on the withdrawal of the *ultramontanes*, the glory of the victory in the famous battle should be attributed to the Spaniard.”¹⁵³ Such a definitive commentary completely removed any authority possibly ascribed to Innocent III by promoting Spain and its ruler Alfonso VIII as the leaders in defense of the faith.

Finally, Bishop Juan of Osma included records of other crusading endeavors that minimized the agency of Pope Innocent III and gave it to the respective secular leaders. The sole mention of the papacy in an active role concerns the Third Crusade when after the fall of Jerusalem, “the Roman pope sent his preachers to all the princes of the Christian people to invite them to liberate the Holy Land.”¹⁵⁴ Yet even this action was diminished, because the line reminded the reader of the earlier edict by Alfonso VIII “sent through the whole realm.”¹⁵⁵ A few lines later, the chronicler described the events of the Fourth Crusade. Here, the papacy was entirely redacted; the “counts of Flanders and the counts of Blois and other barons of the kingdom of France” appeared to arrive at the idea to “serve the Lord Jesus Christ” of their own accord.¹⁵⁶ The reality was that Innocent III had orchestrated this campaign a year earlier through the general crusade letter *Post miserabile*, one which also clearly articulated his authority.¹⁵⁷

The third crusade mentioned in the *Latin Chronicle* was the Albigensian expedition of 1223-1226. Here the author chronicled the event like a conquest. King Louis VIII “invaded with a great and very powerful army” to subjugate the land.¹⁵⁸ While he did receive the counsel of a legate of the Roman Church, the fleeting mention acknowledged a papal contribution but gave the ultimate power and capability to the monarch. As with the commentary on Alfonso VIII in

¹⁵³ *Latin Chronicle*, 46

¹⁵⁴ *Latin Chronicle*, 62

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 40

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 64-65

¹⁵⁷ Riley-Smith, 149

¹⁵⁸ *Latin Chronicle*, 103

his crusade culminating in the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, Bishop Juan of Osma negated attempts by the papacy to assert power by reporting the Third, Fourth and Albigensian crusades with language that gave a dominant position to the warrior in charge at the battlefield.

In addition to the *Latin Chronicle*, the two other Spanish chronicles that minimize the role of the papacy are the *Chronicon Mundi* and *Historia de rebus Hispaniae*. Lucas of Tuy, who authored the *Chronicon Mundi*, was born in Leon, became a canon of St. Isidro in Seville and in 1239 was translated to the bishopric of Tuy.¹⁵⁹ Before his appointment, Queen Berungula encouraged him to compile a history of the kingdom. Consequently, he had a bias in favor of Leon-Castile. Similar to the *Latin Chronicle*, Lucas stated the battle was in “defense of the Christian faith”¹⁶⁰ and conducted by “Christian knights.”¹⁶¹ However, unlike that chronicle, this one mentions that Innocent conceded the granting of the remission of sins and arming participants with the sign of the cross.¹⁶² This positively identified the participants as crusaders but nonetheless Innocent III remained a remote figure to the prominence of Spain and its kings.

Archbishop Rodrigo Jimenez de Rada authored the *Historia de rebus Hispaniae*, providing a history of Spain from the beginning to the conquest of Cordoba in 1236. Utilizing the *Chronicon Mundi* heavily as inspiration, this text had the added benefit that the Archbishop was a key participant in the events of Las Navas de Tolosa.¹⁶³ Elevated to the archbishopric in 1209, he was the natural choice to lead the expedition to beseech the papacy for aid in 1211.¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, he was present at the battle itself. Lucy Pick, in her monograph on the Archbishop, argues that Rodrigo infused his texts with a theology of unity. All unity had a divine origin in

¹⁵⁹ Lucas, Bishop of Tuy, *Lucae tudensis opera omnia*, Corpus Christinorum, ed. Emma Falque, Vol. 74 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), VIII-X.

¹⁶⁰ González. *El Reino De Castilla En La época De Alfonso VIII*, 179.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*, 180.

¹⁶² *Ibid*, 179.

¹⁶³ Reily, 769.

¹⁶⁴ Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada. *Historia de los hechos de España* [Historia de rebus Hispanie]. trans. Juan Valverde. (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1989), 19-20.

God and a Christian hegemony was its nearest earthly approximation.¹⁶⁵ His writings on Las Navas de Tolosa conform to this theory. In a 1211 charter issued by Rodrigo enlisting crusade support, he states:

If we do not, with God's help, resist these men in their earliest assemblage... we will open the way for them to bring carnage against all of us. On account of this, you will have reflected on the fervor of our faith for the common good... we ask that you gird yourselves... manfully to defend the Church of God against the enemies of the cross.¹⁶⁶ With phrases such as the "common good" and the implication that defeat will led to "carnage against all of us," Rodrigo argues for a unified Christendom under the direction of God.

Moreover, Rodrigo in his chronicle voiced that Alfonso "amongst acclamations of all, declared he would rather prove the will of God than contemplate evils to homeland and the church."¹⁶⁷

This comment evoked the speech at Clermont where Urban II was greeted by unified shouts of *Deus volt* (God wills it). Moreover, on the day of the battle, Rodrigo recorded the miraculous appearance of a cross that floated through the lines and remained until the crusaders prevailed.¹⁶⁸

Finally, in Christ-like imitation, "the three kings" were presented as religious symbols of the triune nature of God.¹⁶⁹ Rodrigo made this reference explicit when during the march to Salvatierra, the "triad of kings advanced in the name of the Holy Trinity."¹⁷⁰ Consequently, in Rodrigo's writings on Las Navas de Tolosa, he promoted a sense of unity.

Yet despite all of these instances for a unified campaign against the Moors, Rodrigo unabashedly proclaimed that the ultimate defense was done by Spain alone. Therefore, the unity, like that exhibited by Innocent III, was of a specific kind. In his chronicle, initially, people arrived from all the corners of Europe; however Rodrigo records they "abandoned the cross of

¹⁶⁵ Lucy Pick, *Conflict and Coexistence: Archbishop Rodrigo and the Muslims and Jews of Medieval Spain* (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 2004), 79

¹⁶⁶ Pick, 210 (Pick's translation)

¹⁶⁷ Rodrigo, 305.

¹⁶⁸ Rodrigo, 322.

¹⁶⁹ Cabrer, "Dimensiones religiosas y liturgia de la batalla plenomedieval: Las navas de tolosa," 43

¹⁷⁰ Rodrigo, 315.

God before the difficulties.”¹⁷¹ Thus, it was the “Spanish alone, along with the few *ultramontanes* who remained, [who] began to be hopeful of the road to the battle of the Lord.”¹⁷² Finally, in a 1212 charter recounting the victory, it was “we especially who are from this kingdom [who] ought to sing to Him and glorify and praise His name as blessed forever because the victory was in our land and it was especially our cause.”¹⁷³ Through promoting Alfonso’s claim for a national Catholicism, Rodrigo in turn presented himself as the ecclesiastical head. As the primate of Spain, he represented the local spiritual power and a figure for Spanish sentiments of nationalism to coalesce around.¹⁷⁴ Innocent III had recognized this threat, in a 1211 letter, deferring the issue of the primacy of the archbishop of Toledo and telling him to wait for a more opportune time.¹⁷⁵ In doing so, Innocent III promoted his own image as the spiritual leader. Rodrigo, in his writings presented his own agenda of a religiously independent Spain, in partnership with the national Catholicism promoted by Alfonso VIII.¹⁷⁶ Bishops Juan of Osma, Lucas of Tuy and Archbishop Rodrigo created narratives that virtually repelled the encroaching influence of the papacy to an almost nonexistent state. In its place, these authors forefronted the importance and independence of Spain in the defense of Christendom.

Chroniclers were not the only individuals engaged in a propaganda campaign to assert authority over temporal affairs. Alfonso VIII, in his report of the battle to Innocent III, similarly promoted his nation’s involvement in the defense of Catholicism.

¹⁷¹ Ibid, 307, 315.

¹⁷² Ibid, 315

¹⁷³ Pick 212

¹⁷⁴ Pick 100

¹⁷⁵ Mansilla, letter #455

¹⁷⁶ A donation from the king to the archbishop for his service in securing the victory at Las Navas de Tolosa further helped this mutual effort. Mansilla, letter #489.

The letter from Alfonso VIII began with a formulaic salutation to Innocent III; however, Alfonso placed himself on equal footing by stating both to be in their place “by the grace of God.”¹⁷⁷ The next lines acknowledged the help of the papacy in particular “the remission of sins which you granted to those coming to join us.”¹⁷⁸ However, beyond this spiritual authority, Alfonso granted no other role or authority. In fact, Alfonso recalled it was Spanish heralds sent “with our letters to certain parts of France.” While the king sent messengers, this neglected the multiple letters¹⁷⁹ issued by Innocent III in support of the mission.

Having collected the crusaders at Toledo, Alfonso next recounted the expedition, at all junctures emphasizing the importance of the Spanish role. In this fashion, an odd juxtaposition occurred. On the one hand, they were Christian defenders of the west undertaking a pilgrimage. Yet at the same time, Alfonso underscored that, with a few exceptions, only Spanish nations stayed for the entire expedition. Consequently, this interaction defined the ideal of national Catholicism. For instance, the kingdom of Castile had to spend vast sums of “money and clothing, for almost everybody, both knights and serving men, was in need.” Not just a logistical necessity, the payments were also acts of devotion. The vast majority of pilgrims undertook their trip in some semblance of poverty; for rich pilgrims, this often meant generous donations to the poor.¹⁸⁰ The donations to crusaders served the same purpose, yet by utilizing money from the coffers of the Castilian treasury and Spanish churches, it nationalized the pilgrimage by not necessitating papal or any foreign support in order for the crusade to continue.

Moreover, when the “French... all together abandoned the Cross” and went home, it was the Spanish who defended the Catholic faith. This quote, indicative of Alfonso VIII’s vision of

¹⁷⁷ Alfonso VIII, “Letter to innocent III,” *De Re Militari*.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid

¹⁷⁹ Mansilla, *La documentación Pontificia Hasta Inocencio III, 965-1216*, see letters # 446, 447, 448, 452, 468, 470, 471, 473

¹⁸⁰ Sumption, 169.

himself as a Christian king, was coupled with the desire to promote a campaign that followed in imitation of Christ. This foremost was accomplished by being an “army of God”¹⁸¹ or an “army of the Lord” throughout the letter.¹⁸² Yet the Spanish contingent received the highest praises for devotion. For the Spanish not only “set out on the road God had chosen for us” but exhibited Christ-like apostolic poverty by after the capture of Calatrava, giving the spoils to the French and “no part of it being retained by our selves or our men.” Similar to the purely religious pilgrimages, the Spanish practiced an element of self-denial. By rejecting material goods and searching for greater spiritual prizes, they, in the words of St. Jerome concerning pilgrimage, escaped “the damnation to which the rest of the world is destined.”¹⁸³

Finally, this infusion of Spanish nationalism into pilgrimage was present in the description of the fighting. For the battle only was won after a Castilian cavalry charge was initiated with “the Cross of the Lord going before and our banner with its image of the Holy Virgin and her Son imposed upon our device.” By impaling the image of the Virgin Mary and Jesus on the Castilian banner, the intermediary of the pope no longer was necessary. Furthermore, the Virgin Mary was the patron of Toledo and Spain.¹⁸⁴ She in essence becomes a symbol of Spain, which as a mother protects her son, Spain protects the Christian faith. The banner therefore provides a direct connection, Christ and Castile, together without the Pope defending the faith, further emphasized when Alfonso states the battle was won “by God alone and through God alone” with the “victory of His cross.” Thus, the Pope was not necessary because the victory was achieved without him. Overall, in his account to Innocent III of the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, Alfonso VIII provides the image of an expedition that while

¹⁸¹ Alfonso VIII: “The Saracens inside realizing that they would not be able to hold off this army of God...”

