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War and Religion: Narratives of Conquest of Southern Portuguese Towns

Luís Filipe Oliveira

Abstract

The narrative texts of the 12th and 13th centuries on the conquests of Santarém, Lisbon, Silves and Alcácer do Sal have been less worked on in what they reveal of the representation of war in the peninsular West, and, above all, on the diffusion and competition between the discourses of the crusade and the reconquest. Nevertheless, there is much evidence in them that may serve to clarify the role of these ideologies of conflict in the transformations of war. In particular, those that evidence manifestations of the sacred, from prayers and the presence of ecclesiastics and religious symbols in the armies, to the ritual celebrations that marked the evolution of the combats, or the demonstrations of God's support, evident through prodigies and miracles. Based on these data, one may ask how war was combined with religion, how religion served to assist the conduct of the combats by placing them on a higher plane and justifying them in this way, or how religion became, to varying degrees, one of the essential components of warlike actions. To ascertain the greater or lesser articulation between those two spheres, or even between the ideals of the Crusade and the Reconquista, it is also necessary to consider the justifications for war and the motivations of the combatants, or what those texts reflect of the vision of the enemy, essential aspects for understanding the nature of combat and the status of those who lost their lives in it. All these texts will be the object, finally, of a separate analysis, without taking them all together, so that they may be put into perspective and the similarities and differences, or the evolutions that were being registered in them, may be highlighted.

Keywords

Crusade; Reconquista; Miracles; Saints; Portugal.

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WAR AND RELIGION: NARRATIVES OF CONQUEST OF SOUTHERN PORTUGUESE TOWNS[*]

Luís Filipe Oliveira[**]

Only a small number of medieval narratives recount Christian conquests of the southern Portuguese cities during the *Reconquista* from Muslims. They have been known since António Brandão published two of them in *Monarquia Lusitana*[1] – those of Santarém and Alcácer – and, even more so, since Alexandre Herculano used them in his *História de Portugal* and collected most of them in *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica*.[2] Given their wealth of information,[3] they have

[*] A first version of this paper was published in L. F. Oliveira, "Guerra e Religião:. As narrativas de conquista das cidades do Sul," in *Hombres de religión y guerra. Cruzada y guerra santa en la Edad Media peninsular (siglos X-XV),* ed. Carlos de Ayala Martínez and J. Santiago Palacios Ontalva (Madrid: Sílex, 2018), 523–40. The current version has been revised and updated in several points.

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[1] A. Brandão, *Monarquia Lusitana*, vol. 3, ed. António da Silva Rego *et al.* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 1973), Appendix nº 20, 289v.-291 and vol. 4 (1974), Appendix, nº 9, 264v.-257v. (reprint of the 1632 edition).

[2] A. Herculano, *História de Portugal. Desde o começo da monarquia até o fim do reinado de Afonso III*, vol. 1, ed. José Mattoso (Lisbon: Bertrand, 1980), 479–84, 486–526, and endnotes 21 e 22, and vol. 2 (1980), 40–68, 254–71 and endnote 5; *De expugnatione scalabis*, ed. Alexandre Herculano, *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica. Scriptores* 1 (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências, 1856), 93-95, *Gosuini expugnatione Salaciae Carmen*, ed. Alexandre Herculano, *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica, Scriptore*s 1, 101-104, *De Expugnatione Olisiponis,* ed. Alexandre Herculano, *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica, Scriptore*s 1, 391-405.

[3] For the editions and the problems involved, see A. do Nascimento, "O júbilo da vitória. Celebração da tomada de Santarém aos mouros (A.D. 1147)," in *Ler Contra o Tempo. Condições dos textos na cultura portuguesa (recolha de estudos em Hora de Vésperas)*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Universidade de Lisboa, 2012), 1:465–81; *A Conquista de Lisboa aos Mouros. Relato de Um Cruzado*, ed. Aires do Nascimento, introd. Maria João Branco (Lisbon: Nova Vega, 2001);

never ceased to attract the attention of researchers, whether to establish their text, authorship, chronology and historical reliability, or to address other issues they raise. Though triumphalist in tenor and conducive to selective remembrance, these texts have been shown to offer unique – and at times precise – information, frequently from an eyewitness perspective. Unsurprisingly, they have been used to study both the towns themselves and their Christian conquests: to reconstruct urban landscapes and regional significance – gates, walls, people, and wealth; to examine siege operations and military contingents; and to highlight the political weight of these conquests in consolidating the monarchy and shaping the kingdoms.[4]

Although widely read and valued for documenting Portugal's expansion, these narratives have been largely overlooked as sources on how war was perceived in the Iberian West. Few studies have examined their insights into conflict ideologies or the influence of the crusading spirit on the *Reconquista*.[5] This is no minor point. Drafted between the middle of the twelfth century and

"Narratio de Itinere Navali Peregrinorum Hierosolymam Tendentium et Silviam Capientium,' A.D. 1189," ed. Ch. Wendell David, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 81-85 (1939): 591–676; A. do Nascimento, "Poema de conquista. A tomada de Alcácer do Sal aos mouros (1217)", in *Ler Contra o Tempo*, 1, 483–516. For the Lisbon account, also J. Mattoso, *D. Afonso Henriques* (Lisbon: Círculo Leitores, 2006), 167–79; M. G. Martins, *1147, A Conquista de Lisboa na rota da Segunda Cruzada* (Lisbon: Esfera dos Livros, 2017).

[4] Among others, see M. Barroca, "A História das Campanhas", in *Nova história militar de Portugal*, ed. Manuel Themudo Barata and Nuno Severiano Teixeira, 5 vols. (Lisbon: Círculo Leitores, 2003), 1:22–68; M. J. Branco, *D. Sancho I. O filho do fundador*, Reis de Portugal 2 (Lisbon: Círculo Leitores, 2006), 118–40; H. Vilar, *D. Afonso II. Um Rei sem Tempo*, Reis de Portugal 1 (Lisbon: Círculo Leitores, 2005), 131–49. For their use in urban studies, G. Pradaliè, *Lisboa. Da Reconquista ao Fim do Século XIII* (Lisbon: Palas, 1975), 16-20; M. L. Pereira, *Alcácer do Sal na Idade Média* (Lisbon: Colibri, 2000), 46–51, 62–63; M. Viana, *Espaço e Povoamento numa vila portuguesa (Santarém, 1147-1350)* (Lisbon: Caleidoscópio, 2007), 60–74.

[5] S. Boissellier, "Réflexions sur l'idéologie portugaise de la reconquête. XII^{e}-XIV^{e} siècles", *Mélanges de la Casa de Velàzquez*, 30.1 (1994): 150–57; M. L. Pereira, "Memória cruzadística do feito da tomada de Alcácer (1217)," in *D. Afonso Henriques e a sua época. Actas do 2º Congresso histórico de Guimarães*, 4 vols. (Guimarães: Câmara Municipal, 1996), 2:321–57; A. Pereira, "Realidades e ideologia na conquista de Silves em 1189," in *Poder e Sociedade. Actas das Jornadas Interdisciplinares*, ed. Maria Ferro Tavares, Colecção de estudos pós-graduados 9–10, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Universidade Aberta, 1998), 1:229–43; idem, *Representações da Guerra no Portugal da Reconquista* (Lisbon: Comissão de Portuguesa de História Militar, 2003), 55–60, 82–141; A. Norte, "As elites intelectuais e a Guerra. Manifestações ideológicas e modelos proselitistas na génese do reino português," in *A Guerra e a sociedade na idade média. Actas das VI Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de Estudos Medievais*, 2 vols. (Torres Novas: Sociedade Portuguesa de Estudos Medievais, 2009), 1:377–91; A. Azevedo, "As Representações das Conquistas Cristãs: Lisboa (1147) e Silves (1189)" (MA thesis, Universidade do Algarve, 2012).

the second decade of the subsequent century, as will be seen below, their time of writing coincides with the period in which the Apostolic See was fostering closer ties between the various fronts in the fight against the infidels, from the Holy Land to the Iberian Peninsula and the Slavic lands.[6] They thus offer a valuable lens for the observation of the dissemination of crusading ideals, all the more so since three of the narratives were written by crusaders who took part in the conquests of Lisbon, Silves and Alcácer. Only the author of the Silves account produced an independent narrative, free from the patronage or vested interests of the Portuguese kingdom's civil and ecclesiastical authorities.[7] Moreover, all three texts also concur with an increase in religious antagonism in the Iberian Peninsula, driven in part by the uncompromising stance of the Almoravids and especially the Almohads, and in part provoked by the presence of Frankish clerics and the actions of the Crusaders.[8]

Important as the crusade may be, it is not the only framework through which martial violence was legitimised.[9] From the ninth century onward, Hispania cultivated a discourse rooted in Old Testament models, where war was framed as part of a covenant between God, the king and the people: victory signified fidelity to divine precepts, while defeat reflected their breach. This view, which cast war as a moral test and granted God the role of leader of the victorious army, later evolved around the ideas of recovery and restoration—seen as

[6] J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History* (London: Continuum, 1990), 93–104; C. Ayala Martínez, *Las Cruzadas* (Madrid: Sílex, 2004), 44–49; C. Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (London: Penguin, 2007), 304–17; W. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c. 1095-c. 1187* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), 129–78.

