

Appendix: Portuguese Voices

In recent years new editions of many of the most significant twelfth and thirteenth-century Spanish chronicles have been released to a wide and appreciative audience; many have also been translated for the English speaker and prefaced with comments detailing their authorship and provenance. Yet in the midst of this emerging chorus across the centuries medieval Portuguese voices have struggled to be heard. Even though the most important early documentary sources produced in Portugal were collated and published well over a century ago by Alexandre Herculano in the monumental collection *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica*, this material has (with the notable exception of the Anglo-Norman description of the siege of Lisbon) remained relatively unexplored.¹ A few short pages can scarcely do justice to the scope and complexity of this material; hopefully though, these very brief comments will provide at least a working context for some of the major sources referred to in the preceding footnotes.

Our knowledge of early events in the westernmost reaches of the Iberian Peninsula is largely reliant on the testimony of authors living and working elsewhere. Autochthonous historical writing begins with a series of interrelated documents, the earliest apparently dating from 1079, which have been published in several formats under different titles. Alexandre Herculano included portions of these fragmentary works in the first volume of his nineteenth-century compilation; a re-edited version was produced by Pierre David in 1947, using the title by which they are now customarily referred to: *Annales Portucalenses Veteres*. These annals consist of brief notices about major events structured into a strict chronology. David undertook a careful study of the relationship between the various extant documents and arranged the annals in broad chronological blocks, thus emphasising the links between manuscripts.² The earliest entries in the *Annales Portucalenses Veteres* are laconic references to the distant, semi-legendary past, but these brief and sporadic notes gradually become more detailed, with the final entry registering the attack by Gerald Sem Pavor on Badajoz in 1168.

A still more problematic source is the historical narrative traditionally referred to as the *Chronicon Gothorum*. The extant text of this chronicle is based on a copy made in the seventeenth century by the Cistercian scholar Antonio Brandão. Unfortunately the original document has not survived; nevertheless, there are strong grounds for relying on Brandão's efforts, and his rendering of the chronicle remains an important source for the reign of Afonso Henriques. The *Chronicon Gothorum* was included by Herculano in the *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica* and more recently has been re-edited by Maria Blöcker-Walter as *Annales D. Alfonsi Portugallensium Regis*. This

work describes in considerable detail the events of Afonso's career, beginning with his knighting ceremony in 1125 and continuing until 1184 – the king's penultimate year – at which point the account comes to a sudden end. Aware of the difficulties presented by the uncertain transmission of the document, Blöcker-Walter has subjected the text to an exacting comparison with other source material in a largely successful effort to establish its value for the historian.³

Another dimension to twelfth-century Portuguese society is provided by a series of hagiographies dedicated to local religious figures. The earliest of these was written between 1112 and 1128, in honour of the immigrant French clergyman Archbishop Gerald of Braga, by his admirer Archdeacon Bernard (later bishop of Coimbra). As the twelfth century progressed, the Augustinian monastery of Santa Cruz emerged as the cultural centre of the nascent kingdom. Two hagiographies were composed at Santa Cruz to celebrate the lives of Tello and St Theotonio, who had both played key roles in the foundation of the monastery. The first biography was written by Pedro Alvarde, probably before 1150 (since Tello breathed his last in 1136); the second composition, produced by an anonymous hand, appears to have been written soon after Theotonio's death in 1162. A third important hagiography produced in Santa Cruz at around the same time details the life and tragic death in captivity of the local religious luminary, St Martinho of Soure. These hagiographies contain a great deal of fascinating incidental information about daily life on the frontier and reveal quite starkly the tensions created by the political and cultural transformations occurring in Portugal at this time. All four of these narratives were included by Herculano in the *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica*, but a more recent edition of the lives of Tello, St Theotonio and St Martinho of Soure, along with exhaustive introduction and notes, has been produced by Aires A. Nascimento under the title *Hagiografia de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*.⁴

Adding to the information provided in these saintly biographies are a number of descriptions of specific military operations. One of these, the *De expugnatione Scalabis*, takes as its subject the Portuguese surprise attack on Santarém in 1147. Written at the royal monastery of Santa Cruz, *De expugnatione Scalabis* purports to be a first-hand account of the operation dictated by Afonso Henriques himself. Possibly this is too good to be true, and yet the text is internally consistent and seems to offer a detailed and very vivid picture of the events as they unfolded. Some seven months after the fall of Santarém the Portuguese and their crusader allies also captured Lisbon, and this victory was described by several eyewitnesses. The Anglo-Norman account known as *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* was first given prominence in the *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica* but has since become familiar to the Anglophone world due in large part to the admirable translation produced by Charles David in the 1930s. Several Portuguese editions were subsequently produced, updating David's invaluable footnotes and introduction,

most recently in the collection *Conquista do Lisboa aos Mouros* edited and translated (into Portuguese) by Nascimento, with an introduction by Maria João V. Branco.⁵ A Germanic perspective on the siege is presented in the several extant versions of the so-called 'Teutonic Letter'.⁶ For the next four decades military operations on the Portuguese frontier lacked a dedicated correspondent, until participants in the Third and the Fifth Crusades left eyewitness accounts of their contributions to the attacks on Silves in 1189 and Alcácer do Sal in 1217.⁷

Meanwhile, the changing cultural life in Portugal formed the background to a number of twelfth-century narratives charting the development of local religious institutions. The *Indiculum foundationis monasterii beati Sancti Vincentii* was produced in Lisbon towards the end of the twelfth century and, in addition to a description of the capture of the city, details the foundation and early expansion of the monastery of Sao Vicente de Fora. Editions of this important chronicle are to be found in the *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica* and, more recently, edited by Nascimento in *A Conquista do Lisboa aos Mouros*. The monastery's eponymous saint also became the subject of another composition, *Translatio et Miracula S. Vincentii*, which recounts the translation of the saint's relics to Lisbon in 1173. This celebratory work was written by Master Estêvão of the Lisbon cathedral, probably before 1180. Included by Herculano in his collection, it was also re-edited and published by Nascimento and Saul António Gomes.⁸ A final historical narrative of uncertain provenance is the *Crónicas breves e memórias avulsas de S. Cruz de Coimbra*, based on miscellaneous material collected in the monastery over several centuries, including references to Afonso Henriques and his son King Sancho – both of whom are buried in Santa Cruz. Herculano published a version of this chronicle in the *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica*; a more recent edition has been produced by Fernando V. Peixoto da Fonseca.⁹

In comparison to the twelfth century, the historiographical output in Portugal during the thirteenth century is quite disappointing. This relative hiatus is all the more noticeable because this same period saw the composition of a number of important histories in the other peninsular kingdoms. Authors such as Lucas of Túy and Rodrigo of Toledo produced extensive accounts of events in León and Castile; fortunately for the modern historian, these authors include a considerable amount of incidental information on Portugal. Similarly, the rapid expansion of links between western Iberia and the Latin Christian world led to an increasing number of references to events in Portugal being included in chronicles produced in distant regions of Europe. Nevertheless, the lack of a strong indigenous historiographical tradition is quite marked, and the only locally produced Portuguese chronicle to focus on events during this period in many ways simply emphasises the deadening general silence. The final Portuguese campaign on the southern frontier was described in the *Crónica da Conquista do Algarve*. This account was clearly written in an effort to support the territorial

claims of the Portuguese crown and military orders in the region. The text included by Herculano in the *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica* was based on a fifteenth-century manuscript discovered in Tavira and the reliability of the material has been called into question. There are indications, however, that the Tavira manuscript drew from still earlier accounts that have since been lost. Moreover, given the limited other source material available for the final phase of the reconquest, it is difficult to either confirm or discard such information as the chronicle provides.¹⁰

Tension between the monarchy and the Portuguese aristocracy threads accounts of battles and religious foundations; but this on-going friction is also the *raison d'être* behind the production of another series of important historical documents. The *Livros de Linhagens* are genealogical lists purporting to detail the descent of the leading noble houses and were assembled in response to royal efforts to appropriate aristocratic lands and limit ancestral privileges. While these folios rest heavily on aristocratic wishful thinking, they do include a good deal of supplementary information on the activities of various early notables. The *Livro Velho de Linhagens* appears to have been composed in the final decades of the thirteenth century; two subsequent compilations, the *Livro de Linhagens do Deão* and the *Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro* were brought together in the middle years of the fourteenth century. These genealogical lists have been edited under the guidance of José Mattoso in a new volume for the *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica* series.¹¹

The narrative record produced in Portugal provides a sometimes threadbare coverage of events; fortunately many additional details can be drawn from the relative wealth of official documents that have survived until modern times. In addition to a wide range of charters registering land ownership, donations and communications between secular and ecclesiastical magnates, Portugal can boast a rich collection of urban *forais*. Documents from the eleventh and twelfth century have been published in the several volumes of the *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica* series. Moreover, charters produced during the rule of Count Henry and Infanta Teresa, along with those issued by the royal courts of Afonso Henriques and Sancho o Povoador have been published in separate collections.¹² These documents can be corroborated by material found in the archives maintained by major religious institutions in the kingdom, which record in painstaking detail victories and defeats in the long ecclesiastical wrangles that convulsed the Iberian Church. The most significant of these collections were archived by church officials at Braga and Coimbra.¹³ From the end of the reign of King Sancho, however, the availability of royal documents diminishes. Extant records from the chanceries of Afonso II and Sancho II have not received the same scholarly attention as those of their immediate forebears. Some material, including the controversial census of ecclesiastical and aristocratic privilege undertaken by Afonso o Gordo, can be found in the later volumes of the

Portugaliae Monumenta Historica. Also useful are the documents included in the first volume of the *Monumenta Henricina*.¹⁴ By and large, however, the most accessible published versions of these documents outside Portugal are to be found in the registers of the thirteenth-century popes.

A century-long hiatus in Portuguese historical writing came to an end in spectacular fashion with the production of the first in what was to become a long tradition of Portuguese chronicles that harkened back to earlier eras. The authors of these works wrote under either royal or ecclesiastical patronage and were aware of the importance of their efforts in the political struggles of their time. In the desire to appeal to the tastes of demanding patrons these authors created an impressive national myth that was a bright tapestry interweaving imagination and historical fact. Nevertheless, these chroniclers had access to a wide range of material, much of which they copied into their own work, thus preserving the text of documents that might otherwise have been lost. This tradition reached a high point in the production during the seventeenth century of the multi-volume *Monarquia Lusitania*, covering the entire history of the kingdom. The reigns of the reconquest kings were researched by António Brandão, who fortunately was a prodigious transcriber of documents.¹⁵ Thanks to his efforts a number of important records have been preserved and indeed Brandão's volumes on the thirteenth-century kings often provide the most accessible published versions of documents, even though the originals have actually survived independently. Moreover, Brandão's work is in itself an engaging example of the fully developed traditionalist interpretation of Portuguese history. Thus, in addition to being a vehicle for the preservation of important source material, the *Monarquia Lusitania* has become in itself a source for a highly influential and indeed durable perception of the Portuguese past.

Figures

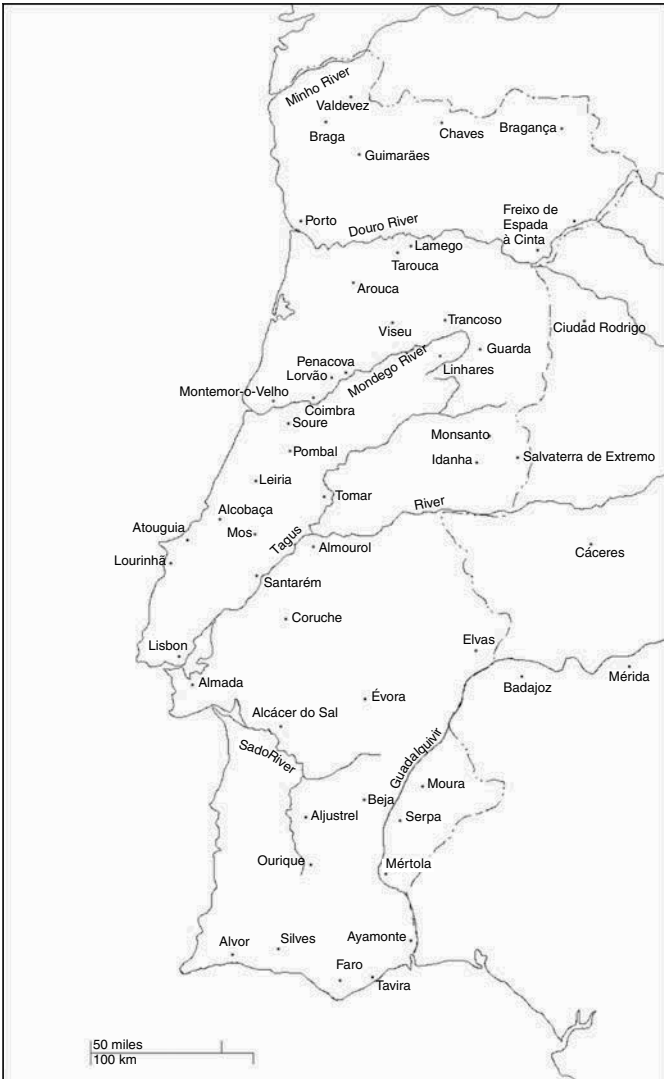


Figure 1 Portugal.