¹⁸² Ibid :“Once this was taken, the army of the Lord was ale to go on up to the mountain peaks in safety...”

¹⁸³ Sumption, 94.

¹⁸⁴ Rodrigo, 322.

taking the cross proceeded to maintain monarchical leadership in defense of Christendom without the need to grant any authority to the papacy.

Innocent III retaliated with a letter dated October 26, 1212, stressing the importance of humility. As the spiritual father for all Christians, he sought to correct possible unworthy motives such as land acquisition, for the work of Las Navas de Tolosa. For these impure intentions placed the laity in greater danger of damnation by encouraging them to engage in further acts of sinning.¹⁸⁵ It was not Alfonso who was the defender of Christendom insisted Innocent, but rather God, “protector of the faithful, without whom nothing is powerful.”¹⁸⁶ While Alfonso VIII was the one that fought, Innocent doubted “that [the victory] exists not as a work of man, but of divine. Yes indeed truly the God of man devoured the enemies of the cross.”¹⁸⁷ Innocent III then argued the folly of proceeding in the footsteps of Christ, stating that the result was “feet of arrogance.”¹⁸⁸

Instead, the proper action was to follow the instructions of the papacy. Innocent underscored this point through a different biblical allusion for the Castilians: the tribe Moab. Known for their excessive pride, they incurred the wrath of God and in the book of Isaiah, the prophet warns against falling into their trap and receiving the “burden of Moab.”¹⁸⁹ Moreover, this tribe was apart from the Israelites, thus not a chosen people. As the Vicar of Christ, the pope asserted himself as favored by God and by linking Castile with Moab, Innocent warned disobedience has the possible repercussion of being placed outside the church.

Innocent continued to assume a dominant position by giving instructions to pray and confess with a humble heart. This requirement of confession further placed Innocent

¹⁸⁵ Housley, 76.

¹⁸⁶ Mansilla, Letter # 488 *Protector in se sperantium, Deus, sine que nihil est validum*

¹⁸⁷ Ibid: *procul dubio non humani operas extitit... immo verius Dei hominis inimicos cruces dominice devoravit*

¹⁸⁸ Ibid: *pes superbie*

¹⁸⁹ Isaiah 15:1

hierarchically above Alfonso because only clergy were allowed to hear confession. Alfonso would need to approach one of these members, all of whom fell under the authority of the Pope. Finally, Innocent III reasserted his position in the hierarchy by referring to Alfonso not as an equal but rather his “most caring son.”¹⁹⁰ Consequently, Innocent III in his reply to Alfonso VIII performed the ecclesiastic’s role of cautioning against the mortal sin of pride. However, in the process, he also reminded that God had control over all matters, even the temporal. Thus as the representative of God, even through this admonition to Alfonso VIII, Innocent was mindful to assert his position of authority.

By the thirteenth century, the papacy had integrated itself into positions of authority in many temporal roles, including the crusades through immersing the endeavors in a language of pilgrimage. For the nobles of Spain, this hegemonic encroachment, even in the matter of crusade, proved unappealing. Chroniclers and kings contested the claims of the papacy through writings that enmeshed Castilian actions with the ideas of the imitation of Christ. This new language suggested a national Catholicism that posited the local king as the principle defender of the faith, alone and without assistance, especially not from the papacy.

¹⁹⁰ Mansilla , *fili karissime*

Penance, Crusade Indulgences and Las Navas de Tolosa

In 1212, both King Alfonso VIII of Castile and Pope Innocent III, desiring to vanquish the looming threat of Miramolin, positioned themselves to lead the forthcoming venture. Innocent III utilized his spiritual supremacy in these temporal matters whereas Alfonso VIII constructed his kingdom as the true defender of the faith. Yet if both of these individuals were so perfect to assume leadership, why even bother to include the other? Because both sides needed each other. Pope Innocent III had been granting crusade indulgences for anyone willing to battle the Muslim enemy in Spain since 1210; however, until the crusade of Las Navas de Tolosa, no ruler accepted this inducement. Meanwhile Alfonso VIII desired to avenge the loss of Salvatierra; yet against the strength of the Almohad Empire, he needed more than just his feudal host to accomplish the task. Personal messengers to France returned unsuccessful because there was no enticement to help. Only when Alfonso VIII, with his presence in Spain and military knowledge, and Innocent III, provider of the indulgence incentive, cooperated did an alliance form that proved able to overcome Miramolin at the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa.

This chapter will scrutinize the theory and practice of indulgence in the events of Las Navas de Tolosa. First, I will examine indulgences within its larger framework of penance and pilgrimage; next, the indulgence as it applies to crusading in general. Finally, the chapter will look at all of these concepts as they apply to Las Navas de Tolosa. In doing so, I will demonstrate how papal and monarchical concerns converged in the pursuit of a common enemy while at the same time maintained their own personal agendas.

If, as explored in the last chapter, *imitatio Christi* was the means through which pilgrimage was actualized, then the need for penance and the promise of indulgence was why

pilgrimage occurred. One common image in the Middle Ages was that of Christ the judge. According to the gospelist Luke “[Jesus] commanded us to preach to the people and to testify that he is the one whom God appointed as judge of the living and the dead.”¹⁹¹ Thus, each person one day had to account for his sins. Moreover, men often “were inclined to feel that their lives were directed by irresistible forces.”¹⁹² Due to this lack of control and the presence of original sin, just not sinning was not enough. Instead, one had to search for a means of grace, which according to Catholic doctrine, one achieved through faith (belief and supplicatory prayers) and good works. Through these actions, penitents hoped to deflect that wrath of God.

One of the best forms of pious acts was to undertake a pilgrimage. “By re-enacting in their own lives the sufferings of Christ they felt that they were performing an act of personal redemption just as Christ, by His death, had made possible the salvation of all man.”¹⁹³ For example, the papacy leveled threats of excommunication and interdict against Henry II in response to his role in the murder of Archbishop Thomas Becket. Faced with the spiritual penalties for uttering, “Will no one rid me of this turbulent priest,” he undertook pilgrimage to Canterbury Cathedral. There a contemporary records the similarity, arguing that beaten with scourges “Christ did this for the remission of our sins, whereas Henry did it for the remission of his own.”¹⁹⁴ Although through pilgrimage it was possible to perform penance for some sins, it was impossible to know if that was enough. Penitential books, while able to recommend duration of penance, did not truly know how much would be enough to placate God. When combined with the realization that new sins accumulated daily, it necessitated constant penance in order to

¹⁹¹ Acts 10:42

¹⁹² Sumption, 14.

¹⁹³ Ibid, 93.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid, 93.

have the hope of staying in God's good graces. However, for those other than monks, this was not feasible. Consequently, the papacy introduced the indulgence.

An indulgence was not the complete pardon of sin, but rather the replacement of the temporal punishment (*poena*) prescribed after the guilt of the sin (*culpa*) was removed through the sacrament of confession.¹⁹⁵ Since priests were the only members of society that could hear confession, pilgrimage and penitence had to go through the church. Thus the church, centered in Rome, established its supremacy through, in the Middle Ages, being the only means through which salvation was possible. Beyond just hearing confession, they were the only body capable of administering indulgences. For according to the schoolmen, indulgences were not a symbolic replacement of the sin but rather “an absolute payment to God of an equivalent, the equivalent being furnished to the sinner by the Church out of its inexhaustible treasure.”¹⁹⁶ Martyrs, who deposited the remainder of their good works after covering their own sins, to be used by future supplicants, had created this treasury of merit. Originally, the authority to administrate this treasury and distribute indulgences rested with those who chiefly represented Christ: the bishops. Gradually, this emphasis shifted to the chief bishop in Rome, the Pope. Albert Magnus believed the power resided with the Pope because otherwise the dispensations would be unlimited. Innocent III echoed this argument in the actions of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). Here, the pope “adopted measure to concentrate in papal hands as far as possible the business of issuing indulgences.”¹⁹⁷ Since they were working so well to further papal agendas, he feared that “if every bishop and every abbot in Christendom was authorized to issue them” it might destroy its value.¹⁹⁸ By the end of the century, Thomas Aquinas silenced all further discussion by

¹⁹⁵ Lea, vol. 3, 39.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid, 27.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid, 13.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid

rationalizing that the “treasure required a guardian who would prevent its squandering, the pope alone was its keeper.”¹⁹⁹ Furthermore, it was a matter of jurisdiction, not sacrament.²⁰⁰ By virtue of St. Peter, the first bishop of Rome, being given “the keys of the kingdom of heaven” so that “whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven,” it was only his successors that could assert the right to grant indulgences.²⁰¹ For various acts, one received various amounts of indulgence. For instance, starting in 1182, anyone who worshiped at the altar of St. Thomas on that saint’s feast day in the church of St. Salvatore of Venice received an eight-day indulgence.²⁰² Similarly, those who visited Westminster abbey on the feast of St. Edward the Confessor could receive an indulgence of one year and forty days.²⁰³ However, the pope reserved the greatest indulgence, for what he called the remission of sin, for the crusade.

From the first proclamation at Clermont in 1095, the crusade indulgence “offered a route to salvation, which eclipsed every other spiritual exercise.”²⁰⁴ Robert the monk recorded Urban II declaring, “undertake this journey for the remission of your sins, with the assurance of the imperishable glory of the kingdom of heaven.”²⁰⁵ In another account, Urban II went one-step further: “All who die by the way, whether by land or by sea, or in battle against the pagans, shall have immediate remission of sins. This I grant them through the power of God with which I am invested.”²⁰⁶ The power of God refers to the keys of St. Peter but much debate has arisen about the true nature of the indulgence; whether it was a true replacement of penitential acts or a

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, 37.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Matthew 16:19

²⁰² Lea, 146.

²⁰³ Lea, 146-147.

²⁰⁴ Sumption, 137.

²⁰⁵ Robert the Monk, “Urban II Speech at council of Clermont, 1095, five versions of the speech.”

²⁰⁶ Fulcher of Chartres, “Urban II Speech at council of Clermont, 1095, five versions of the speech.”

penitential act so meritorious that it purged any penalty of sins incurred.²⁰⁷ James Brundage, historian of canon law, argues the impossibility of truly discerning the original meaning because even the popes themselves did not have a true grasp on the meaning, for it was not until the 1270's when the church clarified and crystallized the theology of indulgence.²⁰⁸ Henry Lea, historian of ecclesiastical history, argued for the development of an indulgence but “a plenary indulgence, in contradistinction to the partial indulgences then slowly coming into vogue.”²⁰⁹ While historians today debate the implications of the phrase remission of sin, medieval crusaders had no questions about its meaning; to them it was a “complete quittance of all former sins.”²¹⁰ It was the best bargain one could hope for in pursuit of reaching the kingdom of God. St Bernard of Clairvaux believed this so strongly that while preaching the second crusade, he compared the crusader with a prudent merchant, proclaiming that to “take the sign of the cross, if placed on a devout shoulder, it is without doubt worth the Kingdom of God.”²¹¹ Fifty years later, Villehardouin writes of the popularity of this method “because this pardon was so great, it greatly stirred the people's hearts and many took the cross because the pardon was so great.”²¹²

Crusade indulgences granted in the thirteenth century had changed in several significant ways from its eleventh-century iteration. For instance, it had gained new stipulations. Phrases such as “truly sorry and confessed”²¹³ or “with contrite heart and with mouth confessed”²¹⁴ limited the indulgences granted to those who had been shriven of the guilt of their sins.²¹⁵ These phrases reflected the increasing authority of the church and the mediating role the papacy had on

²⁰⁷ Housley, 51.