[7] M. J. Branco, "Introdução. A conquista de Lisboa na estratégia de um poder que se consolida," in *A Conquista de Lisboa aos Mouros*, 11, 31, 38–39; Pereira, "Memória cruzadística," 325–28; Nascimento, "Poema de conquista," 494–95, 500. On the identity of the author of the Silves report, see A. Pereira, "Silves no itinerário da terceira cruzada. Um testemunho teutónico," *Revista Militar* 62 (2010): 77–88.

[8] J. Mattoso, *Ricos Homens, infanções e cavaleiros. A nobreza medieval portuguesa nos séculos XI e XII*, 2nd ed. (Lisbon: Guimarães, 1985), 192-207; Roy Fletcher, "Reconquest and Crusade in Spain c. 1050-1150," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 37 (1987): 37–38, 42–46; J-P. Molénat, "Sur le rôle des Almohades dans la fin du christianisme local au Maghreb et en Al-Andalus", *Al-Qantara* 18.2 (1997): 389–413.

[9] A. Bronisch, *Reconquista y guerra santa. La concepción de la guerra en la Espana cristiana desde los Visigodos hasta comienzos del siglo XII*, Monográfica. Biblioteca de humanidades. Chronica nova estudios históricos 99 (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2006), esp. chap. IV.; *idem*, "La (sacralización de la) guerra en las fuentes de los siglos X y XI y el concepto de guerra santa," *in Orígenes y Desarrollo de la Guerra Santa en la Península Ibérica. Palabras y imágines para una legitimación (siglos X-XIV)*, ed. Carlos de Ayala Martínez, Patrick Henriet and J. Santiago Palacios Ontalva, Collection de la Casa de Velázquez 154 (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2016), 7-30. Also J. Flori, *La guerre sainte. La formation de l'idée de croisade dans l'Occident chrétien* (Paris: Aubier 2001), 246–52.

essential for regaining divine favour and protection.[10] If the peninsular struggles against Islam therefore assumed the form of territorial expansion, they also acquired an inherent sacred dimension, even without the presence of holy warriors,[11] the character of a pilgrimage, or the spiritual benefits associated with crusading.[12] As might be expected, practical realities could diverge from these erudite and pious constructs, admitting the alliances, coexistence and movement of warriors between the two "religious camps."[13] Yet the moral value of these conflicts was widely recognised; they were never seen as purely political or military affairs. From the middle of the eleventh century, the papacy began to emphasise these religious characteristics, encouraging external support and reinterpreting the peninsular campaigns as acts of penance.[14] It was therefore increasingly difficult to classify them as purely secular wars.

The following lines are not intended to fill the gap on how war was represented and justified in the Iberian West, nor to solve all the problems associated with it. Drawing on the conquest narratives of Santarém, Lisbon,

[10] Bronisch, "La (sacralización de la) guerra," 11–13; Luís Krus, "Tempo de Godos e tempo de Mouros. As memórias da Reconquista,", in *A Construção do Passado Medieval. Textos inéditos e publicados* (Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2011), 106–12.

[11] It was not until the beginning of the twelfth century that warrior saints began to appear on the Peninsula, P. Henriet, "Y a-t-il une hagiographie de la « Reconquête » hispanique (XIeXIIIe siècles)?", in *L'expansion occidentale (XIe - XVe siècles): formes et conséquences. Actes du XXXIII^e Congrès de la Société des médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public (Madrid, 2002*) (Paris: Sorbonne, 2003), 53-58.

[12] Ph. Josserand, "Croisade et reconquête dans le royaume de Castille au XII^e siècle", in *L'expansion occidentale (XIe - XVe siècles)*, 75-85; Th. Deswarte, "Entre historiographie et histoire: aux origines de la guerre sainte en Occident", *in Regards croisés sur la guerre sainte. Guerre, idéologie et religion dans l'espace méditerranéen latin (XI-XIII siècle)*, ed. Daniel Baloup, Philippe Josserand (Toulouse: Université Toulouse, 2006), 67-90. For the role of pilgrimage in the Crusade, J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and Idea of Crusading* (London: Athlone, 1995, 22-30. J. Flori, *La Guerre Sainte*, 310-320. The relationship between crusade and reconquest is not always clear, J. Rodríguez García, "Historiografía delas Cruzadas", *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, Hª Medieval 13 (2000): 341-395; A. Pereira, "*Terminus Gentium et Ecclesiae*. Narrar a cruzada no território hispânico ocidental, 1147-1217", PhD project submitted to FCSH-UNL, Lisbon [available at: https://fcsh-unl.academia.edu/Armando Pereira; consulted in December 2017].

[13] C. Erdmann, *A Ideia de Cruzada em Portugal* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1940), 5-6, 17-19; J. Mattoso, *Ricos Homens*, 193-198; R. Fletcher, "Reconquest and Crusade", 35-8. For specific cases, J. Ruiz-Domènec, *Atardeceres Rojos. Cuatro vidas entre el islam y la cristiandad en la época de las cruzadas*, (Barcelona: Ariel, 2007).

[14] R. Fletcher, "Reconquest and Crusade", 42-47; J. Flori, *La Guerre Sainte*, 277-291; J. Flori, *Guerra Santa, Yihad, Cruzada. Violencia y religión en el cristianismo y el islam* (Granada: Universidade de Granada, 2004, 223-232; A. Pereira, *Representações da Guerra*, 147 and ff.; W. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, 120-138.

Silves and Alcácer, the goal is to identify the various manifestations of sacralization – ranging from prayers and the presence of ecclesiastics and religious symbols in the armies, to the ritual celebrations that marked the course of battle and signs of God's support expressed through prodigies and miracles. Based on this material, questions will be asked as to how war was combined with religion, how religion assisted its conduct and elevated it to a higher plane; and how, to varying degrees, it became an essential component of martial actions. To assess the degree of integration of these two spheres – war and the sacred – and, ultimately, to identify the ideals of the Crusade and the Reconquest, we will also examine how the sources portray the justifications for war, the motivations of the combatants, and the image of the enemy.[15] These elements are essential for understanding how the conflicts were framed and how the status of those who died in them was construed. Each text will be analysed individually rather than as part of a unified whole, allowing their differences, commonalities, and developments over time to be properly brought into perspective.

I. Santarém

Certainly, written in Coimbra, perhaps in the monastery of Santa Cruz,[16] the account of the conquest of Santarém is unlikely to be much later than 15 March 1147, the date of the city's capture.[17] It is a celebration of the victory written by a learned canon who used numerous biblical references and the liturgy of the choral office – the invitatory of matins and the second nocturn of that hour – to

[15] For a joint analysis of the accounts of Lisbon, Silves and Alcácer, without comparing them with the one for Santarém, A. Pereira, *Representações da Guerra*, 109-141.

[16] On the relation of the text to the hagiographic productions of Santa Cruz, *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*, ed. Luís Findley Cintra (Lisbon: INCM, 1951), vol. I, 391-394; A. Pereira, "A conquista de Santarém na tradição historiográfica portuguesa", in *D. Afonso Henriques e a sua época: actas do 2º Congresso*, vol. 5, 300-302. Contrary to what A. do Nascimento suggests ("O júbilo da vitória", 469-470), the relationship that the text establishes with all the clergy of the city does not invalidate the previous observations, nor places its writing within the cathedral of Coimbra.

[17] A. Nascimento, "O júbilo da vitória", 471. The suggestion is based on the fact that the text omits any reference to the conquest of Lisbon, shortly afterwards, although the proximity to the *Life of St Teotonio* does not allow us to date the text to the period before the end of the 1160s, as noted A. Pereira, "A conquista de Santarém", 301. Other evidence points to a later date (A. Pereira, *Representações da Guerra*, 55; J. Wilson, *The Conquest of Santarém and Goswin's Song of the Conquest of Alcácer do Sal: Editions and Translations of De Expugnatione Scalabis and Gosuini De Expugnatione Salaciae Carmen* (London: Routledge, 2021, 4-6), but the reworking of this text by Goswin (J. Wilson, *The Conquest of Santarém and Goswin,* 135-137) is unlikely, given the contrast to the way the *Carmen* depicts war.

organise the narrative.[18] The initial call to prayer and jubilation soon defines the subsequent terms of the exposition, put as words of the king, by presenting the conquest as a *magnum prodigium* achieved by a small force through God's favour, and thus surpassing the ancient exploits of Abraham and Gideon.[19] The monarch's speech does not claim the merits of the victory[20] but rather confirms, with the solemnity of an oath, the divine benevolence with which the feats of the biblical kings and other contemporary monarchs (such as Afonso VI of León, the king's grandfather) were surpassed.[21] The conquest of Santarém was thus part of a divine plan, while the monarch became an instrument of God's will.[22] This can be seen in the image used to close the text – the king on his knees, praying at the newly opened gate[23] – a testimony of praise and of submission to God's designs.