Figure 2 The Iberian Peninsula.

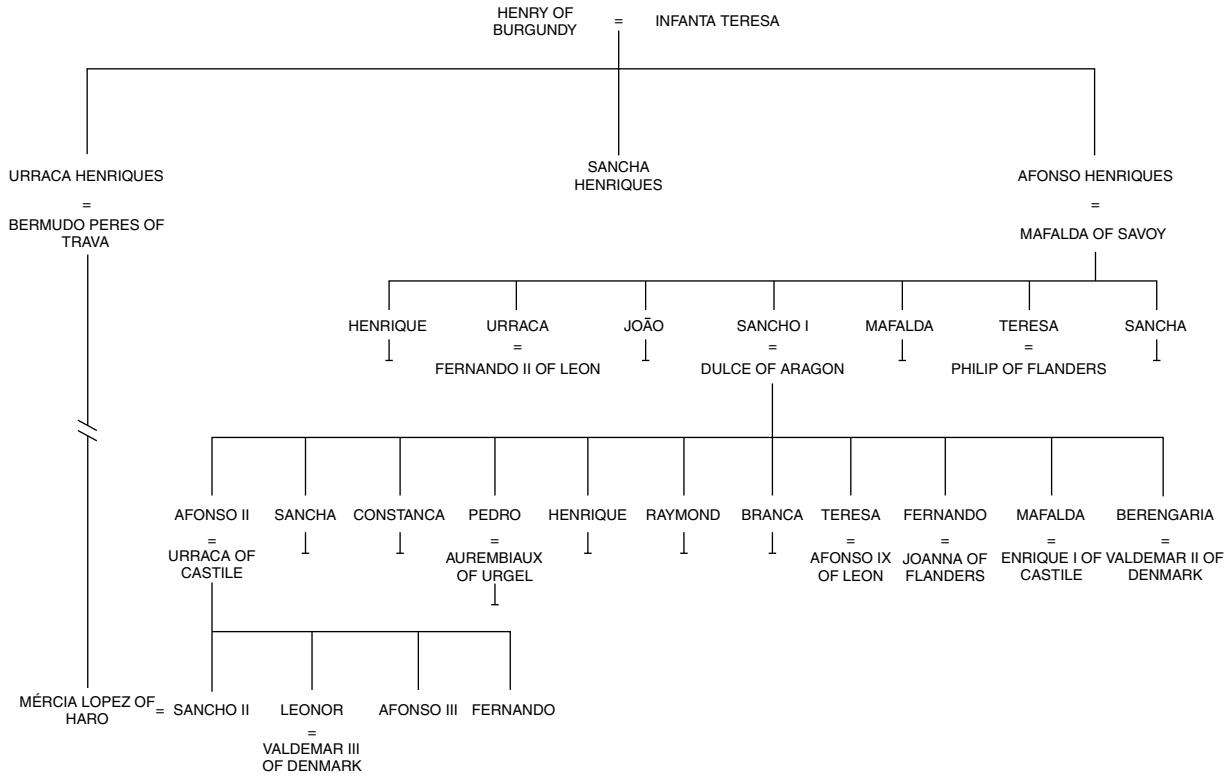


Figure 3 The Burgundian Dynasty in Portugal (to 1250).

Notes

Introduction

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3. R. Menéndez Pidal, *The Spaniards in Their History*, trans. W. Starkie (London: Hollis and Carter, 1959), p. 188.
4. P. Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 82. For the problems in establishing the historical provenance of these events, D. Hook, 'From Persians to Pelayo: some classical complications to the Covadonga complex', in D. Hook (ed.), *From Orosius to Historia Silense. Four Essays on the Late Antique and Early Medieval Historiography of the Iberian Peninsula* (Bristol: HiPalm, 2005), pp. 54–57.
5. T. F. Glick (ed.), *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain* (New York: George Braziller, 1992); E. Manzano Moreno, 'The Christian-Muslim frontier in al-Andalus: idea and reality', in D. Agius and R. Hitchcock (eds), *The Arab Influence in Medieval Europe* (Reading: Ithaca, 1994), pp. 83–99; and 'The creation of a medieval frontier: Islam and Christianity in the Iberian Peninsula, eighth to eleventh century', in D. Power and N. Standen, *Frontiers in Question. Eurasian Borderlands* (New York: St Martins Press, 1999), pp. 32–54; also A. Novikoff, 'Between tolerance and intolerance in Medieval Spain: an historiographical enigma', *Medieval Encounters*, 11(2005), 7–36. For an introduction to the problems with the concept of the reconquest: R. A. Fletcher, 'Reconquest and Crusade in Spain, c. 1050–1150', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 37(1987), 31–47; and Linehan, *History and the Historians*, pp. 95–127.
6. *Monumenta Henricina*, ed. A. Dias Denis, 15 vols (Coimbra: Atlântida, 1960–1974), vol. 1, pp. 18–21.
7. R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe. Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950–1350* (London: Penguin, 1994), pp. 243–55.
8. D. Lomax, *The Spanish Reconquest* (New York: Longmans, 1978), p. 6.
9. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, p. 3.

1 Portuguese Society in the Eleventh Century: Conquest, Reconquest or *Convivencia*?

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4. H. Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal. A Political History of al-Andalus* (London: Longman, 1996), pp. 24–29.
5. *Chronicon Albeldense*, ES 13, p. 449.
6. Linehan, *History and the Historians*, pp. 109–110; Stanislawski, *The Individuality of Portugal*, pp. 148–52; Serrão, *História de Portugal*, vol. 1, pp. 58–60; T. de Sousa Soares, 'O repovoamento do Norte de Portugal no século IX', *Congresso do Mundo Português* 2(1940), 395–415.
7. Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, p. 56.
8. J. Mattoso (dir), *História de Portugal*, 8 vols (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1993), vol. 1, pp. 533–34; P. Merêa, 'De <<Portucalense>> (civitas) ao Portugal de D. Henrique', in P. Merêa, *História e Direito (Escritos Dispersos)* (Coimbra: Acta Universitatis Conimbrigensis, 1967), pp. 177–95.
9. R. de Azevedo, 'A expedição de Almançor a Santiago de Compostela em 997 e a de piratas normandos á Galiza em 1015–1016', *Revista Portuguesa de História*, 14(1974), 73–93; R. A. Fletcher, *St James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), p. 24.
10. D. Wasserstein, *The Rise and Fall of the Party Kings. Politics and Society in Islamic Spain 1002–1086* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), pp. 82–98.
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12. Fernando's campaign is described in *Historia Silense* in *The World of El Cid. Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest*, trans. S. Barton and R. Fletcher (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 47–53. Additional details and dating are provided in APV, pp. 81–128, 296.
13. The role of the Mozarabic community in Portugal is considered in more detail below, pp. 15–17.
14. PMH, *Diplomata et chartae*, ed. A. Herculano (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências, 1867; Kraus reprint: Nedelin, 1967), p. 392; R. Menéndez Pidal and E. Garcia Gómez, 'El conde mozárabe Sisnando Davidiz y la política de Alfonso VI con los Taifas', *Al-Andalus*, 12(1947), 27–41.
15. B. F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Alfonso VI, 1165–1109* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp. 14–15.
16. Peres, *Como Nasceu Portugal*, pp. 52–54; Serrão, *História de Portugal*, vol. 1, pp. 72–74.
17. Merêa, 'De <<Portucalense>> (civitas)', pp. 196–97.
18. PMH, *Diplomata et chartae*, pp. 283, 296, 304; Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, p. 23.
19. PP, pp. 158–59; A. de Jesus da Costa, *O Bispo D. Pedro e a organização da diocese de Braga*, 2 vols (Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras, 1959), vol. 1, pp. 25–28, 420–21; and 'A restauração da diocese de Braga em 1070', *Lusitania Sacra*, 1(1956), 17–28; P. Feige, 'Die anfänge des portugiesischen Königiums und seiner Landeskirche', in *Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft*, 29(1978), pp. 15–17.
20. Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, pp. 24–26.
21. APV, p. 298. Despite the failure to attract widespread popular support, Mendes' rebellion has been portrayed as sign of Portuguese proto-nationalism. Peres, *Como Nasceu Portugal*, pp. 52–54.
22. This reconstruction of events follows that of Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, pp. 22–51, 67–69.
23. G. T. Northrup, 'The Imprisonment of King García', *Modern Philology*, 17(1919), 391–413.

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26. *Vita Tellonis Archidiaconi*, PMH, *Scriptores*, ed. A. Herculano (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências, 1856; Kraus reprint: Nedelin, 1967), p. 65. For a regionally organised introduction to Portuguese Jewish communities: J. A. Pires de Lima, *Moros, Judeus e Negros em Portugal* (Porto: Domingos de Oliveira, 1940).
27. J. F. O'Callaghan, 'The Mudejars of Castile and Portugal in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', in Powell (ed.), *Muslims under Latin Rule*, pp. 11–56; R. I. Burns, 'Muslims in the thirteenth-century realms of Aragon: interaction and reaction', in J. M. Powell (ed.), *Muslims under Latin Rule*, pp. 57–102; L. P. Harvey, 'The Mudejars', in S. Jayyusi (ed.), *The Legacy of Muslim Spain* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), pp. 176–87; and D. Nirenburg, 'Muslims in Christian Iberia, 1000–1526: varieties of Mudejar experience', in P. Linehan and J. L. Nelson (eds), *The Medieval World* (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 60–76.
28. O'Callaghan, 'The Mudejars of Castile and Portugal', p. 13.
29. Nirenburg, 'Muslims in Christian Iberia', p. 65; see also O'Callaghan, 'The Mudejars of Castile and Portugal', pp. 18–21.
30. Smith, C., (ed. and trans.) *Christians and Moors in Spain*, 3 vols. (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1988), vol. 1, pp. 115–17.
31. PMH, *Leges et consuetudines*, ed. A. Herculano (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências, 1856; Kraus reprint: Nedelin, 1967), pp. 348–50; and below, pp. 147–48.
32. F. J. Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes de España: deducida de los mejores y más auténticos testimonios de los escritores christianos y arabes* (Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1967); J. Mattoso, 'Os Moçárabes', in J. Mattoso, *Fragmentos de uma Composição Medieval* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1987), pp. 19–34.
33. R. Gonzálves, 'The persistence of the Mozarabic liturgy in Toledo after 1080', in B. F. Reilly (ed.), *Santiago, Saint-Denis and Saint Peter. The Reception of the Roman liturgy in León-Castile in 1080* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1985), pp. 160–61.
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35. *Vita Sancti Theotoni*, PMH, *Scriptores*, pp. 84–85; *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi: The Conquest of Lisbon*, ed. and trans. C. W. David, 2nd ed. (with introduction by J. Phillips; Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 114–15, 176–77, 180–81.
36. T. E. Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs c. 1050–1200* (Leiden: L. J. Brill, 1994), pp. 16–19, 157–62. Also J. V. Tolan, *Saracens. Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), pp. 147–49.