²⁰⁸ Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, 148.

²⁰⁹ Lea, 10.

²¹⁰ Brundage, 151.

²¹¹ Brundage, 140.

²¹² *Ibid.*

²¹³ *Vere poenitentibus et confessis*

²¹⁴ *Corde contritis et ore confessis*

²¹⁵ Lea, 60.

the individual's life.²¹⁶ Furthermore, the plenary indulgence, previously only bestowed on those people who crusaded in the Levant, began to be granted to Western campaigns.²¹⁷ Whereas, the third Lateran Council (1179) had only rewarded two years remission of penance for service against the Cathari of Languedoc, by 1208, Innocent III was "lavishing plenaries for forty days service in the crusades against the Albigensians."²¹⁸ This was in part due to the formality that crusade brought to pilgrimage and indulgences. Rigid sets of rules replaced previously intense spiritual devotion.²¹⁹ Originally, men such as Raymond of St. Gilles and Peter Bartholomew of the First Crusade did not consider their pilgrimage complete until they had swum in the Jordan, the place of Christ's baptism.²²⁰ The loss of Jerusalem in 1187 meant that other crusaders might not be able to achieve the goal of their pilgrimages, to worship in the Holy Sepulcher. However, rather than lose influence, the rules of indulgence loosened to a more feudal fixed obligation of forty days of service.²²¹ Crusade as a penitential practice no longer was confined to the Holy Land but instead translated to other theaters of action.²²²

By 1212, the practice of indulgences had transformed radically from its original 1095 iteration. Yet it was still a moment of great fluidity. In every proclamation, the papacy and those

²¹⁶ Housley, 51.

²¹⁷ There has been some argument that Urban II issued the plenary indulgence in the matter of Spain. On pg. 31 of *Reconquista and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, Joseph O'Callaghan cites a 1089 letter to the Catalan nobles concerning Tarragona. It offered "that indulgence which they would gain if they had fulfilled the journey." O'Callaghan then states it was the same as the one offered in 1099 at the Council of Clermont. However, chronologically, this offer came before the crusades so the pilgrims could simply be normal penitents to Jerusalem and not proto-crusaders. This letter offered an indulgence and the accounts of Urban II only mention the remission of sin. Therefore, while historians equate the two, Urban II uses two different forms of language. Furthermore, O'Callaghan would argue the inseparability of Reconquista and Crusade. For instance, he records Alarcos as a crusade. Therefore, he would ascribe more things as crusade than my more conservative definition permits. Finally, in a published dissertation on Urban II and canon law, the only mention of plenary comes in relation to those going on the first crusade. Francis Gossman, *Pope Urban II and canon law*, Canon law studies, Vol. 403, (Washington D.C.: Catholic U of America P, 1960).

²¹⁸ Lea, 152, 13.

²¹⁹ Sumption, 137.

²²⁰ Sumption, 129.

²²¹ Lea, 152.

²²² See the Third Crusade in which Clement III guaranteed that Spanish Christians who took up arms against the Muslims would gain the same remission of sin offered to crusaders going to Jerusalem. O'Callaghan, *Reconquista*, 57.

who accepted the indulgence renegotiated the terms. For Innocent III and Alfonso VIII, this meant that even in this aspect of penance, there still existed a power struggle. However, the more overriding conclusion was that the indulgence provided the means through which each side could at least tolerate the other's ambitions in order to cooperate against the larger threat of Miramolin and his Muslim forces.

Pope Innocent III, as evident through his actions against Cathar France, employed the indulgence in order not only to destroy heretics but also, through expanding the areas of conflict from just the Holy Land, sought to extend his control over a *respublica christiana* of which he was the head.²²³ In 1212, the threat from Miramolin allowed this emphasis and the indulgence to shift to Spain. However, this was not the first attempt by Innocent III to promote papal activity in Spain. On February 16, 1210, Innocent issued a letter from the Lateran to the Archbishop of Toledo and his suffragans urging them to enlist Alfonso VIII to “fight the perfidy of the Saracens.”²²⁴ The pope then provided two tactics in order to win over the king to his cause. The first was shame for Peter II of Aragon, a rival ruler that Innocent lauded as the exemplar for expelling enemies of the faith. Thus, the work of Alfonso VIII was “through the name of Christ, to emulate as pious an act” and “to aspire with similar devotion toward his work of piety.”²²⁵ The second method was to concede to the effort an indulgence. Innocent granted “with our authority to participants the remission of his sins.”²²⁶ There was no further explanation about what was meant by the phrase remission of sin. More than likely, it was a result of the ambiguity still circulating in higher ecclesiastical circles about its true meaning.

²²³ Housley, 55.

²²⁴ Mansilla #416: *perfidia sarracenorum impugna*.

²²⁵ Ibid: *ut et ipse pro Christi nomine tam pium propositum emulando, ad opus huius modi pietatis simili devotione consurgat*.

²²⁶ Ibid: *exhortemini, auctoritate nostra in remissionem eis peccaminum iniugentes*

Subsequent letters clarified this confusion of meaning. The next letter, penned on December 10, 1210, also urged a fight against the Saracens. Upon hearing that Fernando, the Infante of Castile, desired to dedicate himself “toward exterminating enemies of Christ name,” Innocent III wrote to all the archbishops and bishops of Spain, commending them to “urge from the part of God... and in remission of all participants sins.”²²⁷ This indulgence was more in line with the conception that a crusade indulgence was to be plenary. In case the allusion was not clear enough, the effort was “equal to the remission we grant to rejoice for pilgrims, who by their own devotion from every direction will have processed faithfully toward accomplishing the same work.”²²⁸ In the eyes of the papacy, what the Infante wanted to do was no different from a crusade. Innocent wanted to provide help not only as his obligation as head of the Christian church but also due to his desire to have some means with which to expand authority in the area. However, this all was simply rhetoric on the part of Innocent III for Castile did not accept this offer. Instead, Fernando was more interested in pursuing the work of fighting his enemy in the more traditional role that his ancestors had participated in, Spain alone against a neighboring hostile state. Thus Innocent III, without invitation from the kings of Spain, had crusade indulgences ready to mobilize support but none willing to take up the cause.

This was the status quo until the loss of Salvatierra in September 1211. As a result, Alfonso VIII pledged, “that the construction of walls on which all were laboring should be interrupted and all should appear with arms of war and prepare themselves for future battle.”²²⁹ In order to accomplish this goal, he sent messengers to the king of France to solicit support. Included with them was a letter of which the conclusion sums up its message:

²²⁷ Mansilla #442: *ad exterminandos inimicos nominis christiani monentes ex parte Dei... et in remissionem eis iniugentes omnium peccaminum.*

²²⁸ Ibid: *Pari quoque remissione gaudere concedimus peregrinos, qui propria devoione undecumque porceesserint ad idem opus fidlitter exequendum.*

²²⁹ *Latin Chronicle*, 40.

Therefore, while you all may believe the wall to soundness as usual and the defenses to be made to fall over, we extend a request of your serenity with sobbing in so far as from your reign to our assistance send over expeditions and knights armed, nothing wavering because if one responds to blood in Christian conflict with our blood, truly we can be reckoned martyrs.²³⁰

Alfonso VIII's request failed for two reasons. The primary one was that Philip Augustus was embroiled in a struggle with England. Having successfully ousted King John Lackland from Normandy in 1204, he was continuing to press his advantage, all of which culminated in his victory at the battle of Bouvines in 1214. Second, there was no benefit to participation, since Alfonso VIII was not able to grant indulgences. However, it was possible to crusade not for the sake of indulgence. After all France had a proud tradition of taking up the cross. However, King Philip Augustus had already done so in the Third Crusade and due to his departure and failure to recapture Jerusalem, had lost serious prestige to the much-acclaimed King Richard the Lionhearted. Consequently, he was not likely to aid in a similar venture and loath to offer troops to help Alfonso's cause.

Therefore, messengers also had to be sent to the papacy to ask for assistance in the upcoming struggle. Alfonso had the means to fight but not necessarily the support needed to turn back the size of the opposing force. Innocent, upon hearing this entreaty, now had the ability to utilize his incentive of indulgences. First, on January 31, 1212, he sent a letter to the Archbishop of Sens and his suffragans stating that he "had received letters full of distress and not free from fear" concerning the "Saracens this year entering Spain in oppressive multitudes."²³¹ Next outlining the loss of the Cistercian fortress called Salvatierra²³², he related the response of Alfonso VIII to gather a group to destroy this menace. Innocent chooses to relate the fact of

²³⁰ See above pg. 3, fn. 10

²³¹ Mansilla # 468: *Recepimus litteras dolore plenas et timore non vacuas... quod Saraceni hoc anno intrantes Yspanium in multitudine gravi.*

²³² Ibid: *Quoddam castrum Cisterciensis ordinis fratri, quod Salvaterra vocatur.*

which order controlled the fortress because the Cistercian order thrived in France and this connection proved fruitful for the primary *ultramontane* was to be Arnaud Amalric.²³³ As the abbot of Grandselve, the mother abbey of Occitanian Cistercians²³⁴, and the recently elected Archbishop of Narbonne,²³⁵ he took up the cross and brought many in support of Alfonso VIII to avenge their fallen brothers. It was his spiritual authority and holiness that according to Martin Alvira Cabrer, a Spanish historian of Las Navas de Tolosa, provided an element of stability in the ensuing campaign.²³⁶ Furthermore, he provided the Cistercian general assembly with an account of the battle, crediting the remission of sin that Innocent III granted as an impetus for his participation.²³⁷ Consequently, by connecting the work of Alfonso VIII to the Cistercian loss of Salvatierra and the indulgence, Innocent III was able to gain support, which Alfonso VIII alone could not get.

The letter to the Archbishop of Sens continued, approving of “[Alfonso’s] pious plan toward the Lord” and as such ordered help to go “running to help his prescribed end in this matter of urgency.”²³⁸ Lastly, Innocent brought to bear his full power as bishop of Rome by granting “the remission of all sins of truly penitent participants by the part of God and ourselves.”²³⁹ Not only was an incentive provided but caveated in such a way that the papacy maintained importance. For example, the power to remit sin derived from not only God but also the throne of St. Peter. By requiring the participants to be truly penitent, it required them to have been confessed and absolved, which only a priest could do. Finally, in order to make explicit the

²³³ Most famous for his advice on how to distinguish Catholic friend from Cathar foe: “Kill them all, for the Lord knows them that are his.”

²³⁴ Martin Alvira Cabrer, “El venerable Arnaldo Amalric: idea y realidad de un cisterciense” *Hispania Sacra*, 48, 1996, 572

²³⁵ *Ibid*, 577.

²³⁶ *Ibid*, 589.

²³⁷ Full text of the account in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France Bouquet* vol 19, pg 250-254.

²³⁸ *Ibid*: *pium eius porpositum in Domino; ei prescripto termino in hoc necessitates articulo succurrentes.*

²³⁹ *Ibid*: *in remissionem omnium peccatorum ex parte Dei et nostra vere penitentibus iniungentes.*

link between this indulgence and the authority of the church, Innocent wrote that the indulgence was “equal to the remission we grant to rejoice for pilgrims, who by their own devotion from every direction will have processed faithfully toward accomplishing the same work.”²⁴⁰ By linking this work to the work of pilgrims, Innocent emphasized this battle was the same as crusade and other works that fell under the prerogative of the Church. Consequently, in the letter soliciting help from France to aid Spain, Innocent invested, in a manner of cooperation and not submission, in Alfonso VIII’s campaign through the granting of the Church’s spiritual privileges.