Presented as a work of God, the conquest was justified on more prosaic grounds. Familiar with the geography of the region and its routes,[24] but also with the Arabic toponymy of the town,[25] the writer associated ideas of death and danger with that toponymy,[26] which becomes evident in the harshness of the place and in the quality of its natural and man-made defences.[27] The town is said

[18] A. Nascimento, "O júbilo da vitória", 465-467. The edition used is published here (472-476 (latin), 476-481 (translation), with its original title *Qomodo sit capta Sanctaren ciuitas a rege Alfonso comitis Henrici filio,* hereafter *Sit Capta Sanctaren*. For the description of the Alcobaça codex that transmits this text, as well as the Alcácer poem, and which must be from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, A. Nascimento,"O júbilo da vitória", 468, note 12; J. Soalheiro, "«Traditio fundationis»: O mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça e a interpretação do passado cisterciense do reino de Portugal em tempos medievais", in *De Cister a Portugal: o tempo e o(s) modo(s). XI Encontro Cultural de S. Cristóvão de Lafões*, ed. Maria Alegria Marques and Luís Carlos Amaral (Lafões: Mosteiro de Lafões, 2016), 74.

[19] *Sit Capta Sanctaren*, 472. For comments on the liturgical resources and the discourse structure, J. Wilson, *The Conquest of Santarém and Goswin,* 25-29, 43-47.

[20] *Sit Capta Sanctaren*, 473: "Testor deum celi, oculis cuius nuda et aperta sunt omnia."

[21] *Sit Capta Sanctaren*, 473.

[22] M. L. Rosa, "A religião no século: vivências e devoções dos leigos", in *História Religiosa de Portugal*, ed. Carlos Moreira Azevedo (Lisbon: Círculo Leitores, 2000), vol. I, 450. As noted there (448-449), the hagiographic texts of Santa Cruz offer a different image of the monarch, stressing his inexperience and the need to be advised by the priors of the monastery.

[23] *Sit capta Sanctaren*, 476: "In medio ergo porte fixis genibus que orauerim uel ex quanta profunditate animi scit deus."

[24] A. Pereira, *Representações da Guerra*, 56.

[25] M. S. Conde, "*Madînat Shantarîn*. Uma aproximação à paisagem da Santarém muçulmana (séculos X-XII)", in *Horizontes do Portugal Medieval. Estudos históricos* (Cascais: Patrimonia, 1999), 49.

[26] *Sit Capta Sanctaren*, 473: "ut lingua arabica uocetur Alhafa, id est, timor … uocatur Alhanse, id est, coluber."

[27] *Sit Capta Sanctaren*, 477-478.

to have had the best fortifications in Hispania,[28] to be totally impregnable, and added to the power of its walls was the richness of its surroundings, an abundance – in cereals, vineyards, olive groves, fish and cattle[29] – only comparable to the lands of Egypt and Puglia and akin to the garden of delights.[30] Basically, it was this combination of power and wealth that made it a threat to Coimbra, since thence came the attacks that endangered the town, an idea repeated twice throughout the text.[31] If the conquest of Santarém was seen as a miracle or a marvel,[32] it was entirely justified by the need to ensure the defence of the kingdom and to protect Coimbra and its people in particular.

On the other hand, the king's exposition grants the war a largely secular character. All the concrete actions, from the planning to the conducting of the campaign, were the exclusive responsibility of the ruler. Although important details are omitted, such as the absence in Seville of an essential part of the town's cavalry,[33] the account reflects a particular attention to the most diverse technical issues, from the choice of combatants to the preparation of provisions, from route planning to the number of days' march and the encampments, and from breaking the truce to launching the assault. The initiative was naturally assisted by the prayers of the canons of Santa Cruz and the other clergy and people of Coimbra,[34] but it was practised from a distance, in another sphere, without any cleric taking part in the expedition, or without it being associated with religious symbols or any particular ritual. It also relied on the help of God, manifested in two simultaneous prodigies,[35] both read as harbingers of victory, and also in two miracles to put the sentries to sleep and alter the initial plans,[36] aspects that evoke the role of God in leading the armies, even if these

[28] *Sit Capta Sanctaren*, 472: "omnium [H]ispanie ciuitatum munitissimam."

[29] *Sit Capta Sanctaren*, 473-474.

[30] *Sit Capta Sanctaren*, 473.

[31] *Sit Capta Sanctaren*, 474: "Fuit hec ciuitas, quia fortissima et fecundissima, semper bellicosa insidians Colimbrie … Nostis quanta mala fecerit ciuitati uestre et uobis omnique meo regno."

[32] *Sit Capta Sanctaren*, 473: "nouis mirabilibus non renouat, sed supergreditur antiqua mirabilia."

[33] I. Lourinho, "Fontes cristãs e muçulmanas em confronto. Reflexões sobre as conquistas de Santarém e Lisboa em 1147", in *Lisboa Medieval. Gentes, Espaços e Poderes*, ed. João Luís Fontes *et al*. (Lisbon: IEM, 2017), 141-145. Also I. Lourinho, *Fronteira do Gharb Al-Andalus: Terreno de confronto entre Almorávidas e Cristãos (1093-1147)* (Lisbon: Universidade Lisboa, 2020), 514-518.

[34] *Sit Capta Sanctaren*, 475 "Hodie, sicut credo, fit pro nobis communis oratio et canonicis Sancte Crucis, quibus predixi hoc nostrum negotium, et in quibus confido, et a cetero clero simul cum omni populo."

[35] *Sit Capta Sanctaren*, 475.

[36] *Sit Capta Sanctaren*, 475-476.

interventions, however decisive, do not influence the outcome. The clearest indications of the use of the religious elements during this campaign can therefore be found in the double invocation of the Virgin and of St. James at the time of the final assault,[37] and above all in the thanksgiving of the monarch, on his knees before the finally open gate of the city.

Even without resorting to the notions of recovery and restoration, Santarém's account does not stray far from the ideals of the *Reconquista*: a war waged by the king, situated largely outside the explicitly religious sphere, yet reliant on the support of the kingdom's clergy[38] and subject, above all, to the judgement of God, who can turn it into a prize or a punishment. It was thus recorded as a higher history, updating or renewing the wars of the Old Testament, but its sacredness depended essentially on the judgment and on the will of God. The greatest objection to this reading, with which the story is linked to earlier traditions, is found in the call for the extermination of the inhabitants of Santarém, read in two passages[39] and which has been understood as an exhortation to intolerance and associated with the behaviour of the crusaders in the conquest of Lisbon.[40] The last of these passages may only have contextual value, as it occurs during the initial fighting on the ramparts,[41] but the previous one was put into the king's mouth before the assault on the city. This, however, is a literary resource that summons the biblical past to the present – it is a quotation from Joshua 6:21[42] – without the fact modelling the fighting or translating it into concrete and generalised practices. As has been recently emphasised, it is also possible that such an appeal to extermination is a way of concealing other realities, brought about by the collaboration of some of the inhabitants in the conquest,[43] or by an agreement negotiated with their defenders after entering the city.[44] In any case, they were not all killed and many of them took refuge in Lisbon, as attested in the description of the crusader

[37] *Sit Capta Sanctaren*, 476: "Sancte Iacobe, et beatissima Maria Virgo, succurrite."

[38] According to the biography of St. Teotonio, first prior of Santa Cruz in Coimbra and royal advisor, the king's victories were already ascribed to his prayers. See A. Pereira, *Representações da Guerra*, 53–54.

[39] *Sit Capta Sanctaren*, 475, 476.

[40] A. Pereira, *Representações da Guerra*, 58; J. Wilson, *The Conquest of Santarém and Goswin,* 4-5.

[41] *Sit Capta Sanctaren*, 476.

[42] For the biblical quotations, A. Nascimento, "O júbilo da vitória", 472-476 and the notes to the text edition.

[43] J. Mattoso, *D. Afonso Henriques*, 172. Although presented as a sweet lie, the king had previously announced that some of the town guards were willing to cooperate, *Sit Capta Sanctaren*, 475.

[44] The surrenders of Lisbon, Silves and Alcácer were negotiated, and capitulation agreements were frequent even in the Holy Land, A. Mallett, *Popular Muslim Reactions to the Franks in the Levant, 1097-1291* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 23-30.

Raul.[45] The preservation of the city and of the people who wanted to stay in it, or who were unable to leave it, therefore took precedence over hatred of the Muslims and episodes of generalised slaughter.

II. Lisbon

The conquest of Lisbon, which was already being prepared, certainly posed other, far more complex problems. Instead of an assault by a handful of men in the dead of night, as in Santarém, a siege was being planned – and this was the second time it had been attempted[46] – which apparently had both the support of St. Bernard's preaching as part of the Second Crusade and the collaboration of Northern crusaders.[47] The siege would therefore have to accommodate local capacities and interests to the motivation and personal commitment of pilgrims travelling to the Holy Land. It would have to captivate them or at least entice them into a military enterprise in which they would expend effort and resources, but which would divert them from their destination, jeopardising their own vows. As has been observed, the risk lay in a perversion of the pilgrimage,[48] an uncertainty that had already manifested itself during a storm in the Bay of Biscay, on the Crusaders' journey to Porto, but which would be revealed yet on another occasion.[49]

Certainly, written by a cleric named Raul,[50] perhaps in the last quarter of the twelfth century,[51] the account of the conquest of Lisbon would not fail to deal with some of these problems, all the more so since it was already seen as a model

[45] *A Conquista de Lisboa aos Mouros*, 78. This volume also contains a new edition of *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* (pp. 54–146), which will henceforth be cited as DEL.'.

[46] A. Herculano, *História de Portugal*, vol. I, 449, 494-495; L. S. Machado, "Os ingleses em Portugal", *Biblos: Boletim da Biblioteca da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra* 9 (1933): 384, 392*n*1, 394-5, 553; L. Villegas-Arristizábal, "Revisiting the Anglo-Norman Crusaders' failed attempt to conquer Lisbon c. 1142", *Portuguese Studies* 29-1 (2013): 7-20.