37. 'Abd Allāh, *The Tibyān: Memoirs of 'Abd Allāh b. Buluggīn, last Zīris amīr of Granda*, trans. A. T. Tibi (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986), p. 90.
38. P. David, 'La crise de 1080', in P. David *Études Historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du VI^e au XII^e siècle* (Lisbon: Livraria Portugalia Editoria, 1947), pp. 426–30; P. Linehan, 'Utrum reges Portugalie coronabantur annon', in P. Linehan, *The Processes of Politics and the Rule of Law. Studies on the Iberian Kingdoms and Papal Rome in the Middle Ages* (Aldershot: Variorum, 2002), p. 392.
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40. Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, pp. 53, 58; C. J. Bishko, 'Fernando I and the origins of the Leonese-Castilian alliance with Cluny', in C. J. Bishko (ed.), *Studies in Medieval Spanish Frontier History* (London: Variorum, 1980), II, pp. 64–65.
41. J. M. Lacarra, 'Dos tratados de paz y alianza entre Sancho el de Peñalén y Muctādir de Zaragoza, 1069 y 1073', in *Homenaje a Johannes Vincke para el 11 de Mayo, 1962*, 2 vols (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones, 1962), vol. 1, pp. 131–34; R. Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, 2 vols (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1969), vol. 1, pp. 31–34 and R. A. Fletcher, *The Quest for El Cid* (London: Hutchinson, 1989), pp. 113–14.
42. Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, pp. 338–40.
43. Fletcher, *The Quest for El Cid*, pp. 125–32.
44. 'Abd Allāh, *The Tibyān*, p. 92.
45. Bishko, 'Fernando I and the origins', pp. 42–46; 'Abd Allāh, *The Tibyān*, pp. 91–92.
46. The fate of King Ramiro of Aragon in 1063 was testimony to Fernando's commitment to fulfilling the terms of his contract. See above, note 41. Fernando also aided al-Ma'mūn of Toledo against Cordoba, a policy continued by Alfonso. Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, pp. 147–49, 152. 'Abd Allāh refused such assistance on moral grounds, but also because he feared the financial repercussions of relying on Alfonso's support. 'Abd Allāh, *The Tibyān*, pp. 132–33.
47. 'Abd Allāh, *The Tibyān*, p. 90.
48. Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, pp. 161–71.
49. Pidal and Gómes, 'El conde mozárabe', pp. 37–41; Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, pp. 171–74.
50. Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada of Toledo, *Historia de rebus Hispanie sive Historia Gothica*, ed. J. Fernandez Valverde, CCCM 72 (Turnhout, 1987), 6.24, pp. 205–207.
51. B. F. Reilly, 'The chancery of Alfonso VI of León-Castile', in B. F. Reilly (ed.), *Santiago, Saint Denis and Saint Peter*, pp. 1–40; and B. A. Shailor, 'The scriptorium of San Sahagún: a period of transition', in Reilly (ed.), *Santiago, Saint Denis and Saint Peter*, pp. 42–61.
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53. C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. M. W. Baldwin and W. Groffart (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 216–17.
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55. *Das Registers*, 1.6, 1.7, pp. 8–21; *The Register*, pp. 5–8. Given the earlier links between Rome and Aragon the singling out of Ebles is significant, since he was related by marriage to the Aragonese royal house. J. F. O'Callaghan, 'The integration of Christian Spain into Europe: the role of Alfonso VI of León-Castile', in Reilly (ed.), *Santiago, Saint Denis and Saint Peter*, p. 102. Certainly Abbot Suger of St Denis did not remember Count Ebles fondly, characterising him as a rapacious

- robber-noble with delusions of Spanish grandeur. *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, ed. H. Waquet, 5 vols (Paris: Belle Lettres, 1964), p. 26.
56. Bishko, 'Fernando I and the origins', pp. 54–56.
57. *Das Registers*, 4.28, p. 343; *The Register*, pp. 242–45.
58. *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, ed. A. Bruel, 6 vols (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1876–1903), vol. 4, pp. 625–29.
59. Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, pp. 98–104; O'Callaghan, 'The integration of Christian Spain', pp. 103–104.
60. *Das Registers*, 1.63–64, pp. 91–94; *The Register*, pp. 66–69.
61. *Chronica Nairensis*, ed. J. A. Estévez Sola, in *Chronica Hispana Saeculi XII*, CCCM, 71A (Turnhout, 1995), 3. 18, p. 177; Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, pp. 98–102; O'Callaghan, 'The integration of Christian Spain', pp. 107–108.
62. Pelayo of Oviedo, *Chronicon Regum Legionensium*, in S. Barton and R. Fletcher (trans.) *The World of El Cid. Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest*, p. 84, n. 67. For the dating of the council H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 237–38.
63. *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, vol. 4, pp. 551–53.
64. Gonzálves, 'The persistence of the Mozarabic liturgy', pp. 157–79.
65. Costa, *O Bispo D. Pedro*, pp. 36–42. Ultimately Pope Paschal II (1100–1108) sanctioned Bishop Pedro's ordinations. PP, p. 161.
66. Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, p. 199; PMH, *Diplomata et chartae*. pp. 340–41, 419–20.
67. PMH, *Diplomata et chartae*, pp. 485–86; Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, pp. 101–103, 237. For the depth of Mozarabic ill-feeling see also Linehan, *History and the Historians*, pp. 218–20.
68. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, p. 5.
69. C. Erdmann, *Das Papsttum und Portugal im ersten Jahrhundert der portugiesischen Geschichte* (Berlin: Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse Nr. 5, 1928); trans. by J. da Providência Costa as, *O Papado e Portugal no Primeiro Século da História Portuguesa* (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1935), p. 7, n. 1.
70. P. Feige, 'La primacía de Toledo y la libertad de las demás metropolis de España. El ejemplo de Braga', *La introducción del Cister en España y Portugal* (Burgos: La Olmeda, 1991), p. 66; P. David, 'La crise de 1080', in David, *Études Historiques*, p. 423; but compare with Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, pp. 112–13.
71. MGH, *Diplomatum regum et imperatorum Germaniae, Heinrici IV diplomata*, ed. D. v. Gladiss, 3 vols (Weimar, 1952–1978), vol. 2, no. 453, pp. 611–12; Hugh de Flavigny, MGH SS, vol. 8, p. 463; H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII, 1073–1085* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 228–32.
72. PL 151: 288–290; Feige, 'La primacía de Toledo', pp. 66–72; Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, p. 47.
73. Erdmann, *O Papado e Portugal*, pp. 12–13.
74. *Vita Sancti Geraldii archiepiscopi Bracarenensis*, in PMH, *Scriptores*, pp. 53–54.
75. B. Sholod, *Charlemagne in Spain: The Cultural Legacy of Roncesvalles* (Geneva: Libraire Droz, 1966); P. Boissonnade, *Du Nouveau sur la Chanson de Roland* (Paris: Édouard Champion, 1923), pp. 1–70; M. Defourneau, *Les Français en Espagne aux XIe et XIIIe siècles* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949). See also M. Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 71–72.
76. The 'proto-crusade' position is put forcefully by Boissonnade, *Du Nouveau sur la Chanson de Roland*, pp. 257–301; Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*,

- pp. 138–42; and J. F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2003), pp. 24–25. A contrary position is taken by A. Ferreiro, 'The siege of Barbastro 1064–1065: a reassessment', *Journal of Medieval History*, 9(1983), 129–44; Bull, *Knightly Piety*, pp. 72–81. Fletcher, 'Reconquest and Crusade in Spain', p. 42, adds: 'I regard [the Barbastro campaign] as a red herring in the history of crusading in Spain.'
77. The first of these references to papal involvement, the attribution of leadership to 'The commander of Rome', appears to be a translation error. Ferreiro, 'The siege of Barbastro', p. 131. The second possible connection, the 'Spanish' privilege of Alexander II promising remission of penance, cannot be definitively linked to the Barbastro campaign. Bull, *Knightly Piety*, pp. 72–76.
 78. Bishko, 'Fernando I and the origins', pp. 64–65.
 79. Ferreiro, 'The siege of Barbastro', p. 141.
 80. Ferreiro, 'The siege of Barbastro', pp. 140–41; Lacarra, 'Dos tratados', pp. 125–26.
 81. PL 146: 1386–87.
 82. Suger of St Denis, *Vie de Louis VI*, p. 26.
 83. Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, pp. 79–80.
 84. Boissonnade, *Du nouveau sur la Chanson de Roland*, pp. 30–31.
 85. Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, pp. 106–16; Cowdrey, *Gregory VII*, p. 477.
 86. Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, p. 162.
 87. 'Abd Allāh, *The Tibyān*, pp. 116–17. See also A. Huici Miranda, *Las Grandes Batallas de la Reconquista durante las Invasiones Africanas (Almoravides, Almohades y Benimerines)* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1956), pp. 19–82.
 88. 'Historiae Francicae Fragmentum', in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. M. Bouquet and L. Delisle, 24 vols (Paris, 1738–1904), vol. 12, p. 2; and Hugh de Fleury, *Opera historica*, MGH SS, vol. 9, p. 390.
 89. A number of these knights left charters bearing witness to their motivations and their aims. Bull, *Knightly Piety*, pp. 83–84.
 90. Boissonnade, *Du nouveau sur la Chanson de Roland*, pp. 33–35; Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, p. 210.
 91. Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, pp. 194–98, 217. For the difficulty dating this agreement Peres, *Como Nasceu Portugal*, pp. 58–60; and Feige, 'Die anfänge des portugiesischen', pp. 26–29.
 92. Northrup, 'The imprisonment of King García', pp. 401–403; Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, pp. 195–201.
 93. APV, pp. 300–01, 305; Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, pp. 161–66; Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, pp. 238–39.
 94. Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, p. 164; Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, pp. 238–39, 242.
 95. APV, pp. 301–02; Fletcher, *St James's Catapult*, pp. 104–06. Prior to marching south to defeat Raymond endorsed a charter in which Diego Gelmirez appears as notary.
 96. Raymond's last known document issued in Portugal was dated 9 September 1095, ES 40, p. 189.
 97. Peres, *Como Nasceu Portugal*, pp. 61–70.
 98. For this dating see Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, pp. 240–41.
 99. Pelayo of Oviedo, *Chronicon*, p. 88; Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, pp. 234–35, 338–40.
 100. Pelayo of Oviedo, *Chronicon*, p. 87, n. 85; Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, pp. 247–49.
 101. 'Las crónicas anónimas de Sahagún', ed. J. Puyol y Alonso, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 76 (1920), 22, pp. 246–47.

2 Ambition in a World of Turmoil: Count Henry (1096–1112) and Infanta Teresa (1112–1128)

1. PMH, *Diplomata et chartae*, pp. 323–25; Merêa, 'De <<Portucale>> (civitas) ao Portugal', pp. 209–13.
2. CAI, I, 73, p. 195. See also Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid*, p. 195.
3. Feige, 'Die anfänge des portugiesischen', pp. 36–38.
4. Rodrigo of Toledo, *Historia de rebus Hispanie*, 7.5, pp. 226–27.
5. P. Merêa, 'Sobre a concessão da terra Portuguesa a D. Henrique', in P. Merêa, *História e Direito (Escritos Dispersos)*, pp. 233–74.
6. One Frankish immigrant, Uzberto, and his son Pedro Uzbertz are mentioned in local documents. J. Mattoso, 'A região de Arganil: de fronteira a terra senhorial', in J. Mattoso, *A Nobreza Medieval Portuguesa. A Família e o Poder* (Lisbon: Editora Estampa, 1994), p. 322. In 1121 land was also granted to the Franks living in Guimarães, but nothing further is known of these people. DMP, vol. 1, p. 69.
7. Erdmann, *O Papado e Portugal no*, pp. 14–15.
8. Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, pp. 290–314.
9. DMP, vol. 1, p. 4. Gontrond Moniz, Soeiro's wife, may have been the sister of Jimena, the mother of Infanta Teresa. A. Quintana Prieto, 'Jimena Muñiz, madre de Doña Teresa de Portugal', *Revista Portuguesa de História* 12(1969), 223–80.
10. Compostela laid claim to the churches of St Vitor and St Frutuoso; Astorga the parishes of Ledra, Alist and Bragança; and Mondoñedo claimed rights in Dume. Erdmann, *O Papado e Portugal*, p. 15.
11. *Vita Sancti Geraldi*, p. 54; Costa, *O Bispo D. Pedro*, vol. 2, p. 422.
12. Erdmann, *O Papado e Portugal*, p. 14.
13. *Vita Sancti Geraldi*, pp. 56–57; Feige, 'La primacía de Toledo', pp. 74–77.
14. The original bull has not survived, but was quoted in June 1121 in a missive from Calixtus II (1119–1124). Erdmann, PP, pp. 174–77; and by the same author, *O Papado e Portugal*, p. 13; Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, p. 107.
15. Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, pp. 108–12.
16. B. F. Reilly, 'The "Historia Compostelana": the genesis and composition of a twelfth-century Spanish "Gesta"', *Speculum*, 44(1969), 78–85.
17. HC, I, 15, pp. 31–36; Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, pp. 114–15.
18. Thus da Costa, *O Bispo D. Pedro*, p. 19, acidly observes that generations of Muslims invaders refrained from damaging the tombs so readily plundered by the Galician clergymen.
19. PP, pp. 157–60. In March 1101 Bishop Maurice had secured papal endorsement of his authority over Viseu and Lamego. This action, almost certainly taken on his own initiative, was to be the source of a long series of ecclesiastical disputes. Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, p. 329.
20. HC, I, 17, pp. 36–42.
21. DMP, vol. 1, pp. 9–12, 17, 19, 21, 25. Henry and Teresa also confirmed a grant to the bishop of Coimbra in July 1109 in the company of Bernard of Toledo, in his capacity as papal legate. *Livro Preto. Cartulário da Sé de Coimbra*, dir. M. A. Rodrigues (Coimbra: Arquivo da Universidade, 1999), 59, pp. 99–101.
22. *Vita Sancti Geraldi*, pp. 53–55.
23. DMP, vol. 1, pp. 1–3; PMH, *Leges et consuetudines*, pp. 350–60. Also J. F. Powers, *A Society Organized for War: The Iberian Municipal Militias in the Central Middle Ages, 1000–1284* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 13–33 and 'The