In a letter dated February 4, 1212, Innocent next wrote to Alfonso VIII in order to inform him of his support. First, he sent legates to the archbishops and bishops of France and also Provence. Second, since the issue concerned “enemies of the cross of Christ,” Innocent told Alfonso that he granted “the truly penitent participant, full remission of sin by the part of God and ourselves.”²⁴¹ Finally, once more we see the connection of this endeavor to pilgrims. Utilizing verbatim the phrase found in the second letter to Spain and the letter to Sens, Innocent reminded Alfonso that he had previously offered this aid; however, then it was initiated on the papacy’s own accord and not in response to a plea by Castile. Thus while recognizing the need for Alfonso, Innocent nonetheless claimed primacy in matters concerning enemies of the faith. This ability to use the spiritual powers of the Church appeared again in a subsequent letter of April 5, 1212 to Archbishop Rodrigo authorizing the use of excommunication and interdict against those who opposed this program of the Church.²⁴² Even in the midst of cooperation through the theology and practice of penance, the overriding tension of power nonetheless continued to enter the discussion between the papacy and Castile.

²⁴⁰ Ibid: *Pari quoque remissione gaudere concedimus peregrinos, qui propria devoione undecumque processerint ad idem opus fideliter exequendum.*

²⁴¹ Mansilla #470: *inimicis cruces Christi; in remissionem omnium peccatorum ex parte Dei et nostra vere penitentibus iniungentes.*

²⁴² Mansilla # 471.

After the battle, the alliance proved not to be permanent but rather a moment of opportunity. Alfonso finished the crusade in an unsuccessful siege of Ubeda and Baeza and then retired for the winter. Alfonso, who had chosen to start the struggle, was not the one to decide its end, for the following April, Innocent rescinded the Spanish crusade indulgence in favor of Palestine.²⁴³ This was much to the dismay of Spanish prelates, who begged at the Fourth Lateran Council to restore the Spanish crusade indulgence. Innocent met their pleas with silence except to instruct them to return and raise the triennial twentieth in support of the upcoming Egyptian expedition.²⁴⁴ Therefore, Alfonso VIII and Innocent III went their separate ways, each pursuing different objectives after for a moment having reconciled their differences in the common pursuit of the defeat of Miramolin.

Consequently, through the theology and practice of penance and indulgences, the people of Christendom united for a moment against a common foe. There still existed separate agendas of monarch and papacy. However, through the mutual recognition of King Alfonso VIII and Pope Innocent III that they needed each other, those tensions found an area of cooperation that did not necessitate the abandonment of institutional claims.

²⁴³ Gaztambide, 132.

²⁴⁴ Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of crusading* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1983), 113.

Idealized Responses: The Crusade Song and the Christian Voice of the Troubadour

Lords, for our sins
grows the strength of the Saracens:
Saladin has taken Jerusalem,
which still has not been recovered.
For this, the king of Morocco sends to tell
that he will combat all the kings of Christianity
with his mendacious Andalusians and Arabs,
armed against the faith of Christ.²⁴⁵

Gavaudan, *Senhors, per los nostres peccatz*

Issuing forth from the Occitanian courts, crusade lyrics were at the zenith of their popularity in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Troubadours sang of love and tournaments, but most importantly to Las Navas de Tolosa, they sang of crusades. The crusade lyric contained a political message that served as a call to arms.²⁴⁶ However, as opposed to such initiatives in papal and monarchical letters written in Latin, the songs utilized the vernacular language of Occitan. By writing in the native tongue, the troubadour reached the maximum number of listeners in the region.²⁴⁷ Moreover, crusade lyrics derived as a subset of an older tradition of *sirventes*, etymologically named for two reasons.²⁴⁸ The first was because the author placed the voice of the narrative in the mouth of a servant or a soldier.²⁴⁹ Secondly, existing tunes served the poem by providing the melody. With a familiar tune, the audience focused on the topic rather than spending time to understand the music.²⁵⁰ Thus in all of these ways, the crusade lyric strove to reach the maximum number of listeners in order to encourage them to participate in their venture.

²⁴⁵ See above, pg. 8, fn. 18

²⁴⁶ Martin de Riquer, *Los trovadores: Historia literaria y textos*, vol. 1. (Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 1975), 56.

²⁴⁷ Riquer, 54.

²⁴⁸ Cathrynke Dijkstra and Martin Gosman, "Poetic fiction and poetic reality: The case of the romance crusade lyric," *Neophilologus*, 79 (1995): 17; Riquer, 55.

²⁴⁹ Riquer, 55.

²⁵⁰ Robert Kehew, ed., *Lark in the morning: the verses of the troubadours* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2005), 7; Riquer, 54.

As a source, crusade songs created an idealized world in which partisanship did not matter. Instead, they crystallized the tension as not between pope and monarch but rather Christian versus Muslim. In this sense, it was non-partisan. However, by intentionally writing a piece that ignored the attempts at appropriating crusade ideology for personal goals, the troubadours created an intensely political message. The songs of Las Navas de Tolosa (*Hueimas no y conosc razo* and *Senhors, per los nostres peccatz*) incorporated the same themes of historical relevance, *imitatio Christi*, church doctrine, and reputation present in crusade songs since 1095. The troubadours, by reasserting this format, rejected the papal and monarchical hegemonic positions. Instead, they proposed an agenda where the only fighting in crusade centered on the universal enemies of Christ. This focus brought back into the discussion the nobility of France. Regarded as principal proponents of crusade, papal and monarchical claims in the newly formulated crusade ideology of Las Navas de Tolosa threatened to leave them out.²⁵¹ Consequently, the troubadours utilized the crusade lyric as a call to arms focused on Christ and sung in Occitania in order to not only bring troops to the battlefield but also their name back into relevance as leaders in the crusade movement.

This chapter will examine how troubadours during Las Navas de Tolosa utilized the crusade lyric. After looking at several fundamental crusade lyric texts to suggest a model of a typical call to arms, I show how the two songs of Las Navas de Tolosa—*Hueimas no y conosc razo* and *Senhors, per los nostres peccatz*—fit in this mold. In doing so, I will demonstrate how the troubadour presented a voice that favored neither the papacy nor the monarch. This voice rejected their appropriation of crusade ideology and instead hoped to maintain a status quo.

²⁵¹ After all the principle account of the First Crusade was the *Gesta Francorum* or History of the deeds of the Franks (French).

However, this was not a neutral effort but rather one that allowed their native land of Southern France to remain central to the idea of crusade.

A Tradition Unbroken: common themes in crusade lyrics

Troubadours writing the medieval crusade lyric created a distinct genre through implementing common themes. The first was a sense of historical reference. Utilizing prolepsis, the troubadour collapsed the past historical record and the present circumstances into a song that focused on the future in a call to arms.²⁵² In the typical *sirventes*, the historical reference was nonspecific. It offered a fictive historical event that necessitated a chivalric response. That fictive event was usually war or love. For the crusade songs, the historical mentions of crusade were real events. The relevance for this extra-textual historicity²⁵³ was that through the mention of crusader, the troubadour forced the interpretation of the song in the direction of listener participation in the expedition.²⁵⁴ For example in *Jerusalem mirabilis*²⁵⁵, composed anonymously around 1095, the author offers the image of “wonderful Jerusalem, a city richer than others” and told, “to that place we must go.”²⁵⁶ In *Pax in nomine Domini*²⁵⁷, Marcabru proclaims that we must “run to the washing-place.”²⁵⁸ This sense of rushing to join the crusade was typical of all crusade writings; for example, Fulcher of Chartres, in his chronicle of the first crusade, wrote, “for it is necessary for you to run as quickly as you can to the aid of your brothers living on the

²⁵² Jaye Puckett, “‘Recommenciez novele estoire’: the troubadours and the rhetoric of the later crusades.” *MLN*, 116 (2001): 846.

²⁵³ By this I mean that the event portrayed in the text was also one that existed outside of the text.

²⁵⁴ Dijkstra, 14, 18.

²⁵⁵ Earliest extant crusade song, believed to have been sung on the First Crusade. It is a bit exceptional for the only extant version was in Latin and collected into a 1139 manuscript from the Abbey of St. Martial de Limoges.

²⁵⁶ Bryan Gillingham, ed., *Paris bibliotheque nationale, fonds latin 1139*, Publications of mediaeval musical manuscripts, vol. 14. (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1987), 50-50v; “Jerusalem, surge, surge.” <http://www.logaisaber.com/Jerusalem.pdf>; Internet; accessed Mar. 2010: *Jerusalem mirabilis/urbs beatorum aliis; Illuc debemus pergere*.

²⁵⁷ Written around 1139.

²⁵⁸ Simon Gaunt, Ruth Harvey, and Linda Paterson, *Marcabru: A critical edition* (Chicago: D.S. Brewer, 2000), 439: *Correm al lavador* (book’s translation)

eastern shore.²⁵⁹ The injunction was biblical, stemming from Paul’s letter to the Philippians, urging them to run toward the heavenly prize.²⁶⁰ In *Ara nos sia guitz*²⁶¹, Gaucelm Faidit laments the historical loss of the pilgrimage roads due to Saladin and the arrival of the Antichrist through the figure of Saif Heddinal-Adil, sultan of Egypt and brother of Saladin. He then exhorts the listener “with hand together, bowing, pray for the power so that we may straighten the ports and roads to Syria.”²⁶² Finally, Aimeric de Peguilhan writes, in *Ara parra qual seran enveyos*²⁶³, that in response to the fact that “the Turks have done violence to Our Lord” all should “take up the sacred sign of the cross and journey yonder [to Syria].”²⁶⁴ Each troubadour recognized the danger posed by the enemy and responded with a call to arms. The historical events in the crusade lyrics individuated the universal enemy of the faith and journey symbolism into specific campaigns. Yet each of the crusades still existed within the text and consequently, the troubadour chose to garner wider support by not caring who was in charge but instead focusing on the threat to all Christian people.

Another common theme in crusade lyrics was the presence of *imitatio Christi*. Each of the lyrics presented aspects of Christ’s life, literarily paralleled by the crusaders in the acceptance of the call to arms. This description of Christ, as opposed to the chronicles explored earlier, did not promote monarchical interests but rather was a rhetorical device that created a homology between the future participant’s actions and Christ’s. *Jerusalem mirabilis* provides the most descriptive retelling, starting at the entry into Jerusalem and five strophes later ending with

²⁵⁹ Gaunt, 445.

²⁶⁰ Philipians 3:14

²⁶¹ Authored in the last decade of the twelfth century.

²⁶² Riquer vol. 2, 776: *Pero mas joins, aclis/prec vas sa seignoria/ qe ls portz e ls chamis/ nos adreis vas Suria* (Occitan); *Pero con las manos juntas, inclinado, ruego a su poder que nos enderece los puertos y los caminos hacia Siria* (Spanish, Riquer).

²⁶³ Composed around 1213.