[47] Above all, the synthesis by J. Mattoso, *D. Afonso Henriques*, 167-171.

[48] J. Phillips, "Ideas of Crusade and Holy War in the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* (*The Conquest of Lisbon*)", in *The Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History*, Studies In Church History 36 (Cambridge: Ecclesiastical History Society, 2000), 131; A. Forey, "The siege of Lisbon and the second crusade", *Portuguese Studies* 20 (2004):13*n*62; Ch. Tyerman, *God's War*, 311.

[49] DEL, 56, 106. The last reference concerns the miracle of the bread consecrated in blood, the meaning of which has been emphasised by A. Pereira, *Representações da Guerra*, 133-134.

[50] M. J. Branco, "Introdução. A conquista de Lisboa", 28-34, 38. Based on a suggestion by this author (30-31), J. Wilson ('Enigma of the De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi', *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 9-1 (2017): 108-11) identified the author as Roberto, dean of Lisbon Cathedral, but the problem is far from being solved.

[51] J. Phillips, "Ideas of Crusade and Holy War", p. 127; M. J. Branco, "Introdução. A conquista de Lisboa", 9.

for guiding a successful crusade, or for linking it to the *Reconquista*.[52] Two of the speeches transcribed in it, by the king and by the archbishop of Braga, justify the aggression in terms of the *Reconquista*'s own ideology. The first reduced it to the context of the continuous wars against the Muslims, a fact that decreased his assets and forced him to offer the fruit of the looting to the Crusaders,[53] the other invoked the recovery of a previously Christian town, a place of history and martyrdom of kings, saints, and bishops.[54] Two other speeches, by Bishop Pedro Pitões and by a Frankish cleric, perhaps Raul himself,[55] made on arrival in Porto and before the final assault, materialise the crusading perspective. Both underline the just cause of this conquest, to defend the Church and repress the violence to which it was subjected, or to recover stolen goods, with the Muslims described as thieves and robbers.[56] But both also insist on maintaining the condition of penitents and pilgrims, and therefore on the detachment from vices of all kinds,[57] and on the right intention of the crusaders.[58] This topic is repeated in other passages and it even emerges, as a negative, in the response of the elderly Muslim to the archbishop of Braga, who accuses him of expressing a vice – territorial ambition – as a virtue.[59] On the other hand, there is a clear appeal to arms, combat and violence,[60] with one of the reporters announcing that death

[52] J. Phillips, "Ideas of Crusade and Holy War", 127; J. Wilson "Enigma of the *De Expugnatione*", 112.

[53] DEL, 82: "A Mauris enim semper inquietatis."

[54] DEL, 92-96. For an analysis of the discourse, A. Pereira, *Representações da Guerra*, 95-99.

[55] *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi (The Conquest of Lisbon)*, ed. Charles Wendell David (New York: Columbia, 1936), 41; J. Phillips, "Ideas of Crusade and Holy War", 137.

[56] DEL, 66, 122.

[57] DEL, 62, 64, 66, 118, 120, 122.

[58] DEL, 70 ("Sed quoniam armati eunistis, eia! ut boni milites agite. Quia non est peccatum militare, sed propter predam peccatum est militare"), 122 ("Nolite, fratres, nolite sperare in iniquitate, et rapinas nolite concupiscere"). At that time, the Templars were also concerned about the right intention and the legitimacy of plundering and pillaging, D. Poirel, "Les Templiers, le diable et le chanoine: *le Sermo ad milites Templi* réattribué à Hughes de Saint-Victor", in *Amicorum societs. Mélanges offerts à François Dolbeau pou son 65e anniversaire,* ed. Jacques Elfassi *et al*. (Florence: SISMEL, 2012), 635-664.

[59] DEL, 96. For a commentary on the passage, J. Phillips, "Ideas of Crusade and Holy War", 136; S. Lay, "The Reconquest as Crusade in the Anonymus *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*", *Al-Masaq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* 8 (2002): 127-128.

[60] DEL, 68 ("Vos, igitur, fratres, cum hiis fortitudinem armis suscipite"), 122 ("Nolite, fratres, nolit timere; nolite expauescere; contristari fugit; stupefieri uilipendite"). The Bishop of Porto's speech was not seen as a crusading sermon, unlike that of the outspoken cleric, C. Erdmann, *A Ideia de Cruzada*, 23; R. Fletcher, "Reconquest and Crusade", 43-44; Ch. Tyerman, "Where there any crusades in the twelfth century?", *The English Historical Review* 110 (1995): 563-564, republ. *in The Practices of Crusading. Image and Action from the Eleventh to the Sixteenth*

occurred in this context as a personal *gain*,[61] while the other insists that the murder of the Muslim was not a *sin*,[62] in a line which recalls a similar passage in the primitive rule of the Templars.[63]

With this presentation of the conquest as a commendable deed, without making Lisbon a diversion but rather a stage on the road to Jerusalem,[64] the right conditions were created, on the one hand, to demonise the Muslim and, on the other, to deem the deaths of the crusaders as a form of martyrdom. Raul's story recalls both. The negative image of the enemy is not, however, a constant throughout the text. In the speech of the archbishop of Braga, the continued Muslim presence in the town is accepted as positive, or at least as a lesser evil, and Muslims are offered the preservation of their goods and customs, provided they hand over control of the castle.[65] In other passages, Raul also shows some sympathy for the fate of the inhabitants and, just as the archbishop of Braga had done, he also expressed his desire that some Muslims convert to the faith of Christ.[66] Their harmful attributes, however, are clearer and more copious[67]. Seen as adversaries of the Cross and as oppressors of the Church,[68] they are described

Centuries (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013, nº VI). However, similarities with other sermons reveal knowledge of essential values of Cross Spirituality, P. Baubeta, "Toward a history of preaching in Medieval Portugal", *Portuguese Studies* 7 (1991): 1-18; J. Phillips, "Ideas of Crusade and Holy War", 127-133, 136-138; J. Wilson, "Enigma of the *De Expugnatione*", 117-118.

[61] DEL, 124: "Hic ergo uiuere gloria est, et mori lucrum." These alternatives (death as a gain or glory in life) are the same ones that St. Bernard had suggested to the English when he preached the Crusade, J. Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven: Yale University, 2007), 73, 162. Also J. Phillips, "Ideas of Crusade and Holy War", 138.

[62] DEL, 68: "Nolite, fratres, nolite timere. Non enim in huiusmodi actionibus homicidio uel taxatione alicuius criminis notabimini."

[63] *The Templars. Selected sources translated and annotated*, ed. Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate (Manchaster: Manchaster University, 2002), 47, n. 48.

[64] DEL, 68. For further commentary, see J. Phillips, "Ideas of Crusade and Holy War", 130-132.

[65] DEL, 94. Before this proposal (DEL, 92), the archbishop had invited them to go freely to Moorish lands.

[66] DEL, 94, 146.

[67] For an overview, Jean Flori, *La Guerre Sainte*, 227-260; J. Flori, *Guerra Santa, Yihad,* 121-143; Ph. Sénac, *El occidente medieval frente al islam. La imagen del otro* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2011). To the perception of the Muslim in the Aragonese sources and in the bulls of Innocent III, M. Alvira Cabrer, "Expresiones de la guerra santa en las fuentes del reinado de Pedro el Católico, Rei de Aragón y Conde de Barcelona", in *Orígenes y Desarrollo de la Guerra Santa*, 127-154; D. Smith, "La guerra contra los musulmanes en España «en palabras» del papa Inocencio III", in *Orígenes y Desarrollo de la Guerra Santa*, 212-214.

[68] DEL, 66 (*seruitutis iugo*), 68 (*depressam Hiyspanorum ecclesiam*), 70 (*aduersariis crucis*), 94 (*ecclesiarum ruine*), 106, 142 (*crucis aduersarios*).

either as disloyal and robbers, or as pagans, impious and impure, capable of the greatest insults to the Virgin, to Christ, and to the Cross.[69] Their wickedness was so commonplace that it was reflected in an disorderly town dominated by vice.[70] Ultimately, it was this vision that robbed them of their human dignity and justified the violence and atrocities of the Crusaders.[71] But it was also a way of combating evil that allowed for the redemption of the living, or for the recognition of the dead as martyrs of the faith, as was mentioned before. In the cemetery arranged for the Flemish and the Colognian contingents, perhaps adjacent to one of the town's burial grounds, the account recorded the miraculous healing of two mute people,[72] a success attested to by other testimonies and other miracles, with news of the regrowth of a palm tree in that place and the organisation of a proper cult,[73] if not very significantly spread.

On the other hand, the whole campaign was announced as a religious phenomenon, marked by various manifestations of the sacred. Upon leaving Dartmouth, all the crusaders had committed themselves, morally and practically, to securing the presence of a priest on each of the 160 ships, transforming them into a collective parish, with weekly confession and communion on Sundays.[74] This considerable ecclesiastical framework was joined in Porto by the town's bishop and by the archbishop of Braga, and later in Lisbon by the bishops of Lamego and Viseu, all of whom testified to the agreement between the king and the crusaders.[75] Many accompanied the fighting, such as the bishop of Porto, who absolved and blessed those who left the camps to take part in the assault on the suburbs, those who distributed holy bread before the attacks on the wall, or the archbishop of Braga, who consecrated

[69] DEL, 68 (*impii*), 120 (*impurissimi*), 94 (*fides lesa*), 104-106 (*iniuriam*), 122 (*fures*, *latrones*), 144 (*gentilitas*).