- evolution of Portuguese municipal military policy during the High Middle Ages', *Mediterranean Studies*, 8 (1999), pp. 106–07.
24. APV, pp. 301–02. For the dating of this battle see H. B. Ruas, 'A data do desastre de Vatalandi', *Revista Portuguesa de História*, 4(1949), 361–73.
 25. R. Somerville, 'The council of Clermont (1095), and Latin Christian society,' *Archivum Historiae Pontificae*, 12 (1974), repr. in R. Somerville, *The Papacy, Councils and Canon Law in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1990), pp. 71–73, 87.
 26. For Pedro Gutiérrez and Fernando Díaz, Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, p. 305. Fortún Sanchez, Anzar Garcés, the brothers Iniguez, and Anzar Jiménez are identified by Bull, *Knightly Piety*, pp. 97–98. The Burgundians are noted by J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), pp. 201, 212. Several additional possible Spanish crusaders are suggested by S. Barton, 'From tyrants to soldiers of Christ: the nobility of twelfth-century León-Castile and the struggle against Islam', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 44(2002), pp. 35–36.
 27. Rodrigo of Toledo, *Historia de rebus Hispanie*, 6. 26, pp. 209–10; Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, p. 263.
 28. *Papsturkunden in Spanien*, 1. *Katalanien*, ed. P. Kehr. (Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl., NS 18; Berlin, 1926), 23, p. 287. Translated in Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, p. 317. See also Barton, 'From tyrants to soldiers of Christ', pp. 35–38.
 29. PL 151: 504.
 30. Bull, *Knightly Piety*, p. 96.
 31. See below, p. 48.
 32. HC, I. 9, pp. 25–26; and I. 39, pp. 77–78; Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, p. 301.
 33. A. J. D. Dinis, 'Antecedentes da expansão ultramarina portuguesa', *Revista Portuguesa de História* 10(1962), pp. 108–09.
 34. PL 163: 508, 515; Bull, *Knightly Piety*, pp. 108–09.
 35. J. M. Lacarra, 'La conquista de Zaragoza por Alfonso I (18 diciembre 1118)', *Al-Andalus*, 12(1947), pp. 65–69.
 36. For Calixtus' famous letter, JL 7116. The letter is translated and discussed by Jonathan and Louise Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. Idea and Reality, 1095–1274* (London: Edward Arnold, 1981), pp. 73–74. For the pronouncement of the Lateran Council see *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. J. D. Mansi, 55 vols (Florence 1759–1962), vol. 21, p. 284.
 37. J. France, 'The First Crusade as a naval enterprise', *The Mariners' Mirror*, 83(1997), 389–97; *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, pp. 12–26.
 38. L. Saavedra Machado, 'Os Ingleses em Portugal', *Biblos* 10(1933), p. 379; Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway*, trans. L. M. Hollander (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1967), pp. 689–91.
 39. C. J. Bishko, 'Liturgical intercession at Cluny for the King-Emperors of León', in C. J. Bishko, *Spanish and Portuguese Monastic History, 600–1300* (London: Variorum, 1984), VIII, pp. 79A–82A.
 40. DMP, vol. 1, p. 10. For the Cluniacs in Portugal see also J. Mattoso, *Le monachisme ibérique et Cluny. Les monastères du diocèse de Porto de l'an mille à 1200* (Louvain: Publications Universitaires, 1968) and more recently the collection *Portugal Medieval. Novas interpretações*, 2nd ed. (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1992); C. J. Bishko, 'Count Henry of Portugal, Cluny, and the antecedents of the Pacto Sucessório', in C. J. Bishko, *Spanish and Portuguese Monastic History, 600–1300*, IX, pp. 180–81; Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, pp. 296–97.

41. See below, n. 44.
42. DMP, vol. 1, pp. 3–4; PL 166: 944–66. For the dating and wider implications of these documents see C. J. Bishko 'Additional Note IX', in Bishko, *Spanish and Portuguese Monastic History*, p. 190A; and Feige, 'Die anfänge des portugiesischen', pp. 26–29.
43. DMP, vol. 3, pp. 96–97. There were also (rather garbled) suspicions that the count sought to recruit soldiers to back his ambitions with force. 'Las crónicas anónimas de Sahagún', 76(1920), p. 247; T. de Sousa Soares, 'O governo de Portugal pelo Conde Henrique de Borgonha. Suas relações com as monarquias Leonesa-Castelhana e Argonesa', *Revista Portuguesa de História*, 14(1974), p. 376; C. Erdmann, 'Der Kreuzzugsgedanke in Portugal', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 141(1929); trans. by A. Pinto de Carvalho as *A Ideia de Cruzada em Portugal* (Coimbra: Publicações do Instituto Alemão, 1940), pp. 6–7.
44. DMP, vol. 3, p. 109.
45. HC, I. 7, pp. 54–55. For the dating and circumstances of the count's death see J. E. Slaughter, 'Sobre la fecha de la muerte del Conde Raimundo de Galicia', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 13(1983), 93–106.
46. Pelayo of Oviedo, *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, pp. 87–88. Although Pelayo is specific, later readers have frequently confused the renamed Zaida and Alfonso's previous wife, Elizabeth of Burgundy. Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, p. 339. See also Feige, 'Die anfänge des portugiesischen', p. 47.
47. Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, pp. 348–50; J. E. Slaughter, 'De nuevo sobre la batalla de Uclés', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 9(1974–1979), 393–404.
48. Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, p. 352, n. 23.
49. Rodrigo of Toledo, *Historia de rebus Hispanie*, 6. 33, pp. 145–46.
50. 'Las crónicas anónimas de Sahagún', p. 247; Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, pp. 356–63; Feige, 'Die anfänge des portugiesischen', p. 47.
51. Peres, *Como Nasceu Portugal*, p. 623.
52. APV, p. 301; DMP, vol. 1, pp. 32–34.
53. B. F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca, 1109–1126* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), pp. 62–72.
54. 'Las crónicas anónimas de Sahagún', pp. 246–47. For a discussion of the dating of these events see Reilly, *Queen Urraca*, p. 74, n. 100.
55. Uncertainty has long surrounded the date of Afonso's birth, although in recent years 1109 has come to be preferred. Long-held tradition named Afonso's birthplace as Guimarães, but growing agreement on the later birth date has led to a challenge in favour of the Viseu for this honour. J. Mattoso, *D. Afonso Henriques* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2006), pp. 16–17.
56. DMP, vol. 1, p. 43; 'Las crónicas anónimas de Sahagún', p. 247; L. G. Azevedo, *História de Portugal*, 6 vols (Lisbon: Edições Biblión, 1939–1944), vol. 3, pp. 103–04. Reilly, *Queen Urraca*, pp. 74–86; Feige, 'Die anfänge des portugiesischen', pp. 52–53.
57. DMP, vol. 1, pp. 33–34; AVP, pp. 305–07; Huici Miranda, *Las Grandes Batallas de la Reconquista*, pp. 103–34.
58. DMP, vol. 1, p. 42.
59. For the date of Henry's death see R. de Azevedo, DMP, vol. 1, pp. lv–lvi.
60. Serrão, *História de Portugal*, 1, p. 78.
61. DMP, vol. 1, p. 46.
62. L. L. Huneycutt, 'Female succession and the language of power in the writings of the twelfth-century Churchmen', in J. C. Parsons (ed.), *Medieval Queenship* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1993), p. 192.

63. DMP, vol. 1, pp. 37–44.
64. 'Las crónicas anónimas de Sahagún', pp. 346–47.
65. *Liber Fidei Sanctae Bracaraensis Ecclesiae*, ed. A. de Jesus da Costa, 3 vols (Braga: Junta Distrital de Braga, 1965–1990), vol. 3, 592, pp. 12–13; DMP, vol. 1, p. 42; Reilly, *Queen Urraca*, p. 83; Sousa Soares, 'O governo de Portugal pelo Conde Henrique', pp. 394–95; Feige, 'Die anfänge des portugiesischen', pp. 141–42.
66. S. Barton, *The Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century León and Castile* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), pp. 278–79, 241–42; Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Alfonso VII, 1126–1157* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), pp. 8–9.
67. HC, I. 108–11, pp. 184–91; Fletcher, *St James's Catapult*, pp. 140–43.
68. APV, p. 302; *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, pp. 18–19.
69. HC, I. 76, pp. 118–19.
70. PMH, *Leges et consuetudines*, p. 357.
71. *Vita S. Martini Sauriensi*, PMH, *Scriptores*, p. 60.
72. APV, pp. 302, 308; PP, pp. 171–72; Ibn Idhari, *Al-Bayān al-Mugrib. Nuevos fragmentos almorávid y almohades*, ed. A. Huici Miranda (Valencia: Textos Medievales, 1963), p. 151; T. de Sousa Soares, 'O governo de Portugal pela Infanta-Rainha D. Teresa (1112–1128)', in *Colectânea de Estudos em Honra do Prof. Doutor Damião Peres* (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1974), pp. 101–03.
73. For example, APV, pp. 301–03; and *Vita Sancti Theotonii*, p. 81.
74. DMP, vol. 1, pp. 56–62, 104; PL 163: 408, 1255–56; Feige, 'Die anfänge des portugiesischen', pp. 58–60, 63–68.
75. DMP, vol. 1, p. 40.
76. HC, I. 97–99, pp. 161–64; Reilly, *Queen Urraca*, pp. 95–100.
77. PL 163: 361–62, 383, 385–87, 391; JL 6463–64; PP, pp. 167–68.
78. P. David, 'L'enigme de Maurice Bourdin', in P. David, *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal*, pp. 441–501.
79. PP, pp. 173–74.
80. PL 163: 385; JL 6462. Reilly, *Queen Urraca*, pp. 120–21.
81. PL 163: 491–92; JL 6637.
82. 3 November 1122. DMP, vol. 1, pp. 79–80; Reilly, *Queen Urraca*, p. 241.
83. PL 163: 1171.
84. HC, II. 16, pp. 254–58; Reilly, *Queen Urraca*, p. 242; Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, pp. 203–06.
85. HC, II. 89, pp. 410; *Queen Urraca*, pp. 117–18.
86. Reilly, *Queen Urraca*, pp. 114–18.
87. At Burgos in 1117. The Huesca campaign in 1118 was promoted as a crusade by Pope Gelasius II and attracted considerable support from French noblemen. Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, pp. 9–10.
88. Reilly, *Queen Urraca*, pp. 144–46; possibly Afonso also acknowledged Queen Urraca's authority at this point. Azevedo, *História de Portugal*, vol. 3, pp. 123–25.
89. HC, II. 40, pp. 284–86.
90. PL 163: 1219–21; JL 6926–30; Reilly, *Queen Urraca*, p. 151.
91. PP, pp. 177–81.
92. PL 163: 1222–23; JL 6931–64.
93. PL 163: 1255–56.
94. HC, II. 63–64, pp. 347–56; JL 7160; Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, pp. 154, 211–12; Reilly, *Queen Urraca*, pp. 185–88.
95. Fletcher, *St James's Catapult*, pp. 212–16.
96. HC, II. 73, pp. 372–73; Reilly, *Queen Urraca*, pp. 197, 228.
97. PP, pp. 183–85. The stinging judgement is Erdmann's, *O Papado e Portugal*, p. 34.