²⁶⁴ Alan Press, ed., *Anthology of troubadour lyric poetry*, Edinburgh bilingual library (Austin: U of Texas P, 1971), 228-229: *Que Turc aian forat Nostre Senhor; E de la crotz prendam lo sanh senhal/ E passem lai* (book’s translation).

the Resurrection. The final three strophes provide instructions to crusaders interwoven with connections with the earlier narrative of Christ's life. Like Jesus, the crusader is to go to Jerusalem. To redeem the evil of Judas' betrayal of Christ in exchange for "thirty coins", the troubadour encourages the crusader towards apostolic poverty by "selling [his] goods to acquire the temple of God to destroy the Saracens."²⁶⁵ Finally, the martyrdom of crusading to Jerusalem, the reception of "the good of heaven" and the ability to "remain with the saints" mirrors the death and resurrection of Christ.²⁶⁶ Similarly, Aimeric de Peguilhan describes the death of Jesus "on the cross between two thieves" as an affront to all humankind for "his disinheritance we shall deem a dishonor."²⁶⁷ Therefore, like Jesus, participants need to take the holy sign and "follow Him yonder to Mount Tabor."²⁶⁸ Thus, the troubadour in the typical crusade lyric utilized Christ's life in order to promote emulation as well as a literary device to parallel the work of Christ to adventure to which they called participants.

The crusade lyric to this intimately connected the "free interpretation of ecclesiastical doctrine."²⁶⁹ Dijkstra defines this as the mixture of "theological and poetical elements" that provide a generous reading to church doctrine. The previous chapter pointed out the relative fluidity of church doctrine on indulgences at the time.²⁷⁰ Dijkstra further argues that the vagueness of the formula as well as the penchant for providing maximum benefit demarcate the text as non-ecclesiastical.²⁷¹ The agency resides in the relationship between Christ and the crusader, unmediated by the church. For example, Macabru's *Pax in nomine Domini* presents the

²⁶⁵ *Paris Biblioteque* 50-50v; "Jerusalem, surge, surge" : *Iudas illum prodiderat,/ triginta nummis venderat; nostros honores vendere,/ templum Dei acquirere,/ Saracenos destruere.*

²⁶⁶ *Ibid: caeli bona receperit/ et cum sanctis permanserit.*

²⁶⁷ Press, 228-229: *Qu'en la crotz fo mes entre dos lairos,/ Quan, ses colpa, l'auciron li Juzeuu./ Quar si prezam leialat ni valor./ Son dezeret terem a dezonor .*

²⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 230-231: *Selh que.l segram lai vas Monti-Tabor.*

²⁶⁹ Dijkstra 20.

²⁷⁰ See above, pgs.61-64

²⁷¹ Dijkstra 21.

image of crusade in Spain as “a washing-place” which “the heavenly Lord in His loving-kindness has created for us... such as never existed before.”²⁷² Throughout the text, the implication is that the just work of fighting religious foes in imitation of Christ serves as all that man needed for God to remove his sins. Jaye Puckett extends this theme to the majority of troubadour crusade lyrics. For those who “are willing to make the ultimate sacrifice for God... God will grant them the ultimate reward: eternity in Heaven.”²⁷³ In *Jerusalem mirabilis*, the poet tells that acquiring temporal fame will “give the inner soul to Hell with troubles.”²⁷⁴ Instead, the act of martyrdom is what will allow the sinner to “remain with the saints.”²⁷⁵ Likewise, *Ara nos sia guitz* explains the bargain even more explicitly:

Alas, ill-fated, bad apostates,
 you have brought your own death!
 Because of your riches,
 you have lost paradise.
 Who is so miserly and weak
 that he could not have done one thing to please the Lord,
 therefore God curses you.²⁷⁶

In the troubadour theology, there was little mention of the Catholic Church. Due to the imagined narrative world of crusade lyric, the theology was not the pure version found in ecclesiastical circles. Instead, the troubadour provided his own interpretation that then became the new reality in the text. For instance confession, the normal prerequisite for penitential practice, merits no mention. The priest who, according to canon law, administered the sacrament does not need to be present. Crusade is enough to expiate sin. Typically papal bulls granted indulgences in order to

²⁷²Gaunt ,439: *cum nos a fair per sa dousor/ lo seignorius celestiaus,/ probet de nos, un lavador/ c'anc for outramar non fon taus.*

²⁷³ Puckett ,854.

²⁷⁴*Paris Biblioteque 50-50v; “Jerusalem, surge, surge”: honores acquirentibus,/animam dare penitus/ Infernis tribulantibus.*

²⁷⁵*Paris Biblioteque 50-50v; “Jerusalem, surge, surge”: et cum sanctis permanserit.*

²⁷⁶ Riquer, 775-776: *Ai, chaitiu, mal assis,/ vos eis vos etz aucis!/ c'avens e manetia/ vos tol paradis;/ q'avar etz e ressi/ tan c'us far non poiri/ q'a Dieu abellis,/ per qu Dieus vos desfia; . ¡Ay, desdichados, mal aposentados, os habeis muerto a vosotros mismos! Porque las riquezas y el poderío os quitan el paraíso , que sois tan avaros y debiles que ni uno [de vosotros] podria hacer nada que agradara a Dios, por lo que Dio reniega de vosotros.*

replace sin. Thus, the Roman Church interceded with God as the mediated way to earn grace. In the troubadour lyric, God as part of the crusade bargain freely bestows grace. The only troubadour crusade song that refers to the institutional church was *Ara parra qual seran enveyos*, which merely mentions the guidance of Pope Innocent III.²⁷⁷ Consequently, the vision promoted by troubadours ignored the abundance of rules formulated by the church to control the crusade. This fictional reality instead suggested that the crusade was a matter of faith, with a call to a plural “you” or humankind to fight the religious foe. The troubadour’s articulation of religious doctrine underscored the non-partisan nature of the crusade song for it was only the crusader’s work for God that mattered.

Lastly, in the troubadour crusade lyric, the troubadour sang of the attainment of *pretz* or reputation. However, crusaders merited *pretz* not “through their strength, courage and fighting skill alone, but rather through the fact that they are employing these abilities in the service of God.”²⁷⁸ For instance, in *Ara nos sia guitz* “He who does not defraud God is honored and rewarded, for God wants and puts to the test the noble and veteran.”²⁷⁹ Likewise in *Ara parra qual seran enveyos*, Aimeric de Peguilhan reminds the Marquis of Montferrat that “your forebears had the merit and glory of Syria” and now with God “may you be willing to have it too.”²⁸⁰ Thus in these examples, the troubadours lauded God as the author of all glory for He is the ultimate leader in any mission. Just as Innocent III reminded Alfonso VIII in his letter of 1212 October 26 that without God nothing is powerful,²⁸¹ the troubadours incorporated the

²⁷⁷Press 228-229: *que.l ferms e.l conoissens/ Nos quizara, lo bos Pap’Innocens.*

²⁷⁸ Puckett ,856.

²⁷⁹Riquer, 775: *Honratz es e grazitz/ cui Dieu non es faillitz,/ car Dieus vol et essaia/ los pros e ls arditz,; Honrado y recompensado es aquel que no defrauda a Dios, pues Dios quire y pone a preba a los nobles y aguerridos.*

²⁸⁰Press, 230-231: *Marques de Monferrat, vostr’ansesso/ Agron lo pretz de Suri’e l’onor;/ E vos, senher, vulhatz l’aver aital*

²⁸¹ Mansilla, Letter # 488: *Deus, sine que nichil est validum.*

same sentiment of God's power in their vision of crusade. And it was the duty of the faithful to repay God for his sacrifice.²⁸²

Troubadour lyrics through their songs created an idealized world of crusade. Through admiration of the traits of *imitatio Christi* and *pretz* as well as guaranteeing sacramental benefit to the crusader, crusade songs acted as a call for crusade. Yet in all of them, the idealized world focused not on the private aims of the monarch or pope. Instead, it provided a non-partisan image of a Christian army sallying forth against a Muslim foe.

The Songs of Las Navas de Tolosa: *Hueimas no y conosc razo*

Two crusade songs, written around the time of Las Navas de Tolosa survive. Folquet de Marseille composed the first, *Hueimas no y conosc razo*, in the years following the 1195 disaster at Alarcos. Riquer identified Folquet as bishop Fulco of Toulouse, who served from 1205-1231. This individual was in part responsible for the crusade against the Albigensians.²⁸³ Antonio Jimenez extrapolates that this later same sentiment of crusade fervor existed earlier in Folquet. In fact, he argues this background encouraged Folquet to pen this crusade call lauding devotion to the Lord.²⁸⁴ While the true reason for authorship may not be as clear as Jimenez posits, what is clear is that Folquet believed that Spain, by itself, failed in the defense of Christendom. Only a Christian response, which included Southern France, could adequately defend the faith. Consequently, *Hueimas no y conosc razo* reasserted traditional views that had no partisan favor in the tension between papacy and monarch.

Hueimas no y conosc razo focuses on the merits of serving God. Folquet de Marseille begins with the statement that “from now on, I do not know a pretext which dispenses us from

²⁸² Siberry, 5.

²⁸³ Riquer, vol 1, 583.

²⁸⁴ Antonio Sanchez Jimenez, “Catalan and Occitan Troubadours at the Court of Alfonso VIII,” *La Coronica*, 32, no. 2 (Spring 2004): 106.

serving God.”²⁸⁵ The troubadour implies that the disaster at Alarcos, in which Almohad caliph Abu Yusuf Ya'qub al-Mansur routed the Castilian army, occurred because of the sinful disregard of God's will. Furthermore, the Levant had suffered similar misfortune for “already we lost the Sepulcher,” Jerusalem.²⁸⁶ Consequently, as foreshadowed by these historical events, man destined for himself a “deep fall”²⁸⁷ without God's aid.

However, Folquet next writes that this does not have to be the case. In his interpretation of church doctrine, he explains that God “erased our sins and replaced them with a debt of gratitude.” Man is then left with a choice; he could “be crowned here [on earth] or up in heaven.”²⁸⁸ To do the first is a life of error for the “body cannot be sheltered from death by great wealth.”²⁸⁹ Instead, the crusader needs to listen to the “Think each to that in his heart” to learn from God “to where he should go.”²⁹⁰ To stress the point, Folquet also repeats this dichotomy in simpler terms, “without God, all effort becomes nothing.”²⁹¹ On the other hand, with God, the crusader can “achieve an honorable reputation (*pretz*).”²⁹² Consequently, in the song *Hueimas no y conosc razo*, the troubadour created a crusade call that did not need the direction of monarchical or papal authority.²⁹³ Instead, this non-partisan vision stressed that a response under the direction of God was sufficient to destroy the enemies that arose because of mankind's sin.

²⁸⁵ Mila and Fontanels, 114-115 : *Hueimais no y conosc razón/ Ab que nos poscam cobrir./ Si ja Dieu volem servir ; De hoy más no conozco pretexto que nos dispense de servir a Dios.*

²⁸⁶ Ibid: *Qu' el sepulcre perdem premeiramen; Que ya primeramente perdimos el Sepulcro.*

²⁸⁷ Ibid, 115-116: *fortz caia; profunda caída.*

²⁸⁸ Ibid: *Qu ogan si-s vol n'er coronatz sa jos,/ O sus él cel; l' us no ilh falh d'aquestz dos; será coronado aquí abajo o arriba en el cielo: tiene asegurado una de las dos cosas.*

²⁸⁹ Ibid: *Auiatz en qual error so/ Las gens, ni que poiran dir./ Qu' el cors qu' om no pot gandar/ De mor, per aver que y do ; Oid en que error están los hombres y que es lo que podrán responder: el cuerpo que nadie pude guarecer de las muerta por muchas riquezas que emplee.*

²⁹⁰ Ibid: *Pens queecz de cor s'ieudig vertat o no,/ E puyz aurá d' anar melhor talen; Piense cada cual en su corazón si digo o no verdad, y luego tendrá mas deseo de ir adonde debe.*

²⁹¹ Ibid: *Et autr' esfortz ses Dieu torn a nien ; Todo escuerdo sin Dios se convierte en nada*

²⁹² Ibid: *Sol que vas dieu no sia ergulhós./ Mout er sos pretz onratz e cabalós; Con tal que no sea orgulloso para con Dios, alcanzará prez(reputation) honrosa y cumplida.*

²⁹³ I should note that song mentions the king of Aragon but clearly in a fashion second to God. The reference establishes the wisdom of his following in imitation of the will of God. The troubadour then contrasts this image

The lessons of Alarcos, which existed in *Hueimas no y conosc razo*, served as a message to the people of Spain about the right approach to fighting enemies. When Miramolin crossed into Spain in 1212, in the eyes of the people of Christendom, he came not as a territorial rival but rather a religious enemy. The troubadours recognized that crusaders would achieve victory only through a unified Christian response that included participation from their homeland of Southern France.