[70] DEL, 78.

[71] For some episodes of this kind, DEL, 112, 138.

[72] DEL, 106.

[73] A. Pereira, "Guerra e santidade: o cavaleiro-mártir Henrque de Bona e a conquista cristã de Lisboa", *Lusitânia Sacra* 17 (2005): 15-38; J. Wilson, "Tactics of Attraction: Saints, Pilgrims and Warriors in the Portuguese Reconquista", *Portuguese Studies* 30-2 (2014): 2014-221. However, this link between the saints of Lisbon and the attraction of pilgrims and the transformation of the city into a stage on the road to Jerusalem is poorly articulated with the limited importance of the cult of Henry of Bonn or the scant diffusion of the cult of Saint Vincent outside the kingdom.

[74] DEL, 54-56. As suggested by Ch. Tyerman, *God's War*, 309-310, such forms of cohesion reflected the organizational culture of the crusaders' hometowns.

[75] DEL, 60, 72, 90.

the final offensive with prayers and holy water.[76] On this occasion, a pre-battle sermon was also preached by an outspoken cleric[77], armed with a relic of the Holy Wood, before which all bowed down, and with which he said he was willing to share dangers and fatigue by standing next to a war machine.[78] Moreover, all of them, the archbishop, bishops and other clergy, took part in the solemn procession which travelled through the town after the surrender, when songs of jubilation and purification were sung – the *Te Deum laudamus* and the *Asperges me* – while the banner of the Cross was raised.[79]

As expected in this context, wonders and miracles punctuate the entire narrative. The first occurred before the siege of Lisbon: one near Coruña in Galician waters, the other at the mouth of the river Tagus, both serving above all to foretell victory and the end of idolatry in Hispania.[80] On the other hand, miracles accompany the fighting, either to help the crusaders control the suburbs, to denounce the wicked and maintain proper behaviour, as in the case of the bread consecrated in blood, or to reward the efforts with the discovery of an abundance of supplies in the conquered town.[81] God's support and mercy are also manifested in other contexts, almost always military in nature: in raising morale through the discovery of a letter from inhabitants requesting assistance, in ensuring the protection of a siege engine, and in maintaining unity and dispelling fear at the moment of a town's surrender.[82] More than the result of the actions of devout and pious men, the conquest thus corresponded to a divine plan – foreseen, announced, and carried out by God Himself. Such, at least, was the conviction of the cleric Raul, who acknowledged this plan, attributed the victory to God, recalled the spontaneous conversions he claimed to have witnessed, and insisted that it was He who had ultimately fought for the Crusaders.[83]

[76] DEL, 100, 106, 116. The distribution of holy bread before the battles, only alluded in DEL, 106, is confirmed in the account of the foundation of the Monastery of St. Vincent. See *A Conquista de Lisboa aos Mouros*, 186.

[77] For this type of sermon, preached to encourage fighters before battle, Bachrach, David S. "Conforming with the Rhetorical Tradition of Plausibility: Clerical Representation of Battlefield Orations against Muslims, 1080-1170." *International History Review* 26, no, 1 (2004), 7-9; Throop, Susanna A. "Christian Community and the Crusades: Religious and Social Practices in the 'De expugnatione Lyxbonensi.'" *Haskins Society journal* 24 (2012), 95–126.

[78] DEL, 116-126. For further commentary, see Phillips, "Ideas of Crusade and Holy War", 138.

[79] DEL, 138.

[80] DEL, 58, 74. Also A. Pereira, *Representações da Guerra*, 131-134; A. Azevedo, *As Representações das Conquistas*, 127 and ff.

[81] DEL, 102, 106, 140.

[82] DEL, 108, 128, 130.

[83] DEL, 106, 142, 144, 146.

III. Silves

Despite the parallels with Lisbon – namely the cooperation of other fleets in a conquest initiated by another king[84] –, the anonymous account of the conquest of Silves, likely written in the early thirteenth century[85] by a German cleric and participant of the Third Crusade, presents a markedly different reality. In part, this is because the text was written outside the kingdom – the narrative abruptly ends in Marseille in October 1189[86] – without the sponsorship or complicity of the Portuguese authorities, and thus reflects the greater difficulty in reconciling the aims of those authorities with the interests and motivations of the crusaders. An essential aspect that the Lisbon text did not silence but resolved.

Disagreements arose as soon as the Crusaders and Portuguese forces arrived on the coast of the Algarve. The commander of the royal detachment proposed redirecting the campaign to a different target,[87] instead of moving to Silves, and further divergences were shortly revealed. Conflicts arose among the Crusaders themselves, with the Flemish either seeking to abandon the siege or adopting reprehensible behaviour.[88] Clashes then followed with the Portuguese, who were accused of cowardice, of refusing to fight, and of repeatedly attempting to desert the battlefield.[89] The most serious disagreements, however, concerned King Sancho I, who was reproached for breaking the pact with the Crusaders and for the lack of justice and probity in the distribution of the loot, or criticised for not delivering the tithe of the land to the Holy Sepulchre, thus disrespecting the vow he had made.[90] Fundamentally, the perspectives proved irreconcilable, especially for those Crusaders who were merely passing through and viewed the campaign primarily as a chance for plunder and failed to grasp that Silves was not beyond the kingdom's borders, but within its sphere of expansion – as underscored by the king's return to his domains after the conquest.[91] For the author of the account, these disagreements with the monarch were the chief

[84] For the royal preparation of the conquest, see M. J. Branco, *D. Sancho I*, 119-130.

[85] See David, "'Narratio de Itinere Navali,'" 597–98. For the souce edition, 610–42 there, henceforth cited as *Narratio de itinere navali*. For the Portuguese translation, *Relação da derrota naval,* 2-53. On the identity of the author, A. Pereira, "Silves no itinerário", 84-85.

[86] *Narratio de itinere navali*, 642.

[87] *Narratio de itinere navali*, 619.

[88] Ibid., 623-624, 628-9, 632. Also A. Pereira, *Representações da Guerra*, 134-135.

[89] *Narratio de itinere navali*, 626, 627, 629-630.

[90] Ibid., 632. Also A. Pereira, *Representações da Guerra*, 136-137.

[91] *Narratio de itinere navali*, 632: "Rex vero VI die abinde, rebus dispositis, et urbem principe milicie sue et multis militibus muniens, ad propria rediit."

reason why the whole region was not fully subdued at that time, and why relations ended on a less friendly note than they had begun.[92]

These accounts suggest that the king's invitation to the expedition against Silves was accepted primarily because of the expectation of plunder. This was the central element of the pact with the crusaders, which granted them the spoils of the city[93] and which they repeatedly insisted on being honoured.[94] It was, in fact, the breach of this agreement that sparked the conflict with the monarch, even if the Flemish complaints were driven more by the breaking of promises than by greed alone.[95] For the author of the account, and likely for his companions, the sacking of a Muslim city in Hispania was not incompatible with the status of a pilgrim on a journey to reconquer Jerusalem.[96] It did not signify deviation from their goal, nor did it raise the kinds of concerns voiced in Lisbon about the risk of corrupting the crusade. Thus, not concerned about issues of right intention or just war, Crusaders saw the loot as a legitimate reward for their efforts, or at least as a necessary means to offset the costs of their pilgrimage.[97] Perhaps this was because they increasingly saw this combination of war and religion as a means of redeeming their sins. This idea emerges right at the beginning of the narrative,[98] and it justified their subsequent trust in God's help and their courage in the face of the adversaries.[99]

Nevertheless, there is no overt demonisation of the Muslims in the account. The city is described in relatively neutral terms, with even some admiration for how it was organised, the large number and quality of its houses and buildings and especially its extensive fortifications.[100] As in the case of Santarém, it was the strength of these defences, the size of the population, and the wealth of the

[92] Ibid., 632 ("et ideo peregrini iniuriose tractati minis amice ab eo separati sunt"), 636 ("et terram illam, que Algarbia dicitur, integraliter Christianis possidendam reliquissemus, si odium regis et quorundam nostrum execranda festinatio non prohibuisset").

[93] The agreement with the crusaders was revealed only after the surrender of Silves but it had been negotiated in Lisbon at the invitation of the king (Ibid., 617), as the author points out later (631): "Ex prima convencione nostra erant omnia mobilia."

[94] Ibid., 628, 631, 633.

[95] Ibid., 628-629, 632.

[96] Ibid., 610: "peregrinis Ierosolimam tendentibus." For other mentions, 610, 616, 618, 628. Also A. Pereira, *Representações da Guerra*, 126-129.

[97] To the role of material rewards in the motivation of the crusaders, Ch. Tyerman, "Paid Crusaders. '*Pro honoris vel pecunie*'; '*stipendiarii contra paganos*'; money and incentives on crusade", in *The Practices of Crusading*, nº XIV, 1-40.

[98] *Narratio de itinere navali*, 610: "predicationis tuba cum indulgentia."