98. 23 May 1127. DMP, vol. 1, pp. 96–98.
99. DMP, vol. 1, pp. 78–80; CAI, I, 5, pp. 151–52.
100. DMP, vol. 1, pp. 75–76, 87–89. Reilly, *Queen Urraca*, p. 192, notes problems with one of the latter charters.
101. Sousa Soares, 'O governo de Portugal pela Infanta-Rainha D. Teresa', pp. 114–16; Peres, *Como Nasceu Portugal*, pp. 116–18.
102. DMP, 1, pp. 496–97.
103. *Vita Sancti Theotonii*, p. 81; see also P. Linehan, 'Santo Martino and the context of sanctity in 13th-century León', *Isidoriana*, 1(1987), 689–97; repr. in P. Linehan, *Past and Present in Medieval Spain*.
104. H. Dillard, *Daughters of the Reconquest. Women in Castilian Town Society, 1100–1300* (Cambridge: CUP, 1984), p. 109.
105. ADA, pp. 151; Reilly, *Queen Urraca*, p. 245.
106. CAI, I, 2–8, pp. 150–53.
107. Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, pp. 18–19.
108. DMP, vol. 1, pp. 99–101.
109. PMH, *Leges et consuetudines*, p. 351; Azevedo, *Historia de Portugal*, vol. 3, pp. 238–39.
110. Peres, *Como Nasceu Portugal*, pp. 122–23.
111. CMP-A, p. 10; DMP, vol. 1, p. 112; see also Feige, 'Die anfänge des portugiesischen', pp. 100–04.
112. ADA, p. 152; B. F. Reilly, 'Alfonso VII of León-Castilla, the House of Trastámara, and the Emergence of the Kingdom of Portugal', *Mediaeval Studies*, 63(2001), pp. 196–98.

3 The Nascent Kingdom: Consolidation and Expansion under Afonso Henriques (1128–1148)

1. A. Herculano, *História de Portugal desde o começo da monarquia até o fim do reinado de Afonso III*, ed. J. Mattoso, 4 vols (Lisbon: Bertrand Editora, 1989), vol. 1, p. 601.
2. CMP-A, p. 23; DMP, vol. 1, p. 121.
3. DMP, vol. 1, pp. 118–19; see also Feige, *Die anfänge des portugiesischen*, pp. 109–14.
4. Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, pp. 36–38.
5. ADA, p. 152; A charter records the confiscated estates of the rebellious Aires Mendes and Pedro Pais being granted to João Viegas in return for his loyalty. DMP, vol. 1, p. 139.
6. M. J. V. Branco, 'The nobility of medieval Portugal (XIth–XIVth centuries)', in A. J. Duggan (ed.), *Nobles and Nobility in Medieval Europe. Concepts, Origins, Transformations* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000), pp. 232–38; J. Mattoso, *Ricos-Homens, Infâncias e Cavaleiros. A nobreza medieval portuguesa nos séculos XI e XII* (Lisbon: Guimarães Editores, 1985), pp. 181–227.
7. Mattoso, *Ricos-Homens, Infâncias e Cavaleiros*. pp. 159–60; Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, pp. 75–79.
8. For Martim Anaia and Randulfo Soleimás see DMP, vol. 1, pp. 73–74, 147–48. Gonçalo Dias, appears as a signatory from 1126, DMP, vol. 1, p. 91. For Gonçalo's sons Fernando, Salvador and Gonçalo, who appear between 1154 and 1167. DMP, vol. 1, pp. 307–08, 379–80. His nephew Pedro Salvadores was seneschal in the court from 1179 until 1185, DMP, vol. 1, pp. cxxv–cxxvi. See also Mattoso, 'A região de Arganil', in Mattoso, *A Nobreza Medieval Portuguesa*, p. 322.

9. J. Mattoso, 'A nobreza de Entre Douro e Minho na história medieval de Portugal', in Mattoso, *A Nobreza Medieval Portuguesa*, pp. 301–06.
10. See above, n. 5.
11. *De expugnatione Scalabis*, PMH, *Scriptores*, p. 94.
12. DMP, vol. 1, pp. 108–09, 111–12.
13. *Vita Tellonis Archidiaconi*, p. 64. E. Austin O'Malley, *Tello and Theotonio, the Twelfth-century Founders of the Monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra* (Washington, DC: Catholic University Press, 1954), pp. 46–49.
14. PP, p. 185; JL 7381. It was during this period that the mysterious 'Black Bishop' supposedly appeared in Portugal. Fifteenth-century legend holds that when churchmen remonstrated with Afonso Henriques over his treatment of Teresa, the Portuguese leader raised a Moor as bishop. When a papal legate was sent to Portugal Afonso threatened him physically and expelled him from the kingdom. The kingdom was placed under interdict as a result. *Crônicas breves e memorias avulsas de S. Cruz de Coimbra*, in PMH *Scriptores*, pp. 27–28. This tale may in fact be a fanciful allusion to Bishop Bernard, who was a former Benedictine monk. O'Malley, *Tello and Theotonio*, p. 48, n. 55.
15. Erdmann, *O Papado e Portugal*, p. 26.
16. *Vita Tellonis*, p. 65; M. J. V. Branco, 'The king's counsellors' two faces: a Portuguese perspective', in P. Linehan and J. L. Nelson (eds), *The Medieval World* (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 520–23.
17. Erdmann, *O Papado e Portugal*, pp. 40–41; PP, pp. 188–89.
18. For the foundation of Santa Cruz see O'Malley, *Tello and Theotonio*, pp. 36–86.
19. *Vita Tellonis*, pp. 64–65; CMP-A, pp. 42–44; DMP, vol. 1, pp. 138.
20. *Vita Tellonis*, p. 64. Domingo, a canon of Santa Cruz, was given the task of copying the customs of St Ruf. O'Malley, *Tello and Theotonio*, p. 82.
21. *Vita Tellonis*, pp. 65–68; PP, pp. 190–92; O'Malley, *Tello and Theotonio*, pp. 75–80.
22. ADA, p. 151.
23. *Vita Tellonis*, p. 65; Rodrigo of Toledo, *Historia de rebus Hispanie*, 7.5–7, pp. 226–28; Lucas of Túy, *Chronicon Mundi*, ed. E. Falque Rey, CCCM 74 (Turnhout, 2003), 4.79, p. 317.
24. HC, III. 24, p. 458.
25. CAI, I. 74–7, pp. 185–86; Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, pp. 42–43; Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, pp. 100–01.
26. CAI, I. 46, p. 183; DMP, vol. 1, pp. 166–85.
27. HC, III. 51, pp. 519–20; ADA, pp. 152–53; CAI, I. 77–78, pp. 186; DMP, vol. 1, pp. 194; Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, p. 59.
28. A. Brásio, 'Ainda e sempre o problema de Ourique', in *Alexandre Herculano á Luz do Nosso Tempo* (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1977), pp. 35–48; Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, p. 64.
29. ADA, pp. 153–54; APV, p. 308. Only *Vita Sancti Theotonii*, p. 86 adds a religious dimension to the victory. 'King Esma' has been tentatively identified as Abū Muhammad Al-Zubayn b. 'Umar, the governor of Cordova and Granada. Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, p. 118.
30. Luis Vaz de Camões, *The Lusíades*, Canto III, 53. In an additional emotional twist the shields were also symbolically linked by royalist mythmakers with the five wounds of Christ.
31. See, for example, Fr. A. Brandão, *Crônica de D. Afonso Henriques*, ed. A de Magalhães Basto (Lisbon: Biblioteca Histórica, 1945), pp. 3–30, 57–65. The struggle to overturn these myths is described in L. R. Torgal, J. M. Amado Mendes and F. Catroga,

- História da História em Portugal, Sêcs. XIX–XX*, 2 vols (Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 1998), vol. 1, pp. 82–87.
32. APV, p. 308; ADA, p. 152. The author does, however, make earlier mentions of the *regnum Portugallis* and numbers the years of Afonso's reign from 1128; CAI, I. 73, p. 184; *Vita Sancti Theotonii*, pp. 83, 85; HC, I. 51, p. 520. Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, pp. 56, 121–23.
 33. For example in the Capela de Sta Luzia de Campos can be found the inscription: 'ISTE FUNDATUS FUIT ERA M/ C (L)XX VI REG<NANTE> REX ALFON(us)'. M. J. Barroca, *Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa (862–1422)*, 3 vols (Lisbon: Gulbenkian, 2000), vol. 2:1, pp. 188–93.
 34. DMP, vol. 1, pp. 212–13, 215–16. In general see J. Mattoso, 'A realza de Afonso Henriques', in J. Mattoso, *Fragmentos de uma Composição Medieval* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1987), pp. 213–32; Feige, 'Die anfänge des portugiesischen', pp. 171–73.
 35. ADA, pp. 154–55; CAI, I. 82–7, pp. 188–89; M. Blöcker-Walter, *Alfons I. von Portugal. Studien zu Geschichte und Sage des Begründers der portugiesischen Unabhängigkeit* (Zurich: Fretz und Wasmuth Verlag, 1966), pp. 37–39; A. Botelho da Costa Veiga, 'Ourique – Val de Vez', *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História*, 1(1940), p. 99.
 36. *Collectio maxima Conciliorum omnium Hispaniae et Novi Orbis*, ed. J. Saenz de Aguirre and J. Catalanus, 6 vols (Rome, 1753–1755), vol. 5, pp. 54–55; Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, pp. 80–81.
 37. P. S. Martinez, *História Diplomática de Portugal* (Lisbon: Editorial Verbo, 1986), p. 23.
 38. W. Ullman, *Principles of Government in the Middle Ages*, 3rd ed. (London: Methuen, 1974), pp. 121–22.
 39. HC, I. 66, p. 106; Linehan, *History and the Historians*, pp. 235–36; Fletcher, *St James's Catapult*, pp. 133–34.
 40. CAI, I. 1, pp. 149–50; HC, II. 80, pp. 382–85. Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, pp. 49–50.
 41. CAI, I. 69–70, pp. 181–83. Significantly, the *Historia Compostellana* makes no mention of Alfonso's imperial claims whatsoever.
 42. E. Lourie, 'The will of Alfonso I, "el Batallador", king of Aragon and Navarre: a reassessment', *Speculum*, 50(1975), 635–51.
 43. J. M. J. Zamora (ed.), *Historia de España*, 41 vols (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, S. A., 1998), vol. 9, pp. 664–78; Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, pp. 44–45.
 44. CAI, I. 58–62, pp. 177–79; Zamora, *Historia de España.*, vol. 9, pp. 608–12; Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, pp. 45–47.
 45. ADA, pp. 151; For the problems in too early a dating of Portuguese coronation ceremonies see P. Linehan, 'Utrum reges Portugalie', pp. 389–407.
 46. Odo of Deuil, *De profectioe Ludovici VII in Orientem*, ed. and tr. V. Berry (New York: Columbia Records of Civilization 42, 1948), pp. 24, 66–68. Also C. W. Previté Orton, *The Early History of the House of Savoy* (Cambridge: CUP, 1912), pp. 309–13.
 47. ADA, pp. 156–57 places the ceremony in 1145. The couple appear together as signatories possibly in June and certainly by July 1146, CMP-A, pp. 198–99. The emphasis in Portuguese chronicles on Mafalda's exotic origin also reflected their awareness of the growing problem of consanguinity in Iberian royal marriages. Linehan, *History and the Historians*, p. 255, n. 35.
 48. Henry's birth in 1147 is recorded in *De expugnatione Scalabis*, PMH, *Scriptores*, p. 93.