The Songs of Las Navas de Tolosa: *Senhors, per los nostres peccatz*

Gavaudan penned the other crusade song, *Seignors, per los nostres peccatz*, in 1212 on the eve of the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa.²⁹⁴ Since his work in its entirety so nicely encapsulates crusade ideology in Las Navas de Tolosa, I will discuss it strophe-by-strophe. In doing so, I will illuminate the continuities with the traditional crusade lyric. Gavaudan also promoted an agenda that was non-partisan in the debate between monarch and pope. Nonetheless, he had a political message that emphasized the importance of Southern France in the production of crusade.

The first strophe of Gavaudan's crusade song (at the head of this chapter) begins with an invocation that tells the nobles of Southern France of a looming threat. Moreover, their sins caused the magnitude of the Saracen presence. This echoes the literature of the Second Crusade and most notably the rhetoric of St. Bernard of Clairvaux. Here crusaders' sins led to the failure of the expedition.²⁹⁵ Gavaudan likewise implies that if the nobles do not now turn to God, they will meet equally disastrous results.

with the king of Castille, implying his foolhardy actions not derived from God caused the failure at Alarcos. Thus it is non-partisan in the sense of the monarchical and papal tensions explored throughout the rest of the thesis.

²⁹⁴ For the debate on the year of authorship, see L. E. Kastner, "Gavaudan's crusade song." *Modern Language Review*, 26, no. 2 (Apr, 1931): 142-150, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3715447>; Internet; accessed 26 Feb. 2010).

²⁹⁵ See above, pgs. 22-23

This passage concludes with historical markers for the poem, overlying the typical abstracted enemy of crusade songs. Firstly, the troubadour makes the threat more real through an allusion to a threat as strong as the figure of Saladin. Contemporaries recognized this name from the Third Crusade as the formidable enemy that neither the king of France, the king of England nor the Holy Roman emperor could best. Gavaudan then further individuates the vague threat into the concrete threat of 1212, the king of Morocco.²⁹⁶ This Muslim foe proceeds to challenge “all the kings of Christianity,” with the implied boast that he could conquer as well as Saladin.²⁹⁷ This statement echoes Miramolin’s threats circulating at the time in Western Christendom.²⁹⁸ Therefore, in the first strophe, Gavaudan sets the stage through the introduction of not only the threat of Miramolin and its severity but also its cause in the Christian’s sins.

He has called to all his Almohad mayors,
 Moors, godos and Berbers and will make a large not small army
 that will be added to.
 Like thick rain or like a horde of sheep they are descending on the plains of Spain,
 devouring everything before them
 so that neither shoot nor root remains where they have passed²⁹⁹

So proud are those that he has chosen
 That they believe that the world will submit to them
 Marrakech and Almohad
 will be installed in the mountains and in the middle of the plains
 already they say to the Franks vaulting: make room for us;
 Provence is ours and the county of Toulouse,
 ours the whole country as far as Le Puy.
 Never was heard fanfare so fierce
 From the black dogs, cursed without faith³⁰⁰

²⁹⁶ Known more commonly in western sources as Miramolin.

²⁹⁷ For more on the connection between Saladin and Miramolin, see Martin Alvira Cabrer, “Una misma exclamación del sultán Salah al-Din y del Miramolin al-Nasir en las batallas de Hattin (583 H./ 1187 JC.) y al-‘Iqab/Las Navas de Tolosa (609 J//1212JC.),” *Anaquel de Estudios Arabes* 13 (2002): 9-20.

²⁹⁸ For the actual language of the threat, see page 19.

²⁹⁹ Mila and Fontanel, 121-123: *Totz los alcavis a mandatz:/ masmutz, maurs, goitz e barbaris,/ e no-y reman gras ni mesquis/ que totz no-ls aya-n ajostatz:/ anc pus menut ayga non ploc/ cum elhs passon e preno-ls plas;/ la caraunhada dels milas/ geta-ls paysser, coma berbitz,/ e no-y reman brotz ni razitz.; Ha llamado a todos sus alcaldes almohadas, moros godos y berberiscos y quedará uno grande ni pequeño que no se le agregue y no cae mas espesa el agua de lo que ellos acuden y se apoderan de los llanos esta que ha de ser presa de milanos se da a pacer a manera de las ovejas no dejando mata ni raíz (I am indebted in part to Kastner for the English translation).*

Strophes two and three continue to emphasize the threat that Miramolin posed. The force, estimated by Muslim sources to exceed 500,000 individuals, was to the author a plague “devouring everything before them.”³⁰¹ Strophe three ends with the confident assertion by Miramolin that “Provence is ours and the county of Toulouse, ours the whole country as far as Le Puy.” Provence was far to the north over the Pyrenees Mountains, but the poet wanted the people of Southern France to be afraid and feel Miramolin’s immanent threat just as strongly as Aragonese knights did. Hearing their specific region threatened, Gavaudan hoped to rouse his fellow Occitanians to the defense. Finally, Gavaudan foreshadows his prophetic conclusion. Despite large numbers and ferocity, the Almohads, are sinfully arrogant. For without God, they will fall to the Christian resistance.

Hear it Emperor,
 King of France and his cousin,
 the King of England, Count of Poitou
 and all run to aid the king of Spain.
 For never was so near offered
 the occasion to serve God.
 With him will be conquered
 all the dogs and renegades and debased who mock us.³⁰²

³⁰⁰ Ibid, 121-123 : *Tant an d’erguelh selh qu’a triatz/ qu’els cujo-l mons lur si’aclis;/ Marroquenas, Marabetis/ pauzion a mons per mieg los pratz;/ mest lor gabon: «Franc, faiz nos loc!/ Nostr’es Proensa e Tolzas,/ entro al Puey totz lo mejas!»/ Anc tan fers gaps no fon auzitz/ dels falses cas, ses ley, marritz.;* *Tan orgullosos están los que se han reunido que creen tener va sujeto el mundo Marroquíes y marabutos se detienen formando grandes turbas por en medio de los prados y dicen entere si con befa Francos, hacednos lugar nuestra es Provenza y nuestro el país de Tolosa con todo el interior, hasta Puy. Jamás tan fieras burlas fueron oídas de los falsos perros sin ley y miserables* (I am indebted in part to Kastner for the English translation).

³⁰¹ In his account to the pope, Alfonso VIII estimated to have killed 100,000 in the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa. Fitz, Las Navas 482.

³⁰² Mila and Fontanel, 121-123: *Empeaire, vos o aujatz,/ e-l reys de Frans’e sos cozis,/ e-l reys engles, coms peitavis:/ qu’al rey d’Espanha secorratz!/ Que anc mais negus mielhs no poc/a servir Dieu esser propdas:/ ab Luy venseretz totz los cas/ cuy Bafometz a escarnitz/ e-ls renegatz outrasalhitz.;* *Emperador oídlos y el rey de Francia y su primo el rey de Inglaterra, conde de Portu y correréis a auxiliar al rey de España pues jamás se ofreció mas próxima ocasión de servir a Dios con el venceréis a todos los perros de quien se mofó Mahoma y a las renegados y envilecidos.*

Strophe four alludes to the envoys sent by Alfonso VIII to various kings soliciting help. Gavaudan provides the idealized response that they are “running to aid the king.” Like in *Pax in nomine Domini*, the potential crusaders desire to rush to the defense and aid of God. For the occasion is to serve God by conquering the enemies of the faith. The troubadour gives God primacy, and the fact that they run to help the king of Spain is only a historical marker for the crusade lyric to indicate Las Navas de Tolosa.

Jesus Christ, who has given us warnings
 so that there is a good end,
 shows us that this is the good road.
 Thus by means of repentance,
 He will pardon us the sin which comes from Adam
 and give us certainty and security,
 if we believe, He will bring among us
 blessings and will be our guide
 against those false and reviled traitors.³⁰³

Strophe five presents Gavaudan’s interpretation of *imitatio Christi* and church doctrine on sin. Jesus, not the papacy, mediates the “good road” to “pardoning the sin which proceeds from Adam.” The vagueness of this formula is typical of the crusade songs use of “non-ecclesiastical propaganda.”³⁰⁴ Normally the Church mediated the way to penance and, increasingly throughout this period, heavily regulated and formalized it through canon law. But Gavaudan suggests that pious participation alone removes sin. Finally, due to the fictional nature of the story, Gavaudan does not need to give primacy to a temporal figure. For Jesus becomes the head of the body of Christ in order to guide the crusaders to victory. In this crusade, Jesus becomes the head of the poetic campaign. As a reward, Jesus eradicates the crusader’s sins.

³⁰³Mila and Fontanels, 122-123: *Jhezus Cristz, que·ns a prezicatz/ per que fos bona nostra fis,/ nos demonstra qu’ es dregz camis:/ qu’ ab penedens’ er perdonatz/ lo peccatz que d’ Adam se moc./ E vol nos far fermes e certas,/ si·l crezem, qu’ ab los sobiras/nos metra, e sara·ns la guitz/sobre·ls fals fellos descauzitz; Jesé cristo que nos ha amonestado para que fuese bueno nuestro fin, nos muestra que este es el buen camino, pues mediante el arrepentimiento nos será perdonado el pecado que procede de Adán y nos da certeza y seguridad de que si le creemos nos colocara entre los bienaventurados y de que será nuestra guía contra estos falso y vilipendiados traidores.*

³⁰⁴Dijkstra, 21.

Furthermore, literarily, the arrival of Christ functions as the turning point of the crusade song. Before it, the Christian populace faced destruction but with the arrival of Jesus, the foes will be annihilated. Consequently, this strophe in particular provides the intent of the poem and the sentiment of the crusader that through Christ even the most looming religious foe can be vanquished.