[99] Ibid., 619, 622, 623. As noted by A. Pereira, "Silves no itinerário", 85, some passages (Ibid., 632, 638-639) seem to regard episodes of devastation, destruction, looting and violence as natural.

[100] Ibid., 619-621, 622.

surrounding region[101] that made it seem impregnable and the principal threat to the Christians of Hispania.[102] Once conquered, the security of the territories between Silves and Lisbon would be secured – a point the author makes explicitly.[103] Presented as rich and powerful enemies,[104] the Muslims are portrayed as equally harsh and rigorous in their discipline, beheading the first among them who left their positions on the walls.[105] References to their religion, however, are limited; they are simply described as pagans[106] and even as enemies of Christ.[107] However, the account does highlight the cruelty they inflicted on Christian captives—reporting that three were hanged and killed on the city walls, and that only those willing to assist in the city's defence were given food.[108] Still, the narrative lacks the level of hostility and negative stereotyping found in the Lisbon account.

As has been noted, the Silves account makes no mention of Christian preaching or miracles, nor of martyrs or heavenly warriors supporting the crusader forces.[109] Nor is there any indication of involvement or assistance from the Portuguese clergy. The only priests mentioned, of unspecified number, are those who accompanied the crusaders from the North Sea. Little is said of their duties or actions other than the celebration of two masses and the administration of communion to the combatants: the first before the initial assault, when the suburb was taken, and the second on the following morning, prior to the attack on the upper town.[110] However, some religious figures are mentioned among the king's troops – Templars, Hospitallers, and friars from the Orders of Avis, St. James and the Holy Sepulchre[111] – identified thanks to the author's careful

[101] Ibid. 617, 624.

[102] *De Itinere Navali*, 629 ("in Ispaniis munitior non esset civitas, et Christianis tam infesta"), 630 ("quod inexpugnabilis esset munitio").

[103] *De Itinere Navali*, 635: "sed nunc tutissimam Christiani habent manssionem in felicissima terra dum possedet Silviam."

[104] *De Itinere Navali*, 618, 621, 624, 626.

[105] *De Itinere Navali*, 622.

[106] *De Itinere Navali*, 623, 626, 628, 629.

[107] *De Itinere Navali*, 626.

[108] *De Itinere Navali*, 623, 629.

[109] A. Azevedo, *As Representações das Conquistas*, 130-131; A. Pereira, "Silves no itinerário", 85-86.

[110] *De Itinere Navali*, 621-622.

[111] *De Itinere Navali*, 630-631. For the Holy Sepulchre in Portugal, *Ordens Religiosas em Portugal: Das Origens a Trento. Guia Histórico,* ed. B. Vasconcelos e Sousa, 3rd ed. revised and extended (Lisbon: Horizonte, 2016), 215-218.

attention to detail.[112] It was the first time they were mentioned in these texts, although the Knights Templar had already participated in the conquest of Santarém and perhaps in that of Lisbon as well.[113] Their presence certainly underscored the religious element of the battles, even though the author of the narrative, with his rather focused interest in the more profane aspects of war,[114] did not forget to point out that they lived and fought on the battlefield as the other warriors.[115] Nonetheless, supernatural forces were not absent; they appeared in various moments as signs of divine assistance. The first such instance occurred during the capture of the suburb, described as having been subdued through God's will.[116] Others might have served to encourage the crusaders and intimidate the defenders – explaining their retreat from the walls, in this case through the intercession of the Virgin, or to miraculously maintain the unity of the crusading forces.[117] Though not numerous, these manifestations are shown as accompanying the progress of the battle and clearly contributing to its outcome.

IV. Alcácer

As in Silves, and especially in Lisbon, a fleet of crusaders was expected to join the siege of Alcácer in 1217. Two years earlier, the Bishop of Lisbon, Soeiro Viegas, had made the first contacts with the papacy at the Fourth Lateran Council, which had resolved to launch a new expedition to the Holy Land.[118] He secured from Innocent III the concession of indulgences for the peninsular combatants who fought the Muslims, though he was forbidden to redirect

[112] A. Azevedo, *As Representações das Conquistas*, 105. Although they are described as Knights of Jerusalem, the identification of the brethren of St. James is made possible by reference to their insignia and their way of life, *De Itinere Navali*, 630: "Iherosolimitani milites qui ferunt gladios in vestibus, qui ducunt uxores, et assidue movent guerram Sarracenis."

[113] *Documentos Medievais Portugueses. Documentos régios*, ed. Rui de Azevedo (Lisbon: Academia de História, 1958), t. 1, n.º 241 (de IV-1147); L. F. Oliveira, "Lisbonne", in *Prier et Combattre. Dictionnaire européen des ordres militaires au Moyen Age*, ed. Nicole Bériou, Philippe Josserand (Paris: Fayard, 2009), 545-546.

[114] A. Pereira, "Silves no itinerário", 81-82.

[115] *De Itinere Navali*, 631: "sed cum in expeditione sicuti reliqui homines."

[116] *De Itinere Navali*, 622.

[117] *De Itinere Navali*, 624, 625, 630. Also A. Pereira, *Representações da Guerra*, 132.

[118] C. Erdmann, *A Ideia de Cruzada*, 44. For the bishop's biography, M. J. Branco, "Reis, Bispos e Cabidos. A Diocese de Lisboa durante o primeiro século da sua restauração", *Lusitânia Sacra* 10 (1998): 70-84.

pilgrims to the war in Hispania, as noted in the *Chronicle of Eumónio*.[119] Possibly encouraged by the support of Rome for Las Navas de Tolosa's campaign of 1212 – marked by the preaching of the crusade and the granting of indulgences[120] – or perhaps hoping for the election of a new pope in mid-1216, the bishop did not abandon his plan to attack Alcácer. A letter addressed to Honorius III in October 1217, recounting the conquest of Alcácer, confirms that the campaign had been carefully and deliberately prepared. The crusade was preached not only in the dioceses of Lisbon and Évora but throughout the Portuguese kingdom, to recruit combatants and impose upon them the sign of the cross.[121] Many members of the kingdom's clergy and religious orders were involved, from the bishops of Lisbon and Évora to the abbot of Alcobaça and the superiors of the orders of the Temple, Hospital, St. James and Avis.[122] Although King Afonso II was neither absent from the preparations – being in Lisbon between April and May 1217[123] – nor disconnected from those who took part,[124] all evidence suggests that the initiative came from the Bishop of Lisbon.[125]

The *De expugnatione Salaciae carmen*, likely composed in Lisbon by a North European cleric—possibly Goswin—well-versed in rhetoric and literary technique,[126] reflects the context of its composition and the challenges it sought

[119] C. Erdmann, *A Ideia de Cruzada*, 44; J. Wilson, "Tactics of Attraction", 214-215. For the *Emonis Chronicon*, MGH SS 23, ed. Ludwig Weiland (Hannover: Hahn, 1874), 479. Also *Quinti Belli Sacri. Scriptores Minores*, ed. Reinholds Rõhricht (Génova: Fick, 1879), 63. This source has been republished, with translation into English and analysis by L. Villegas-Aristizábal, "A Frisan Perspective on Crusading in Iberia as part of the sea journey to the Holy Land, 1217-1218", *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 15 (2018), 67-149.

[120] C. Erdmann, *A Ideia de Cruzada*, 42-44; C. Ayala Martínez, *Las Cruzadas*, 312-314; C. Ayala Martínez, "El discurso de la Guerra Santa en la Cancillería castellana (1158-1230)", in *Orígenes y Desarrollo de la Guerra Santa*, 171-180.

[121] *Monumenta Henricina* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1960), vol. I, n. 25.

[122] *Monumenta Henricina*, I, n. 25. For the sometimes-forgotten participation of the brothers of Avis/Calatrava, *Monumenta Henricina*, vol. I, n. 29 (de 26-I-1218); *Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium*, MGH SS 23, ed. Paul Scheffer-Boichrost, (Hannover: Hahn, 1874), 905 (Anno 1217).

[123] H. Vilar, *D. Afonso II*, 138, 261.

[124] M. J. Branco, "Reis, Bispos e Cabidos", 73-74; H. Vilar, *D. Afonso II*, 145-149.

[125] The bishop claimed the credit for the victory on his tombstone at Lisbon Cathedral, M. Barroca, *Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa (862-1422)* (Lisbon: FCT, 2000), vol. 2-I, nº 302, 745-748.