49. L. J. Lekai, *The Cistercians. Ideals and Reality* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1989), pp. 1–52; Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, pp. 27–31.
50. DMP, vol. 1, pp. 251–52. See also M. A. Fernandes Marques, 'A introdução da Ordem de Cister em Portugal', in M. A. Fernandes Marques, *Estudos sobre a Ordem de Cister em Portugal* (Coimbra: Edições Colibri, 1998), pp. 33–34.
51. Fortunato de Almeida, *História da Igreja em Portugal*, 6 vols (Coimbra: Editor Fortunato de Almeida, 1922–1999), vol. 1, p. 631.
52. *Vita Sancti Theotonii*, p. 87. Also O'Malley, *Tello and Theotonio*, pp. 149–50. The headpiece of a staff widely believed to be that sent to Theotonio by Bernard survives in the Museu Machado de Castro, Coimbra.
53. For the strongest argument in favour of close communications, H. V. Livermore, 'The "Conquest of Lisbon" and its author', *Portuguese Studies*, 6(1990), 8–12; for a cogent assessment of the problems with this position see A. Forey, 'The siege of Lisbon and the Second Crusade', *Portuguese Studies*, 20:1(2004), 1–13.
54. DMP, vol. 1, p. 101; M. Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), pp. 32–33; Maur Cocheril, 'Les ordres militaires Cisterciens au Portugal', in *Bulletin des Etudes Portugaises* NS, 28:9(1967–1968), 24–25; and J. Valente, 'The new frontier: the role of the Knights Templar in the establishment of Portugal as an independent kingdom', *Mediterranean Studies*, 7(1998), 49–65.
55. DMP, vol. 1, p. 120.
56. *Vita S. Martini Sauriensis*, p. 62; and more generally, A. Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* (Oxford: OUP, 1973), pp. 15–18.
57. *Vita S. Martini Sauriensis*, p. 62; Herculano, *História de Portugal*, vol. 1, p. 472.
58. DMP, vol. 1, p. 272; CMP-A, pp. 209–10.
59. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, pp. 216–17; Feige, 'Die anfänge des portugiesischen', p. 24.
60. DMP, vol. 1, p. 250.
61. JL 8590; PL 179: 860.
62. Erdmann, *O Papado e Portugal*, pp. 52–53; JL 8752; PL 180: 1036. For the suspension JL 9255, 9363; PL 180: 1345, 1405.
63. *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, ed. J. Leclercq, 8 vols (Rome: Editiones Cisterciens, 1977), vol. 8, ep. 247, pp. 140–41.
64. G. Constable, 'The Second Crusade as seen by contemporaries', *Traditio*, 9(1953), 213–79; and more recently, J. G. Rowe 'The origins of the Second Crusade: Pope Eugenius III, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Louis VII of France', in M. Gervers (ed.), *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1992), pp. 79–89; and G. Ferzoco, 'The origin of the Second Crusade', in M. Gervers (ed.), *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, pp. 91–99.
65. For two views on the possibility of Bernard's involvement see Livermore, 'The "Conquest of Lisbon"', pp. 8–12; and Forey, 'The siege of Lisbon', pp. 1–13.
66. Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, pp. 183–90; Picard, *Le Portugal musulman*, pp. 97–100.
67. Brandão, *Crónica de D. Afonso Henriques*, p. 139.
68. *Vita Sancti Theotonii*, p. 86.
69. The account which follows is drawn from *De expugnatione Scalabis*, pp. 94–95.
70. *De expugnatione Scalabis*, p. 94.
71. *De expugnatione Scalabis*, pp. 94–95.
72. *De expugnatione Scalabis*, p. 95.

73. Ibn al-Athir, *al Kitâb al-Kâmil*, in M. S. A. Conde, 'Para um corpus da documentação relative á paisagem de *Shantarîn*', *Media Aetas*, 2(1999), 107–08; *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, pp. 115–25.
74. DMP, vol. 1, p. 272; CMP-A, pp. 209–10.
75. For example, Serrão, *História de Portugal*, vol. 1, p. 97.
76. The three main contingents of Anglo-Norman, Flemish and German are described at the outset. *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, pp. 53–57. Also mentioned are groups from Scotland, Bretagne and Boulogne, p. 105. The Pisan engineer is mentioned in *Annales sancti Disibodi*, ed. G Waitz, MGH SS, vol. 17, p. 28.
77. The most authoritative account remains the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* supported by the comprehensive notes provided by Charles David. This information is reviewed by H. A. R. Gibb, 'English Crusaders in Portugal', in *Chapters in Anglo-Portuguese Relations*, ed. E. Prestage (Watford: Voss and Michael, 1935), pp. 7–17; C. Hillenbrand, 'A Neglected Episode of the Reconquista: A Christian success in the Second Crusade', *Revue des Études Islamiques*, 54 (1988), 163–70; and M. Bennet, 'Military aspects of the conquest of Lisbon, 1147', in J. Phillips and M. Hoch (eds), *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp. 71–90.
78. *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, p. 68.
79. An implication drawn by Livermore, 'The "Conquest of Lisbon"', pp. 12, 16. Other scholars have discerned Bernard's influence in the organisation of the crusader fleet and some of the themes developed in Bishop Pedro's sermon. Constable, 'The Second Crusade as seen by contemporaries', pp. 222, 247.
80. ADA, pp. 154–55. The earlier attack and the bad blood it caused was recalled in *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, pp. 96–97, 102–03.
81. *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, p. 99.
82. *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, pp. 101–11. For this identification of authorship see Livermore, 'The "Conquest of Lisbon"', pp. 30–34. The case for assigning authorship to Raol is complicated by a number of unresolved questions, not the least of which is the possibility of alternative candidates. See M. J. V. Branco, 'Introdução', in A. A. Nascimento, *A Conquista de Lisboa aos Mouros. Relato de um Cruzado* (Lisbon: Vega, 2000), pp. 106–07. The attribution of authorship to Raol should most safely be considered a strong possibility.
83. *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, p. 73.
84. *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, pp. 115–17.
85. *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, p. 123.
86. *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, pp. 140–41.
87. *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, pp. 164–65; *Annales Sancti Disibodi*, p. 28.
88. *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, pp. 173–79.
89. S. Schwartz, 'Elegia de Rabi Abraham ibn Ezra (1092–1167), sobre a tomada de Lisboa', *Revista Municipal de Lisboa*, 55(1952), quoted in Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, p. 179.
90. S. Lay, 'Miracles, martyrs and the cult of Henry the crusader in Lisbon', *Portuguese Studies*, 24:1(2008), 7–31.
91. *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, pp. 179–81; *Annales Sancti Disibodi*, p. 28. G. Constable, 'A note on the route of the Anglo-Flemish crusaders', pp. 525–26.
92. Lay, 'Miracles, martyrs and the cult of Henry', pp. 9–16.
93. *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, pp. 115–17.
94. *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, pp. 116–17. David notes that the date 789 actually marks the end of a period of consolidation under 'Abd al-Rahmân I (756–88).

- This is not the only instance of Iberian confusion over the date of the Arab invasion. Aragonese authors displayed the same lack of precision. P. Linehan, 'At the Spanish frontier', in P. Linehan and J. L. Nelson (eds), *The Medieval World* (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 41.
95. According to an early visitor to Lisbon, the Mozarabic community may have made up half the population of the city. Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, pp. 689–90. Raol confirms and strongly disapproves this pluralistic culture. *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, pp. 94–95.
 96. *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, pp. 121–23.

4 Papal Recognition of Portuguese Royalty (1147–1179)

1. DMP, vol. 1, pp. 276, 490.
2. DMP, vol. 1, pp. 281–96, 307–08, 321–25.
3. CMP-A, pp. 224, 226–30, 237; PMH, *Leges et consuetudines*, pp. 377–83.
4. DMP, vol. 1, p. 274; PMH, *Leges et consuetudines*, pp. 447–51; CMP-A, pp. 274–75. See also Herculano, *História de Portugal*, vol. 1, p. 528, n. 162.
5. DMP, vol. 1, pp. 309–10.
6. *Vita Sancti Theotonii*, pp. 84–85, emphasizes these perils, recalling that a canon from Santa Cruz making a visit to Lisbon with funds to support building works at São Vicente de Fora was waylaid on the road by a raiding party from Évora. Ibn 'Idari, *Al-Bayan al-Mugrib: Nuevos fragmentos*, pp. 305–06 records a devastating Muslim attack on Trancoso in 1155.
7. Lekai, *The Cistercians. Ideals and Reality*, pp. 33–51; Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, pp. 157–58, 256–57.
8. CMP-A, pp. 230–31. A charter dated 29 September 1153 notes the desertion. See also M. Cocheril, 'L'Ordre de Cîteaux au Portugal. Le problème historique', *Studia Monastica*, reprinted with minor changes in M. Cocheril, *Études sur le Monachisme en Espagne et au Portugal* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1966), p. 205.
9. CMP-A, pp. 234–36.
10. The foundation of Alcobaça has been shrouded by the mythmaking propensities of early Portuguese writers, but the few reliable details are assessed by Marques, 'A introdução da ordem de Cister', pp. 29–33; and M. Cocheril, *Alcobaça: abadia cisterciense de Portugal* (Lisbon: Imp. Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1989), pp. 25–29.
11. PMH, *Leges et consuetudines*, p. 450.
12. DMP, vol. 1, pp. 290, 293, 309.
13. Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, pp. 202–04; Picard, *Le Portugal musulman*, pp. 91–101; and Mattoso, *História de Portugal*, vol. 1, pp. 66–68.
14. Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, pp. 92–102; S. Barton, 'A forgotten crusade: Alfonso VII of León-Castile and the campaign for Jaén (1148)', *Historical Research*, 73: 182(2000), 312–20; O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, pp. 44–49.
15. DMP, vol. 1, p. 250.
16. Picard, *Le Portugal musulman*, pp. 194–96; M. T. L. Pereira, *Alcácer do Sal na Idade Média* (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 2000), pp. 31–47.
17. Herculano, *História de Portugal*, vol. 1, p. 531.
18. ADA, pp. 157–58.
19. For Bishop Gilbert's preaching tour *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, p. 178, n. 4; and below, p. 194, n. 70. Alfonso's Sevillian charter is partially reproduced in Azevedo, *História de Portugal*, vol. 4, pp. 92–93, n. 2 and noted by Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, p. 115.

20. ADA, p. 158. Herculano, *História de Portugal*, p. 539; D. Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders* (London: Longman, 1992), p. 165.
21. *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, pp. 178–81; Feige, 'La primacía de Toledo', pp. 92–94. For the declaration of obedience to Braga see *Liber Fidei*, vol. 1, p. 249.
22. Linehan, *History and the Historians*, p. 269; Serrão, *História de Portugal*, vol. 1, pp. 85–86.
23. Erdmann, *O Papado e Portugal*, pp. 1–5; also E. Brasão, 'O papado e Portugal desde a conferência de Zamora (1143) até à bula de Alexandre III <Manifestis probatum> (1179)', in J. V. Serrão (ed.), *8.º Centenário do Reconhecimento de Portugal pela Santa Sé* (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1979), pp. 83–114.
24. *Vita Tellonis*, pp. 64–65. The Spanish kings were generally spared the distractions of the investiture contest. They were sheltered, it would seem, by distance, local loyalty, and their consistent support for the reform papacy. See Linehan, *History and the Historians*, pp. 149–52; and B. F. Reilly, 'On getting to be a bishop in León-Castile: the "emperor" Alfonso VII and the post-Gregorian Church', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 1(1978), 35–78.
25. For an overview of João Peculiar's role as 'royal counsellor' see Branco, 'The king's counsellors' two faces', pp. 520–23.
26. In 1154 Bishop João Anaias of Coimbra accused his superior of a long list of misdeeds and abuses of power. Behind the undoubted exaggeration there was, perhaps, a kernel of truth. Erdmann, *Papado e Portugal*, pp. 82–83.
27. *Liber Fidei*, vol. 2, nos. 343, 370, 515, pp. 77–78, 104–05, 263; R. Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford: OUP, 1978), pp. 66–67; Reilly, 'Alfonso VII of León-Castilla', p. 216.
28. The gathering at Rheims in 1148 was one of the seven twelfth-century 'general councils' where decisions made were held to be binding on all regions of Latin Christendom. The others were Rheims (1119), First Lateran (1123), Rheims (1131), Pisa (1135), Second Lateran (1139) and Third Lateran (1179). See I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073–1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge: CUP, 1990), p. 131.
29. Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León*, pp. 138–39.
30. Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, p. 102.
31. G. Ferriera Borges, 'Saint Bernard et le Portugal: la legende et l'histoire', in *Mélanges Saint Bernard* (Dijon: Marilier, 1953), pp. 139–40.
32. JL 9255; PL 180: 1345.
33. PP, pp. 211–13.
34. JL 9362; PL 180: 1405; PP, p. 108; Feige, 'La primacía de Toledo', pp. 95–104.
35. The church of Braga secured a favourable decision in the Zamora dispute in 1153, but this was not the end of the imbroglio, which dragged on into the thirteenth century. Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León*, pp. 196–98.
36. F. Frita, 'Primera legación del Cardenal Jacinto en España: Bulas inéditas de Anastasio IV. Nuevas luces sobre el concilio nacional de Valladolid (1155) y otros datos inéditas', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 14 (1889), p. 544. Sections are also printed in Azevedo, *História de Portugal*, vol. 2, pp. 107–08.
37. Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, pp. 110–11.
38. Feige, 'Die anfänge des portugiesischen', p. 207. Henry was born in 1147, even as his father concluded his plans for the attack on Santarém. He did not survive childhood and died in 1155. Blöcker-Walter, *Alfons I. von Portugal*, pp. 55–57.
39. *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III, 965–1216*, ed. D. Mansilla (Rome, 1955), pp. 104–05.
40. Frita, 'Primera legación', pp. 538–42.