Let not our legacy fall
to those black dogs from overseas.
Since we are supported in the great law.
Let us avert the danger before it reaches us.
Portuguese, Galicia, Castile,
Navarre, Aragon
opposed them by barrier
and they have been defeated and humiliated.³⁰⁵

When the barons will cross,
the Germans, French, men of Cambrai,
English, Bretons, Angevins,
men of Bearn, Gascons, mixing with the Spanish
and moreover the men of Provence, all forming a body
that with swords and will split their heads and hands
until we have killed them and destroyed them
and then we will divide their treasure.³⁰⁶

Having turned the crusade lyric in favor of the crusaders, Gavaudan utilizes strophes six and seven to present a more concrete proposal of action. He alludes to the failure of Alarcos to show that Spain needs the support of all of Christianity. However, through placing the “men of

³⁰⁵ Mila and Fontanel, 122-123: *Non laissez nostras heretatz,/ pus qu'a la gran fe em assis,/ a cas negres outramaris;/ q'usquecx ne sia perpezzatz/enans que-l dampnatge nos toc!/ Portugals, Gallicx, Castellans,/ Navars, Aragones, Serdas/lur avem en barra gequitz/qu'els an rahuzatz et aunitz; No dejemos nuestras heredada puesto que estamos apoyados en la gran ley a estos negros perros ultramarinos conjuremos el peligro antes que nos alcance. Portugueses, gallegos castellano navarros aragoneses les opusimos por barrera y ellos los han vencido y humillado.*

³⁰⁶ Mila and Fontanel, 122-123: *Quan veyran los baros crozatz,/ Alamans, Frances, Cambrezis,/ Engles, Bretos et Angevis,/ Biarns, Gascos, ab nos mesclatz,/ e-ls Provencals, totz en un foc,/ saber podetz qu'ab los Espas/romprem la preyss'e-l cap e-ls mas,/ tro-ls ajam mortz totz e delitz;/ pueys er mest nos totz l'aur partitz.; Cuando verán a los barones cruzado, alemanes, franceses cambresionso ingleses bretones angeviesn berneses gascones mezclados con nosotros y además los provenzales formando todos un cuerpo sabed que con las espadas hendiremos su muchedumbre y cabezas y manos hasta que les hayamos muerto y aniquilado y entonces nos repartiremos su tesoro.*

Provence” at the end the troubadour gives special precedence to his intended audience. L.E.

Kastner argues that that since Gavaudan referred to foreign crusaders “mixing with us,” he was already in the ranks of the Castilian army at the time.³⁰⁷ Thus, the song served as a call, issued from the gathering troops sent to his homeland in order to gain additional support.

Don Gavaudan will be a prophet,
That which he said will be fact.
Death to the dogs!
and God will be honored and served
where Mahomet is now respected.³⁰⁸

The final strophe further collapses narrative time. Already, the crusade lyric intertwined the past biblical narrative of Jesus with the present of the response to Miramolin. To this Gavaudan prophesizes a future in which Christ has triumphed. Partly an assertion of the second coming of Christ, when “at the name of Jesus every knee should bow,”³⁰⁹ the strophe also refers to the immediate hope for the crusaders that their victory would be so complete that the religious foe would vanish. Finally, Gavaudan indicates that the crusader goal should be to convert the heathen rather than conquer them; worship of the Christian God would replace that of Mahomet. Thus, the authority resides with God for it will be His will and not the papacy’s nor the monarch’s that was done.

All troubadour crusade songs of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries acted to rouse people towards the work of God. Through historical references, they individuated a common call for support into a specific campaign. Furthermore, listening to the promises of reputation and spiritual salvation offered by the troubadour in his verses on church theology, the crusader

³⁰⁷ Kastner, 145.

³⁰⁸ Mila and Fontanels, 122-123: *Profeta sera'n Gavaudas/ que-l digz er faitz. E mortz als cas!/ E Dieus er honratz e servitz/ on Bafometz era grazitz; Profeta será don Gavaudan pues lo dicho será hecho los perros morirán y Dios será honrado y servido allí donde Mahoma era respetado.*

³⁰⁹ See Philipians 2:8-10

gained incentive to participate. Most importantly, as a work of fiction, the crusade song created an ideal world that crystallized God as the head of the venture. Therefore, in Las Navas de Tolosa, the tension between the monarchical interests of Alfonso VIII and the papal ones of Innocent III did not exist. Instead the songs *Hueimas no y conosc razo* and *Senhors, per los nostres peccatz* provided in their calls a traditional image that rejected the hegemonic claims of monarch and papacy. Instead, they promoted a Christian response, one that most importantly included Southern France, against a mutual enemy of the faith.

Conclusion

In Las Navas de Tolosa, participants revitalized and remade crusade ideology. This ideology derived from the tradition established in the century since Urban II called the First Crusade at the Council of Clermont in 1095. Yet it was fluid. Due to the failures of crusade in the late twelfth century, enthusiasm for crusade waned. Consequently, the papacy, under Innocent III, and the Castilian monarchy, under Alfonso VIII, appropriated the movement in order to promote their own agendas. Innocent III and his policies exemplified the height of the medieval church in the aftermath of the Investiture Controversy of the late eleventh century. He sought to crystallize this power in the crusade, where under the united banner of Christendom, all Christians worked as one body to destroy enemies of the faith. In this model, the pope took his place at the head. Thus, long recognized for spiritual supremacy, the new model of papal hegemony claimed temporal domain as well. Cognizant of this encroachment, Alfonso VIII countered with a more unified monarchical kingdom. The campaign and victory of Las Navas de Tolosa enabled Alfonso VIII to promote an ideology that formed the beginnings of the modern state. Not only did he reject foreign influence and replace it with a national Catholicism, but also through the promotion of Spanish superiority, he neglected the diversity of polities in Spain and amalgamated them as one, all of which were under the rule of Castile. Therefore, crusade ideology in Las Navas de Tolosa reflected the new realities and tensions of the monarchical state and papal powers, changes that resonated throughout the rest of the Middle Ages.

This thesis explored how these new realities worked in Las Navas de Tolosa in four parts. It first explored the papal voice. Pope Innocent III, through a 1212 procession held in Rome, promoted a wider vision of crusade unity that incorporated former non-participants. Pivotal to this ideal was the conception of the body of Christ, all persons working to together as one entity.

One of those parts was the head, which Innocent III positioned himself as the metaphorical head of the crusade throughout Las Navas de Tolosa. This promotion revealed beyond the aim of thwarting the Muslim threat of invasion, a second papal agenda of dominance. As the Pope that most clearly represented the height of power achieved after the Investiture Controversy, Innocent III viewed Las Navas de Tolosa within a larger framework of papal advancement into temporal affairs. Other historians have examined the other crusades in which Innocent III had a hand.³¹⁰ In this thesis I add further evidence to the existing scholarship on this papal agenda but through a new lens of Las Navas de Tolosa. The procession that Innocent held, in addition to praying for the success of the venture, aspired to quell “invisible enemies.” These enemies included the tumultuous citizens of Rome and the independent kings of Spain. Finally, this chapter examined the role that this procession had on the ideology of unity, made concrete as an impetus for the Children’s crusade, an additional procession by Pope Honorius III, and the famous later call to crusade *Quia Maior*.

I then moved to the second voice, the monarchical. Foreshadowed in the previous chapter, chapter two explored the situation from the vantage point of King Alfonso VIII of Castile. The chronicles sanctioned by the crown produced a text aware of papal encroachment. Moreover, they sought to combat its influence through the redaction of papal involvement and maximization of their patron’s. Chronicles, such as *Latin Chronicle of the Kings of Castile*, *Chronicon Mundi*, and *Historia de rebus Hispanie*, accomplished this with the ideology of *imitatio Christi*. Rather than stressing the pilgrimage nature by utilizing terms such as *perigrinatio*, they implemented imagery of the cross and the notion crusaders were warriors of God. These actions connected crusaders to Christ, without mediation by the papal hierarchy. Thus, participants no longer needed the papacy but could instead begin a more local faith. The

³¹⁰ Albigensian, Fourth Crusade, Fifth Crusade

crown of Castile and, in particular, Alfonso VIII's utilization of this nationalized Catholicism marked the beginning of elevating Castile as the primary kingdom and in retrospect, the basis for modern day Spain as a unified polity. The chapter finished by exploring the dialogue between Alfonso VIII and Innocent III. Through correspondence between the individuals, the thesis explored a more concrete example of the positioning for primacy. While framed in Las Navas de Tolosa, the issue extended to a theory on what was to be the model for church/state relations in the future.

These two chapters explored the competing agendas of Pope Innocent III and King Alfonso VIII. However, why, if both sides had different agendas, did they in the end cooperate? The answer rests in chapter three: they needed each other. Neither side could fully conquer Miramolin on its own. Consequently, they found a common ground in the theology and practice of indulgences. Originated in response to concerns of penance, indulgences were the why of *imitatio Christi*. Through an examination of the correspondence that illuminated the creation of the crusade force and the issuing of the indulgence, this chapter showed how only through both leaders participation did all of Christendom unite. Consequently, the force that left Toledo on May 20, 1212 truly represented the people of Christendom. Yet as a final point, neither the pope nor the king had to fully sacrifice their agendas. They still existed within the framework of the campaign but through the theology and practice of penance, the leaders prioritized Miramolin, an enemy of the faith. Thus, crusade ideology reflected the new tension between the papal powers and monarchical state. Both sides were in tension for neither could be fully independent nor were they content to stay in the same relationship they had help for the last 400 years.

The last chapter explored one final voice on the Christian side: the troubadour. Too close an examination of the papal and monarchical tensions ignore the larger, more physical threat of

the Muslim enemy. Troubadour crusade songs emphasized this threat. Moreover, in their lyrics, they created a fictional society in which Christ was the leader of the army. This world did not care about papal or monarchical agendas because the song crystallized a non-partisan vision. Yet in doing so, songs presented an intensely political message. The chapter first examined the common themes found in twelfth and early thirteenth century crusade songs. Then, it placed the songs around the time of Las Navas de Tolosa (*Hueimas no y conosc razo* and *Senhors, per los nostres peccatz.*) within this framework. By continuing the same literary themes of the last hundred years, troubadours rejected these new agendas and reasserted the old views. In doing so, they kept their homeland of Southern France as central to the implementation of crusade. Furthermore, they asserted in these call to arms the centrality of focusing on a unified Christian response (without the tensions of leadership) in order to thwart the enemy of the cross.

In Las Navas de Tolosa, papal and monarchical voices utilized crusade ideology to reflect their new political realities. Innocent III's position showed an expanded temporal church. Meanwhile, Alfonso VIII contested this with a vision of a national Catholicism and one-monarch Spain. Finally, the troubadour presented a call to arms that reaffirmed traditional roles. While each had different visions of what the crusade entailed, all through crusade ideology had a common way to frame their response. And, while each of the three voices had their own agenda, they worked as one to form a Christian response to Miramolin, one of the largest threats to the medieval west. Through their changes to crusade ideology, they altered the landscape of monarchical and papal relations for the next three hundred years.

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Appendices

Figure 1. Spain in 1212 from “Islamic Spain and the Reconquista.” *Historical Atlas of the Mediterranean*. <http://exploremed.com/reconquista.asp?c=1> (accessed Mar. 2010).