[126] For available data on the author, M. L. Pereira, "Memória cruzadística", 322-331; A. Nascimento, "Poema de Conquista", 500-501. More recently, J. Wilson, *The Conquest of Santarém and Goswin,* 74, 79-101, 105-109, has suggested that he should be identified with Goswin of Bossut, cantor of the abbey of Villiers, recovering from a proposal of Fortunato de São Boaventura.

to address.[127] Dedicating the poem to Soeiro Viegas, on whose patronage he relied, or hoped to rely (the first draft had been given to another recipient),[128] Goswin elevated the bishop as the principal architect of the campaign and the victory. He attributed to him the will and initiative, the persuasion of the crusaders through preaching, the recruitment of troops, the commitment of forces and resources, and the counsel and assistance necessary for the campaign's completion.[129] No other individual actors—whether from within the kingdom or abroad—are mentioned. Apart from the names of the patron and the author, which are concealed in acrostics,[130] the poem omits all personal references, framing the operation instead as a collective endeavour. Only the pilgrims (or crusaders) and the local participants, namely the friars of St. James, to whom the city and territory were entrusted, are acknowledged.[131] However, he did not remain silent about the problems caused by the diversion of the crusaders to Alcácer, referring to the division of the fleet – part of which continued on to Marseilles[132] – and the doubts raised during the siege about the approach of the Muslim relief army, when some argued to leave since this was not the land where they were meant to fulfil their vows.[133] As the bishop suggests in the sermon, this detour was made possible by delays in reaching Lisbon, at a time when the journey was becoming increasingly difficult[134]. It is

[127] The edition used is by A. Nascimento ("Poema de conquista", 503-508), who restored the original title (*Quomodo capta fuit Alcaser a Francis*), henceforth called *Carmen*, followed by the verse numbers. Reprint and English translation in J. Wilson, *The Conquest of Santarém and Goswin*, 138-152

[128] *Carmen*, v. 227. Also A. Nascimento, "Poema de conquista", 500-501. It has rightly been suggested that the poem's first addressee was Walter of Utrecht, Abbot of Villiers, J. Wilson, *The Conquest of Santarém and Goswin*, 107-112.

[129] *Carmen*, vv. 205-212.

[130] *Carmen*, vv. 221-224. The absence of individual names had already been noted, M. L. Pereira, "Memória cruzadística", 345; A. Nascimento, "Poema de conquista", 494.

[131] *Carmen*, vv. 86 (*Indiginis*), 203 (*Militibus gladii*). In a note to the Portuguese translation (A. Nascimento, "Poema de Conquista", 512, nt. 68), another verse was associated with the brethren of St. James, although it refers only to the cross on the crusaders' robes, *Carmen*, v. 100: "Magnanimos reddit, sua signa colunt."

[132] *Carmen*, vv. 87-89. This is confirmed by other accounts, notably the Eumonius and Frisan chronicles, MGH SS 23, 479; *Quinti Belli*, ed. R. Rõhricht, 63; L. Villegas-Aristizábal, "A Frisan Perspective on Crusading", 89-94, 128-129.

[133] *Carmen*, vv. 123-127. Some of them even complained about the place where they were and the enemies they were fighting (vv. 125-126): "Non hanc, sed gentem nos debellare iubemur / Que Christi tumbam, que loca sacra tenet."

[134] *Carmen*, vv. 75-78. The delay in the journey to Lisbon was recalled in the aforementioned letter to Honorius III, *Monumenta Henricina*, vol. I, nº 25. On the chronology of the crusaders' travel, A. Herculano, *História de Portugal*, vol. II, 254-258; A. Nascimento, "Poema de conquista", 494.

therefore likely that the detailed account of the storm off the Portuguese coast served both to justify the delay and to support the campaign of Alcácer.[135] At any rate, in a later passage, God would again move the waves and winds to the aid of the crusaders.[136]

The Alcácer expedition was thus presented as an opportunity granted by divine providence, and from the very first verses it is framed as a work of God carried out through the actions of the crusaders.[137] The bishop's sermon followed in the same line, declaring that it was God who had led them to Lisbon so they might use their weapons to break the Muslim yoke and merit entry into the Kingdom of Heaven.[138] The bishop is said to identify the Crusaders as servants of Christ and of the Cross, and above all as opponents of the enemies of the Cross and models of martyrdom.[139] He invites them to take part in the conquest and warns them of the dangers of idleness, which corrupts dignity and virtue[140] – a theme that also underpins the poem itself.[141] The sermon, however, makes no mention of the expectation of plunder; the issue of spoils arises only at the end of the text, in the account of their distribution to the crusaders and the injustice suffered by the bishop, who received nothing[142] – a clear indication that this was no trivial matter.

The narrative justified the campaign primarily through the demonisation of the Muslims. More than the walls or the military prowess of the men who defended them – both of which were soon acknowledged[143] – it was the perceived evil nature of the Muslims' presence that made Alcácer a particularly dangerous stronghold for Christians.[144] Exploiting the Arabic name of the town, the bishop turned it into a "fortress of the pagan gods" ("castrum deorum"), a sort of bloodthirsty sanctuary that demanded the sacrifice of a hundred Christians every year, dead or captured, around fifteen thousand in the last

[135] The description takes up 15 verses of the poem (Carmen, vv. 35-49), more than half of which is devoted to the bishop's sermon (vv. 59-86), a clear sign of the importance attached to it.

[136] *Carmen*, vv. 168-172.

[137] *Carmen*, v. 7, 14. For other references to crusaders, vv. 25, 27-8, 100, 144.

[138] *Carmen*, vv. 61-62, 73-74. For a analysis of the sermon, M. L. Pereira, "Memória cruzadística, 333; A. Pereira, *Representações da Guerra*, 103-106.

[139] *Carmen*, vv. 59-60 ("O fratres, famuli Christi, crucis hostibus hostes / Spretores mundi, martyriique decus"), 83 ("Ergo crucis famuli sitis crucis hostibus hostes").

[140] *Carmen*, vv. 79-84.

[141] *Carmen*, vv. 01-05, 10-12.

[142] *Carmen*, vv. 195-196, 205, 214.

[143] *Carmen*, vv. 97-99.

[144] *Carmen*, vv. 63-64: "Est prope nos castrum, super omnia castra nociuum / Christicolis, nomen Alcaser illud habet."

quarter[145]. In this portrayal, the Muslims are reduced to instruments of cruelty and become the enemy par excellence, referred to only as "the enemy."[146] As previously noted,[147] the violence of the crusaders – confident of God's support and proud of the signs of the cross on their garments – was directed squarely against the Muslims[148]. As enemies of evil, they engaged in an almost primal brutality that terrified their opponents, left many dead, and spilt blood from weapons onto the earth,[149] as if such violence were required to purge and renew both the land and its people.

In the *Carmen*, therefore, the campaign of Alcácer appeared to be an essentially religious endeavour. The ecclesiastics and religious men present were few – only the bishop of Lisbon and the brethren of St. James – contrary to what is stated in other sources, such as the episcopal letter of October 1217 to Honorius III.[150] There is also no mention of the celebration of the Eucharist before or during the battles, nor of any liturgy designed to attract divine support and protect the warriors. Yet all participants are identified either as crusaders or as pilgrims,[151] bearing vows to fulfil and the sign of the cross on their garments[152] – thereby assuming a temporary, though no less meaningful, religious identity. At the very least, the visible presence of symbols of faith was assured.

Signs of God's support also punctuate the narrative, ranging from prodigies to miracles, as though war served as the primary setting for divine intervention. Two prodigies are presented as encouraging the crusaders and easing their fears: the sudden arrival of thirty-two ships as the Muslim relief army approached,

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[145] *Carmen*, vv. 65-66 ("Al deus est, castrumque Caser: castrumque deorum / Fertur apud gentes, id uenerantur, amant"), 69-72 ("Castrenses suo regi dant quolibet anno / Centum christicolas, soluimus ista quidem; / In quinis lustris hominum tria milia quina / Illi ceperunt siue dedere neci").

[146] *Carmen*, v. 59, 74, 83, 92, 136, 140, 147, 153, 173, among others.

[147] A. Pereira, *Representações da Guerra*, 127-128. On the relationship between violence and the Word of God, or trust in its support, G. Cipollone, "La parole, les paroles de Dieu: la guerre sainte (1187-1216), in *La Guerre, la violence et les gents au Moyen Âge. I Guerre et Violence*, ed. Philippe Contamine, Olivier Guyotjeannin (Paris: CTHS, 1996), 25-34.

[148] *Carmen*, vv. 100, 144.

[149] *Carmen*, vv. 139, 176-8 (blood), 154-159 (dread), 159-164 (deaths).

[150] *Monumenta Henricina*, vol. I, nº 25. For other sources, *Monumenta Henricina*, nº 26 (de X-1217), nº 28 (de 12-I-1218), nº 29 (de 26-I-1218). Also, M. L. Pereira, "Memória cruzadística", 325, 336-337, 345; P.-V. Claverie, "«Contra Soldanum de Coine» ou la contribution des templiers portugais à la défense de la Syrie franque" in *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria entre o Ocidente e o Oriente, Actas do V Encontro sobre Ordens Militares (15 a 18 de Fevereiro de 2006)*, ed. Isabel Cristina Fernandes (Palmela: CMP, 2009), 411-412.

[151] *Carmen*, vv. 7, 25, 27-8, 100, 124-126, 144, 195-196.

[152] *Carmen*, vv. 100, 144.

and the sinking of the enemy's galleys before the final assault[153] – both echoing earlier reported wonders.[154] Miracles, three in total, are depicted as decisive in the Muslims' defeat, all occurring during the field battle.[155] They reflect an escalating manifestation of God's presence: from the arrival of 500 knights on the eve of combat to the appearance of a banner of the cross in the sky during the struggle, and finally the intervention of a supernatural army – knights in white robes bearing pink crosses – whose aid ensures victory.[156] As in the narratives of Las Navas de Tolosa,[157] God is represented as the main actor in the war and the true author of the triumph, which takes place on a festive day dedicated to two martyrs,[158] or to receive the glory of the conquest itself.[159] The immediate conversion of the Muslim castellan, baptised three days later,[160] is portrayed as the natural culmination of this total victory.