41. JL 9901.
42. Erdmann, *O Papado e Portugal*, pp. 83–94.
43. Following the death of Archbishop Diego in 1140 the see was vacant for three years as the royal candidate, Bishop Berengar of Salamanca, tried without success to secure papal endorsement. Not until 1143 was an alternative candidate, Pedro Helías, confirmed by the Holy See. Archbishop Pedro held office until his death in 1149, at which time Bishop Berengar of Salamanca was finally able to secure the see, albeit briefly, for he died in 1151. His successor, Archbishop Bernard, was archbishop for barely two years. On Bernard's death in 1152 Pelayo was elected. R. Fletcher, 'The archbishops of Santiago de Compostela between 1140 and 1173: a new chronology', *Compostellanum*, 17(1972), pp. 47–53.
44. Erdmann, *O Papado e Portugal*, pp. 83–88.
45. For this itinerary see PP, pp. 112, 219–22 and Frita, 'Primera legación', pp. 538–42.
46. *Documentación... Inocencio III*, 483, pp. 114–15. Erdmann, *O Papado e Portugal*, pp. 88–94; JL 10125.
47. Erdmann, *O Papado e Portugal*, p. 84; Feige, 'La primacía de Toledo', pp. 106–110.
48. Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, pp. 124–35.
49. Erdmann, *O Papado e Portugal*, pp. 60–61; Feige, 'Die anfänge der portugiesischen', p. 217.
50. Rodrigo of Toledo, *Historia de rebus Hispanie*, 7.7, pp. 228–29; Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, p. 128. B. F. Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992), pp. 227–30.
51. The tension between the partible and the primogeniture models of inheritance are considered in greater detail below, pp. 218–19.
52. Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, 130–34; Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, p. 209.
53. Rodrigo of Toledo, *Historia de rebus Hispanie*, 7. 9–13, pp. 232–34.
54. *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún (857–1300)*, ed. J. A. Fernandez Flórez, 5 vols (León: Fuentes y estudios de historia Leonesa, 1976), vol. 4, pp. 275–77.
55. Zamora, *Historia de España*, vol. 9, pp. 481–90.
56. ADA, p. 158; Herculano, *História de Portugal*, vol. 1, pp. 538–40.
57. Al-Makkari, *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, trans. P. de Gayangos, 2 vols (with new introduction by Michael Brett; New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002), vol. 2, p. 315; Herculano, *História de Portugal*, vol. 1, p. 547.
58. Serrão, *História de Portugal*, 1, pp. 100–02.
59. Lomax, *The Spanish Reconquest*, pp. 113–15; D. Lopes, 'O Cid Português: Geraldo Sempavor', *Revista Portuguesa de História*, 1(1941), 93–111; A. Huici Miranda, 'Los Almohades en Portugal', *Anais Academia Portuguesa da História*, NS, 5(1954), 13.
60. Muslim descriptions of Gerald's depredations are collected by A. B. Coelho, *Portugal na Espanha Árabe*, 4 vols (Lisbon: Seara Nova, 1975), vol. 3, pp. 277–90.
61. Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium: Courtiers' Trifles*, ed. and trans. M. R. James, revised by C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 30–35; D. Freitas do Amaral, *Afonso Henriques, Biografia*, 15th ed. (Lisbon: Bertrand Editora, 2002) p. 157.
62. The proposed marriage of Infanta Mafalda and the count of Barcelona is noted by Blöcker-Walter, *Alfons I. von Portugal*, p. 56, who questions Mafalda's death. The meeting between Afonso and Fernando is equally controversial, and relies on two documents that have been called into question. DMP, vol. 2, pp. 616–18. See also Azevedo, *História de Portugal*, vol. 4, pp. 117–18; Martínez, *História Diplomática de Portugal*, p. 30.

63. Rodrigo of Toledo, *Historia de rebus Hispanie*, 7.19, pp. 241–42; Lucas of Tuy, *Chronicon mundi*, pp. 100–02; Freitas do Amaral, *Afonso Henriques*, pp. 159–62; Herculano, *História de Portugal*, vol. 1, pp. 556–61.
64. Rodrigo of Toledo, *Historia de rebus Hispanie*, 7. 23, pp. 244–45.
65. DMP, vol. 1, pp. 317–18.
66. *Vita Tellonis*, p. 71; PP, pp. 379–80; JL 10412.
67. Much is known of the career of Gualdim Pais from a number of dedicatory inscriptions which testify, among other things, to his five year sojourn in the Holy Land. Barroca, *Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa*, vol. 2:1, pp. 348–67; see also Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, pp. 222–24. For royal donations to the order during this period, DMP, vol. 1, pp. 318–44. The famous *Carta de Couta* (DMP, vol. 1, p. 342), purporting to list the holdings of the order during the time of Afonso Henriques, has been shown by Rui Pinto de Azevedo to be a thirteenth-century forgery. Cocheril, 'Les ordres militaires Cisterciens', p. 25, n. 26; also Valente, 'The new frontier', pp. 56–57.
68. The implications of the emergence of local military orders is considered below, pp. 182–86.
69. P. Linehan, 'The Synod of Segovia (1166)', *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law*, 10 (1980), 31–44. Repr. in *Spanish Church and Society*. See also, Linehan, *History and the Historians*, pp. 279–87.
70. JL 10905, 11301, 11705; *Documentación...Inocencio III*, pp. 128–29, 130–32, 134–35. A. García y García, 'Alejandro III y los reinos ibéricos', in F. Liotta (ed.) *Miscellanea Rolando Bandinelli Papa Alessandro III* (Sienna: Accademia Senese degli Intronati, 1986), p. 250.
71. Robinson, *The Papacy*, p. 167; Erdmann, *O Papado e Portugal*, pp. 66–67.
72. J. Gilchrist, 'The Gregorian reform tradition and Pope Alexander III', in Liotta (ed.), *Miscellanea Rolando Bandinelli*, 259–88.
73. *Vita Tellonis*, p. 73; CMP-A, p. 283, DMP, vol. 1, pp. 359–60.
74. PP, pp. 124, 244–45, 304.
75. PP, p. 252; García y García, 'Alejandro III y los reinos Ibéricos', pp. 246–47; Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León*, pp. 195–204.
76. *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, pp. 178–81; Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols (London: Rolls Series, 1868–1871), vol. 3, pp. 176–77.
77. Linehan, *History and the Historians*, p. 269.
78. ADA, pp. 158; Ibn Sāhib al-Salā, *Al-Mann bi'l-Imāma*, trans. A. Huici Miranda (Valencia: Textos Medievales, 1969), pp. 139–40; Lucas of Tūy, *Chronicon Mundi*, p. 114.
79. Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, vol. 2, pp. 333–34. For Afonso's convalescence: DMP – *Regios*, pp. 383–95.
80. See below, p. 145.
81. DMP, vol. 1, p. 384; Valente, 'The new frontier', pp. 57–58. Afonso Henriques' generous grant was not without precedent. Ramon Berenguer IV promised the Templars a fifth of all captured territory in 1143. A. J. Forey, 'The military orders and the Spanish reconquest in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', *Traditio*, 40(1984), p. 223. As Forey notes, these promises were never fulfilled.
82. Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, p. 221.
83. Azevedo, *História de Portugal*, vol. 5, p. 274.
84. Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, pp. 223–31; *Livro Velho das Linhagens*, PMH *Scriptores*, p. 279; Azevedo, *História de Portugal*, vol. 5, p. 130.
85. *Councils and Synods with other Documents Relating to the English Church*, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C. N. L. Brooke (Oxford: OUP, 1981), vol. 1.2(871–1204), pp. 947–48, 953–55. Characteristically Henry II preferred a financial

- solution and pledged a fortune to the support of the Holy Land. C. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1988), pp. 43–44.
86. Erdmann, *O Papado e Portugal*, pp. 66–67; Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, p. 232. A confused memory of Afonso's tense relations with Cardinal Hyacinth may lie behind Roger of Hoveden's implausible story of high words leading to the legate's expulsion from Portugal. *Chronica*, vol. 2, p. 333.
87. A. A. Nascimento and S. Gomes, 'S. Vicente de Lisboa e seus Milagres Medievais', *Didaskalia*, 15(1985), pp. 89, 109; P. J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 154–56.
88. *Translatio et Miracula S. Vicentii*, PMH *Scriptores*, p. 97.
89. Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, pp. 232–33.
90. *Crônicas Breves e Memórias*, p. 25; Azevedo, *História de Portugal*, vol. 4, p. 278–80.
91. Linehan, *History and the Historians*, pp. 287–88. See also N. P. Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols (London: Sheed & Ward, 1990), vol. 1, pp. 205–25.
92. Linehan, *History and the Historians*, p. 288. A translation of the Treaty of Cazola is included in Olivia R. Constable (ed.), *Medieval Iberia. Readings from Christian, Muslim and Jewish Sources* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), pp. 162–63.
93. *Monumenta Henricina*, vol. 1, pp. 18–21.
94. The tribute of four ounces (120 grams) was augmented to two marks (460 grams). The coins were *morabitanos*, Portuguese coins minted in imitation of Muslim dinars. For the wider significance of this tribute see Feige, 'Die anfänge der portugiesischen', pp. 216–28.
95. Linehan, 'Utrum reges Portugalie coronabantur', pp. 389–47; Brasão, 'O papado e Portugal', p. 100.
96. Herculano, *História de Portugal*, vol. 1, p. 258.

5 Consolidation and Opportunity (1179–1211)

1. J. V. Serrão, *História de Portugal*, vol. 1, p. 107.
2. Herculano, *História de Portugal*, vol. 1, pp. 442, 575, 681–82.
3. ADA, p. 158.
4. M. J. V. Branco, *D. Sancho I* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2006), pp. 51–53.
5. Ibn Sāhib al Salā, *Al-Mann bi'il-Imāma*, pp. 233–34; Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, pp. 244–47.
6. DMP, vol. 1, pp. cxvi–cxxiv.
7. PMH, *Leges et consuetudines*, pp. 398–89; Herculano, *História de Portugal*, vol. 1, p. 682.
8. ADA, p. 159.
9. *Translatio et Miracula S. Vincentii*, p. 97.
10. *King Lear*, 1, p. iv.
11. ADA, p. 159; CMP-A, pp. 394–95, 398–99.
12. Mattoso, 'A realza de Afonso Henriques', p. 222, is convinced the ritual was in fact used. Linehan, *History and the Historians*, pp. 243–44, n. 137, argues against Sancho receiving coronation and further elaborates these points in 'Utrum reges