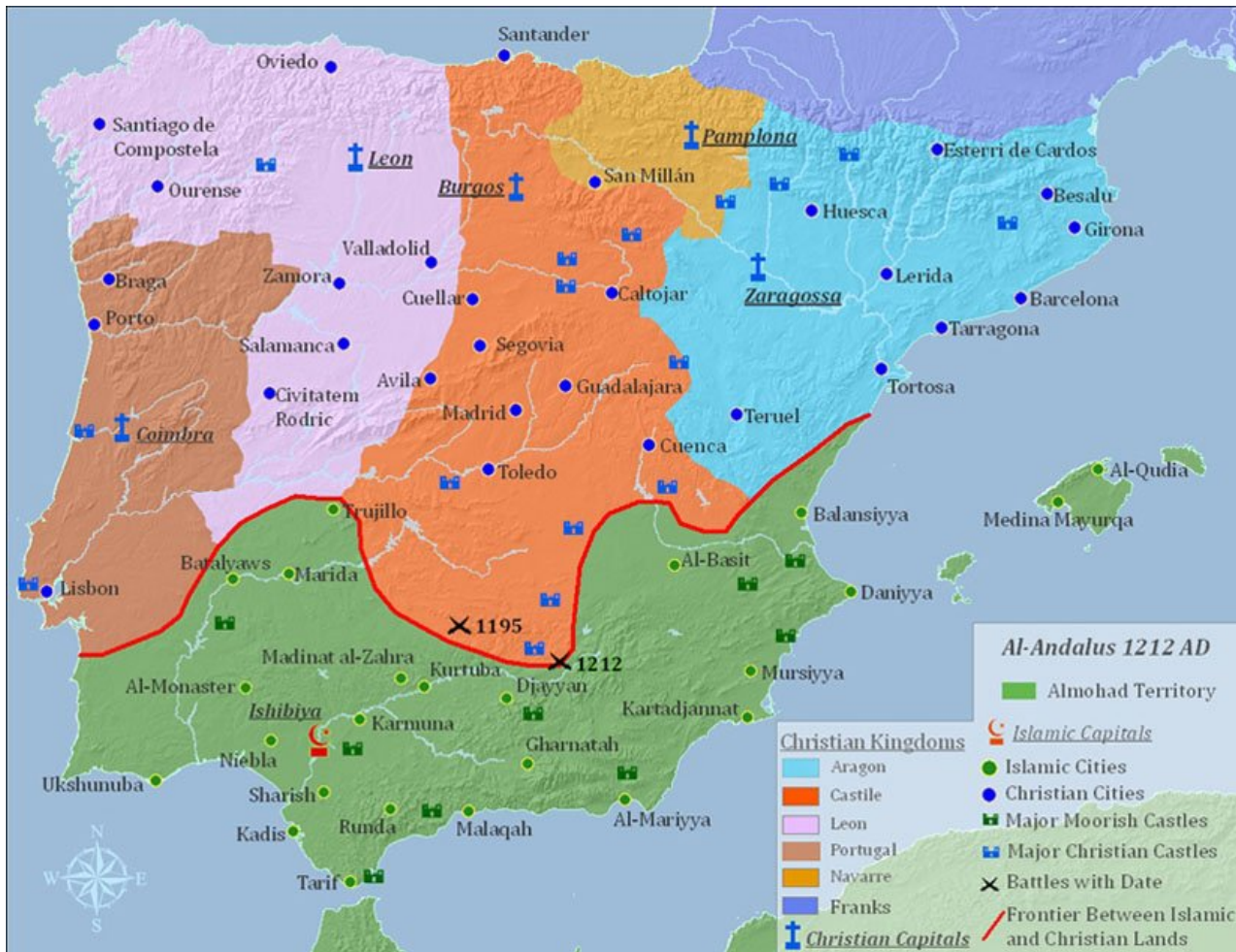
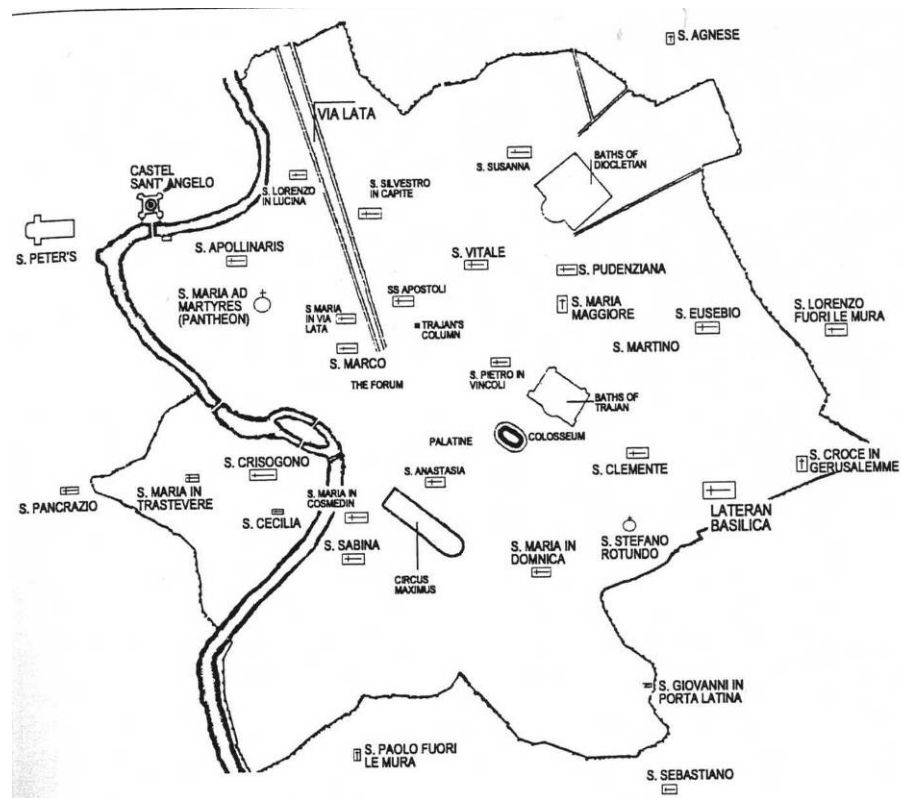


Figure 2. Map of Rome at end of Twelfth Century from Twyman, Susan. *Papal Ceremonial at Rome in the Twelfth Century*. London: Boydell Press, 2002.



Latin text of Mansilla letter # 473 with my English translation

In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti amen.

Quarta feria infra octavas Pentecosten fiat generalis processio virorum ac mulierum pro pace universalis ecclesie ac populi christiani, specialiter autem, ut Deus propitius sit illis in bello, quod inter ipsos et sarracenos dicitur in Hyspania comittendum, ne det hereditatem suam in opprobrium, ut dominantur eis nationes. Et ad hanc processionem omnes omnino moneantur venire, nec ab ea se quisquam excuset preter illo, qui habent inimicitias capitals. Summo itaque mane convenient muliers apud s. mariam maiorem; clerici vero apud basilicam Duedecim apostolorum, et laici apud s. Anastasiam; et post clectas, pulsates simul istarum ecclesiarum campanis, procedant omnes in campum Lateranensem hoc ordine: mulieres omnes et solas precedat crux dominica s. Marie maioris; et in prima parte processionis sint sanctimoniales in ultima vero relique mulieres, que sine auro et gemmis et seicis indumentis procedant, orando cum devotione ac humilitate, in fletu et gemitu, nudis pedibus omnes que possunt; et per Merulanum et ante s. Bartholomeaum veniant in campam Lateranensem et collocent se ante Felloniam, in silentio permanentes; clericos atutem crux fraternitatis precedat; et in prima processionis parte sint monachi et canonici regulares; in ultima vero rectores et ceteri clerici procedentes predicto modo, et per viam maiorem et arcum Basilii veniant ante palatium episcopi Albanensis, et ibi directe in medio campi se collocent; laicos autem precedat crux dominica s.

Petri, et post illam sequantur primi hospitalarii, et postremi ceteri laici, sicut prescriptum est, incedentes, et per ss. Ioannem et Paulem et ante s. Nicholaum de Formis in campum veniant, et collecent se ab altera parte.

Interim vero Romanus pontifex cum episcopis et cardinalibus et capellanis ingrediatur basilicam, que dicitur Sancta Sanctorum; et inde reverenter assumpto lingo vivifice cruces, processionaliter veniat ante palatium episcopo Albanensis, et sedens in scalis exhortatorium faciat sermonem ad populum universum. Quo finito, mulieres, sicut processionaliter venerant, ita procedeant ad Basilicam s. Crucis; et ibi presto sit presbiter cardinalis, qui celebret eis missam dicendo illam orationem Omnipotens, semipiternae Desu, in cuius manu sunt omnia potestates, etc. Et sic ipse mulieres in pace ad propria revertantur. Romus autem pontifex cum episcopis et cardinalibus et capellanis per palatium descendat in Lateranensem basilicam, clerici vero per porticum, et laici per burgum, infrediantur in illam; et celebrate venerabiliter missa, ipse cum omnibus, nudis pedibus, procedat ad s. Crucem, ita quod eam precedent clerici, et laici subsequantur, et facta oratione, unus quisque revertatur ad sua. Ieiunetur autem ab omnibus, ita ut nemo, praeter infirmo, comedat pisces aut quodcumque pulmentum; qui possunt, pane sint et aqua contenti, qui vero non possunt, bibant vinum bene limphatum et modice sumptum, et vescantur herbis et fructibus aut etiam leguminibus; omnesque aperiant manus et viscera indigentibus ut per orationem, ieiunium et elemosinam misericordia Conditoris reddatur populo christiano placata.

In the name of the father and of the son and of the holy spirit amen.

The fourth holy day during the octave of the Pentecost let happen a general procession of men and also women for universal peace of ecclesiastics and also of the people of Christendom, however especially, so that God may be favorable to those in war which is to waged between ourselves and the Saracens in Spain, so that God would not give his inheritance toward scandal, so that his people may have dominion over. And to this procession all entirely are warned to come, and not anyone may excuse himself from this besides those, who have mortal feuds. And so with highest morning let the women come together near St. Mary Major; certainly the clerics near the Basilica of the 12 apostles, and the laity near St. Anastasia; and after the collect, with all the bells of the church ringing together, let all proceed toward the Lateran with this order: The lord's cross of S, May the Larger let it precede all women and alone; and in the first part of the procession let there be nuns in the end the remaining women, that without gold and jewels and silk wraps let them process, praying with devotion and also humility, in tears and groans, all with bare feet that are able; and through Merulanus and before St. Bartholomew let them come into Lateran and gather themselves before Fellonus in enduring silence; however, let the cross of fraternity precede the clerics; and in the first part of the procession let there be the monks and canon regulars; in the last part the priests and the remaining clerics proceeding with the prescribed manner, and let them come through the larger street and the arch of the Basil before the Albanenus Episcopal palace and there, directly in the middle of the campo, let them gather themselves; however the cross of the Lord St. Peter proceeds the laity and after it continues first the Hospitalars and in the rear the remaining of the laity, just as has been prescribed, walking and through St. John and Paul and before S. Nicholas of Formis, let them come into the Campo and gather themselves by another part.

Meanwhile, the Roman pontiff with bishops and cardinals and chaplains may enter the Basilica, which is called the holy of holies and from there reverently, taking the wood of the life

giving cross, in procession let him come before the palace of the Bishop of Albensus and sitting on steps let him encouragingly make a sermon to the general populace. Which having finished, the women, just as they had come in procession, thus let them proceed to the Basilica S. Cross, and there it may be performed by the presbyter of cardinals, who let him celebrate the mass saying this oratio: All powerful, eternal God, in whose hands are all powers, etc. And thus let the same women return in peace to their own. However, let the pope with bishops and cardinals and chaplains descend through the palace into the Basilica Lateran; clerics through gallery and laity through *burgum*, let them enter into this place; and venerably celebrating the mass, with all themselves with nude feet, let them proceed to S. Cross, thus and let the clerics led them and let the laity follow and having made a sermon, let every individual turn to his. However, let there be fasting by all, so that no one, except the sick may eat fish or whatever food, but those who are able to, let them be content with bread and water, those who are not able to, let them drink watered down wine good and of small expense, and feed on herbs and fruits or also beans; and let all lay bare hands and hearts to the need so that through prayer fasting and alms giving the mercy of Christ might assuage the Christian people.

Figure 3. Eleventh-century mosaic of Christ. Hagia Sophia (photo taken by author)



Figure 4. Twelfth-century mosaic of Christ. Hagia Sophia (photo taken by author)