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Often considered the first Portuguese crusade,[161] the campaign of Alcácer must have contributed to a definitive change in the status of war, giving it a commendable character and emphasizing its religious component. From then on, with the intermittent presence of the monarchs in military campaigns, military orders took over the fight against Islam and were responsible for the conquest of most southern territories.[162] It was during this period that the

[153] *Carmen*, vv. 115-118, 168-172.

[154] *Carmen,* vv. 127-128.

[155] As A. Pereira has pointed out (*Representações da Guerra*, 105-106), all three are recorded in the letter of October 1217 to Honorius III. The accounts of other crusaders (*Quinti Belli*, 32-33, 241) also mention these miracles.

[156] *Carmen*, vv. 133-4, 145-6, 149-52.

[157] For the miracles recorded in the Navas of Tolosa, including the appearance of a cross in the sky, A. Huici Miranda, *Las Grandes Batallas de la Reconquista durante las Invasiones Africanas*, *fac-simil* of the 1956 edition (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2000), 312; C. Ayala Martínez, "El discurso de la Guerra Santa", 175-176.

[158] *Carmen*, v. 165-166. For a comment, A. Nascimento, "Poema de conquista", 498.

[159] *Carmen* v. 200.

[160] *Carmen*, v. 201. Also M. L. Pereira, "Memória cruzadística", 326.

[161] C. Erdmann, *A Ideia de Cruzada*, 45. This statement was challenged by A. Pereira, *Representações da Guerra*, 106, nt. 88, from a more traditional point of view, stressing the absence of a papal summon. On the peninsular appropriation of the crusade, C. Ayala Martínez, *Las Cruzadas*, 314-319; C. Ayala Martínez, "Fernando III: Figura, significado y contexto en tiempo de Cruzada", in *Fernando III, Tiempo de Cruzada*, ed. Carlos de Ayala Martínez, Martín Rios Saloma (Madrid: Sílex, 2012), 63-76, 85-91.

[162] A. C. Henriques, *Conquista do Algarve (1189-1249). O Segundo Reino* (Lisbon: Tribuna, 2003), 50-83; H Fernandes, *D. Sancho II* (Lisbon: Círculo Leitores, 2006), 204-208; L. F. Oliveira, "A ordem de Santiago e a conquista das terras do Sul", *Cuadernos de Estepa* 3 (2014): 89-102.

brothers of the orders gained social visibility, as their presence was recorded in the writings of the seigneurial courts[163] and the themes of pilgrimage and crusade spread among the troubadours.[164] The indulgences granted by the Apostolic See also became more frequent in the thirteenth century,[165] helping the campaigns to lose their profane character and to appear more and more as a religious experience that allowed for the remission of sins. Their meritorious status was thus somehow assured.

It could also be argued that the frontier battles took the form of penance.[166] The most famous case is that of the Infante of Serpa, who in December 1239 was sentenced by Pope Gregory IX to remain in Serpa, on the border of the kingdom, in order to fight the Muslims.[167] The pontiff guaranteed Holy Land indulgences to all who joined him: sinners, the excommunicated, or others who aided his cause.[168] Another later success was that of the knight Afonso Novais, a vassal of Afonso IV, who was excommunicated for his part in the murder of the bishop of Évora in March 1321, but was acquitted in 1338 after spending several years on the border of Granada.[169] These few but significant examples only serve to formulate a hypothesis and to identify a problem that has not been studied with the necessary depth. It is also possible that the convents of the military orders

[163] C. Neto, "Anónimos e Domésticos. Os freires das Ordens Militares nas cantigas dos trovadores", in *Comendas Urbanas das Ordens Militares*, ed. Luís Filipe Oliveira (Lisbon: Colibri, 2016), 229-246. Also C. Neto, *As Ordens Militares na cultura escrita da Nobreza — 1240-1350. Representações nas cantigas de escárnio e de mal dizer*, Master Dissertation (Lisbon; FCSH-UNL, 2012), 7-12.

[164] L. F. Oliveira, "A Cruzada e o Ultramar: Dos trovadores ao conde de Barcelos", in *Cristãos contra muçulmanos na idade média peninsular. Bases ideológicas e doutrinais de uma confrontação (séculos x-xiv)» / Cristianos contra musulmanes en la edad media peninsular.bases ideológicas y doctrinales de una confrontación (siglos x-xiv)*, ed. Isabel Cristina Fernandes, Carlos de Ayala Martínez (Lisbon: Colibri, 2015), 323-335.

[165] C. Erdmann, *A Ideia de Cruzada*, 47-49; A. Dinis, "Antecedentes da Expansão Ultramarina Portuguesa", *Revista Portuguesa de História* 10 (1962): 45-54.

[166] Towards the association of war with penance and martyrdom in the Castile of Alfonso VIII, C. Ayala Martínez, "El discurso de la Guerra Santa", 174-177.

[167] C. Erdmann, *A Ideia de Cruzada*, 47-48; S. Boissellier, "Réflexions sur L'Idéologie Portugaise de la Reconquête", 143 and nt. 17; A. Pereira, "O Infante D. Fernando de Portugal, senhor de Serpa (1218-1246): História da vida e da morte de um cavaleiro andante", *Lusitânia Sacra*, 2nd ser., 10 (1998): 107-111.

[168] A. Pereira, "O Infante D. Fernando de Portugal", 109-110.

[169] AN/TT, *Colecção Especial*, Cx. 24, s/ n. (former n. 1183). For data concerning him, L. F. Oliveira, *A Coroa, os Mestres e os Comendadores: As Ordens Militares de Avis e de Santiago (1330-1449)* (Faro: Universidade do Algarve, 2009), 346 and nt. 375. On the death of Bishop Geraldo in the context of the civil war of 1319-1321, L. Krus, *A Concepção Nobiliárquica do Espaço Ibérico (1280-1380)*, (Lisbon: FCT, 1994), 111, nt. 222; H. Vilar, *As Dimensões de um Poder. A Diocese de Évora na Idade Média* (Lisbon: Estampa, 1999), 76 and nt. 194.

were places of pilgrimage and penance for other knights. Such at least is implied by the existence of a free lodge in the convent of the friars of Évora-Avis, certainly from the end of the twelfth century,[170] who welcomed pilgrims as well as the poor and captives fleeing from Muslim lands, according to the bull of Innocent III of 20 May 1214.[171] This could explain why secular knights were often associated with military orders, either as volunteers or mercenaries – a pattern seen during the conquest of Mértola in 1238, as well as in Paio Peres Correia's later campaigns in Portugal and Castile.[172] Even though these events may have other explanations, it was the same reality that was observed in the castle of Salvatierra at the beginning of the thirteenth century, where the convent of the Order of Calatrava was located at that time. According to a letter sent by the Almohad caliph to his governors on 13 September 1211, after regaining control of the fortress, it was indeed considered a sanctuary and a place of pilgrimage among Christian clerics, rulers and knights.[173]

Despite the spread of crusading values – which became apparent from the mid-twelfth century and were more evident in the following century – the discourse of the *Reconquista* did not disappear. It was still present in the narratives of the conquests of Santarém and Lisbon, and perhaps also in that of Silves too, due to the difficulty of reconciling local interests with those of the passing Crusaders. Having remained as an alternative discourse for justifying violence, it reappeared in the literate culture of the Portuguese aristocracy in the second quarter of the fourteenth century.[174] It was then combined with

[170] C. S. Tarouca, "As Origens dos Cavaleiros de Évora (Avis) segundo as Cartas do Arquivo da Sé de Évora", *A Cidade de Évora* V, 13-14 (1947), 30-31, doc. n. 2. The diploma doesn't have a specific date. However, it should be from 1200 or 1201, as suggested H. Vilar, *As Dimensões de um Poder*, 256-257.

[171] *Bulário Português. Inocêncio III (1198-1216)*, ed. Avelino Jesus da Costa, Maria Alegria Marques, (Coimbra: INIC, 1989), nº 201.

[172] R. Azevedo, "Período de formação territorial: expansão pela conquista e sua consolidação pelo povoamento. As terras doadas. Agentes colonizadores", in *História da Expansão Portuguesa no Mundo*, ed. de A. Baião, H. Cidade e M. Múrias (Lisbon: Ática, 1937), vol I, 64. The document cited by Azevedo contains other information about Martim Anes' later life and was published by M. López Fernández, "Medina de las Torres y Martín Anes do Vinhal. Un repoblador portugués en tierras de Extremadura", *Revista de Estudios Extremenos*, 58-2 (2002): 517-537.

[173] A. Huici Miranda, *Las Grandes Batallas*, 236. For Salvatierra as a pilgrimage destination and a place of penance, E. Varela Agüí, "Salvatierra: simbolismo y poder en una fortaleza de Ia Orden de Calatrava", in *Mil Anos de Fortificaçoes na Península Ibérica e no Magreb (500-1500): Simpósio Internacional sobre Castelos* (Lisbon: CMP, 2002), 637-639, 643.

[174] L. F. Oliveira, "Da Reconquista e da Cruzada na Fronteira Portuguesa", in *La Reconquista: Ideología y Justificación de la Guerra Peninsular*, ed. Carlos de Ayala Martínez, Isabel Cristina Fernandes, J. Santiago Palacios Ontalva (Madrid: La Ergástula, 2019), 131-133.

crusading values to render the Iberian knights morally responsible for fighting the Muslims and liberating Hispania from Islamic rule.

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