- Portugalie coronabantur', pp. 389–407, and 'Addenda', in Linehan, *The Processes of Politics and the Rule of Law*, pp. 1–4.
13. J. F. Powers, *A Society Organized for War. The Iberian Municipal Militias in the Central Middle Ages, 1000–1284* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); and by the same author 'The creative interaction between Portuguese and Leonese municipal military law, 1055–1279', *Speculum*, 52(1977), 465–87; and 'The evolution of Portuguese municipal military policy during the high middle ages', *Mediterranean Studies*, 8(1999), 105–27.
 14. PMH, *Leges et consuetudines*, pp. 411–18. Discussion of these charters can be found in CMP-A, pp. 366–71 and Powers, *A Society Organized for War*, pp. 42–43.
 15. B. W. Diffie, *Prelude to Empire: Portugal Overseas before Henry the Navigator* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1960), pp. 18, 30–31.
 16. For example, Évora (1166), Lisbon (1179), Coimbra (1179), Santarém (1179) PMH, *Leges et consuetudines*, pp. 392, 411–18. Such provisions appear in one form or another in most subsequent charters.
 17. See below, n. 20.
 18. Foral of the Moors (1170), PMH, *Leges et consuetudines*, pp. 396–97; Almada (1190), DDS, pp. 71–75.
 19. Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, vol. 2, pp. 42–45.
 20. For example, Évora (1166), PMH, *Leges et consuetudines*, p. 393 or Coruche (1182), PMH, *Leges et consuetudines*, p. 427.
 21. Feixo (1155), DMP, vol. 1, pp. 309–10; Bragança (1187), PMH, *Leges et consuetudines*, p. 463.
 22. Penacova (1192), PMH, *Leges et consuetudines*, p. 483.
 23. Thus, the merchants Diego Pais and Fernando Menendes appear as signatories on the charter granted to Viseu (1187), DDS, p. 28.
 24. *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, p. 113.
 25. Almada (1190), DDS, pp. 71–75.
 26. V. M. Shillington and A. B. W. Chapman, *The Commercial Relations of England and Portugal* (London: Routledge, 1907), pp. 24–26.
 27. In the same document 'Lischebom' is also referred to as 'Lischebonim' or 'Leschebom'. A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *Hansa e Portugal na Idade Média*, 2nd ed. (Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1993), p. 97.
 28. Diffie, *Prelude to Empire*, p. 30.
 29. Shillington and Chapman, *The Commercial Relations of England and Portugal*, pp. 26–27; P. Nightingale, *A Medieval Mercantile Community. The Grocers' Company & the Politics & Trade of London, 1000–1485* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 36–42.
 30. P. A. Odber de Baubeta, 'Some early English sources of Portuguese history', *Estudos Medievais*, 9(1988), 206–07.
 31. *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, p. 99.
 32. *Narratio de itinere navali peregrinorum Hierosolymam tendentium et Silviam capientium*, A.D. 1189, ed. C. W. David, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 81:5(1939), p. 628.
 33. DDS, pp. 47–51, 297–301.
 34. See below, pp. 208–09.
 35. The majority of Portuguese charters include details of *fossado* service. Early examples stipulating one-third commitment include Numão (1130), Mos (1162) and Linhares (1169), PMH, *Leges et consuetudines*, pp. 368, 390, 394.
 36. Évora (1166). The ratio of one-third of cavalry forces continues in charters following the Évora pattern, for example, Coruche (1182), pp. 392, 426. Other styles

- of charter soon also began to include this ratio, for example, Centocellas (1194), PMH, *Leges et consuetudines*, p. 487. Santarém (1179) specified the obligation to provide 60 horsemen. This charter also grants cavalry status to archers. PMH, *Leges et consuetudines*, pp. 356–58.
37. ADA, p. 159.
 38. The destruction of the town was recorded sadly by Portuguese chroniclers ADA, p. 159. The extent of the tragedy was confirmed in a town charter granted to Coruche in 25 May 1182 specifically to encourage the re-population made necessary by the capture of earlier townsfolk by the enemy. DMP, vol. 1, p. 348.
 39. Powers, *A Society Organized for War*, pp. 43–44; Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, p. 234.
 40. Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum, Opera Historica*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols (London: Rolls Series, 1876) vol. 2, p. 30; Ibn 'Idhāri al-Marrakusi, *Al-Bayān al mugrib fi ijtisār ajbār muluk al-andalus wa al-magrib: los Almohades*, ed. A. Huici Miranda, 2 vols (Tetuan: Editoria Marroqui, 1954), vol. 1, pp. 70–75; Rodrigo of Toledo, *Historia de rebus Hispanie*, 7.24, pp. 246–47.
 41. Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, p. 236; Branco, *Sancho I*, pp. 93–100.
 42. The fleet built by Bishop Diego of Compostela to protect the pilgrim trade provides an illuminating comparison. The bishop imported craftsmen from Italy to construct specialised warships and the *Historia Compostellana* emphasises the expense involved in equipping and maintaining the fleet. HC, I. 76, pp. 118–19; I. 103, pp. 174–76; II. 21, pp. 262–64; II. 24, pp. 266–68; II. 75, p. 375. The darker side of the Portuguese naval build-up is hinted at in the charter of Almada (1190), which stipulates that in this town at least the poor could not be pressed into service on royal ships. PMH, *Leges et consuetudines*, p. 476.
 43. Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, pp. 234–35; Huici Miranda, 'Los Almohades en Portugal', pp. 26–27; Picard, *Le Portugal musulman*, pp. 109–15. Colourful legend surrounds Roupinho, who reputedly built the Hermida da Memória at Nazaré in 1182 after a vision of the Virgin saved him from a fatal hunting accident. Brandão, *Crónica de D. Afonso Henriques*, pp. 298–306.
 44. *Narratio de itinere navali*, pp. 616–19.
 45. J. F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), pp. 242–43; Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, p. 242.
 46. PL 202: 1539; Riley-Smith and Riley-Smith, *Crusade: Idea and Reality*, pp. 64–67.
 47. For a general survey on the origin and progress of the Third Crusade see S. Painter, 'The Third Crusade', in K. M. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, 6 vols (Madison-London: Wisconsin University Press, 1955–1984), vol. 2, pp. 45–86.
 48. This tradition seems to have been based on the misreading of a single letter from the king to Pope Gregory. Erdmann, *A Ideia de Cruzada em Portugal*, pp. 8–11, 19.
 49. David, *Narratio de itinere navali*, pp. 616–17, 663–66; *Annales Colonienses Maximi*, ed. K. Pertz, MGM SS, vol. 7, p. 796. See also C. J. Bishko, 'The Spanish and Portuguese Reconquest, 1095–1492', in *A History of the Crusade*, ed. K. M. Setton, 6 vols (Madison-London: Wisconsin University Press, 1955–1984), vol. 3, pp. 420–21; Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, p. 241. The castle of Alvor was subsequently granted to the monastery of Santa Cruz. DDS, pp. 64–65.
 50. *Narratio de itinere navali*, pp. 626–27.
 51. *Narratio de itinere navali*, pp. 629–30.
 52. *Narratio de itinere navali*, pp. 631–32.
 53. *Narratio de itinere navali*, pp. 617–36.
 54. A. Forey, 'The emergence of the military order in the twelfth century', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 34(1985), p. 210.

55. The penance laid upon King Henry of England for his part in the murder of Thomas Becket in 1170 reflects this position. To expiate his sins Henry was expected to campaign in the Holy Land or, as an interim measure, in Spain. See above, p. 139.
56. Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, pp. 237–43; A. Huici Miranda, 'Las campañas de Ya'qub al Mansur en 1190 y 1191', *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História*, NS, 5(1954), 55–74.
57. Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols (London: Rolls Series, 1867), vol. 2, pp. 116–17; and *Chronica*, vol. 3, pp. 42–43.
58. Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, vol. 2, pp. 44.
59. Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, vol. 2, pp. 89–90, 117; Gibb, 'English Crusaders in Portugal', p. 21.
60. Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, vol. 2, pp. 116–18.
61. Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, vol. 1, p. 243; Ibn 'Idhāri, *Al-Bayān al mugrib: los Almohades*, vol. 1, pp. 169–70.
62. Valelhas (1188), PMH, *Leges et consuetudines*, p. 471.
63. Defourneaux, *Les Français en Espagne*, pp. 57–73.
64. Almeida, *História de Igreja em Portugal*, vol. 1, pp. 606–08, 612–17; *Livro Preto. Cartulário da Sé de Coimbra*, pp. clxii–clxxxv.
65. *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, p. 181.
66. *Indiculum foundationis monasterii S. Vincentii*, PMH *Scriptores*, p. 92.
67. CMP-A, pp. 209–10, 269–71.
68. A. J. Duggan, 'Aspects of Anglo-Portuguese relations in the twelfth century. Manuscripts, relics, decretals and the cult of St Thomas Becket at Lorvão, Alcoaça, and Tomar', *Portuguese Studies* 14(1998), p. 14, n.54; and *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, pp. 178–80; Almeida, *História da Igreja*, vol. 1, p. 148.
69. John of Hexham, *Historia*, in Simeon of Durham, *Opera omnia*, ed. T. Arnold, 2 vols (London: Lond & Co., 1882–1885), vol. 2, p. 324. For the possibility that these troops were diverted from Seville to Alcácer do Sal see above, p. 113. The grant of the indulgence to pilgrims is noted in *English Episcopal Acta 15 (London, 1076–1187)*, ed. F. Neiningen (Oxford: OUP, 1999), pp. 139–40. For the mysterious letter of introduction, Azevedo, *História de Portugal*, vol. 4, pp. 98, 262–64.
70. Almeida, *História da Igreja*, vol. 1, pp. 627–28.
71. *Narratio de itinere navali*, p. 633, n. 27.
72. Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, vol. 2, pp. 89–90.
73. DDS, pp. 65–66, 92–93.
74. Diffie, *Prelude to Empire*, pp. 26–27.
75. *Indiculum foundationis*, pp. 91–93; *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, pp. 134–35.
76. G. Constable, 'A further note on the conquest of Lisbon in 1147', in *The Experience of Crusading*, ed. M. Bull and N. Housley (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), p. 42, n. 10 observes that Winand may well have been the author of the eyewitness account of the siege sent to Archbishop Arnold of Cologne.
77. Cocheril, 'Les ordres militaires Cisterciens', p. 51.
78. C. G. da Silva, *O Mosteiro de S. Vicente de Fora. A comunidade regrante e o património rural (séculos XII–XIII)* (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 2002), pp. 80–83.
79. *Indiculum foundationis*, p. 92. Although little else is known of the German canon Otho, Fernando Peres may have been Fernão Peres de Soverosa, *o Cativo*, an important court figure during the reign of Alfonso Henriques. J. Mattoso, *Identificação de um País. Ensaio sobre as origens de Portugal (1096–1325). I – Oposição*, 5th ed. (Lisbon: Estampa, 1995), pp. 173–75.

80. Lay, 'Miracles, martyrs and the cult of Henry the Crusader', 7–31.
81. *Indiculum foundationis*, p. 91.
82. *Annales Sancti Disibodi*, p. 28; *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, pp. 178–81; *Indiculum foundationis*, p. 91.
83. *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, pp. 133–35; *Indiculum foundationis*, p. 92.
84. *Indiculum foundationis*, pp. 92–93.
85. J. A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), pp. 124–25.
86. Lay, 'Miracles, martyrs and the cult of Henry', p. 20.
87. C. Duggan, 'English decretals in continental primitive collections, with special reference to the primitive collection of Alcobaca', *Studia Gratiana*, 64 (*Collectanea Stephan Kuttner, IV*) repr. in C. Duggan, *Canon Law in Medieval England: The Becket Dispute and Decretal Collections* (London: Variorum, 1982), IX, pp. 51–71; Duggan, 'Anglo-Portuguese relations in the twelfth century', pp. 9–10, 17–18.
88. Duggan, 'Anglo-Portuguese relations in the twelfth century', pp. 6–7.
89. ADA, pp. 156–57; Possibly too this emphasis of Mafalda's exotic origins was a reaction to the charges of consanguinity levelled against many Iberian royal marriages. Linehan, *History and the Historians*, p. 252–59.
90. Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, p. 28.
91. Herculano, *História de Portugal*, vol. 1, p. 588. Although Herculano gives Philip a romantic gloss, in reality his reputation was not without blemish. Many harboured suspicions that Philip's 'crusade' in 1177 was actually an attempt to usurp the throne of the leprous King Baldwin IV (1174–1185) of Jerusalem. William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM 63/63A (Turnhout, 1986), 21.13–18, pp. 979–87.
92. Baubeta, 'Some early English sources', pp. 204–05.
93. Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, pp. 28–29. Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, vol. 2, p. 622.
94. The safe-conducts granted to the Spanish diplomatic parties are among the earliest surviving in England. *Diplomatic Documents Preserved in the Public Record Office, I: 1101–1272*, ed. P. Chaplais (London: PRO, 1964), pp. 1–10.
95. Baubeta, 'Some early English sources', pp. 203–06.
96. D. Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders* (London: Longman, 1992), p. 73.
97. Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, p. 701; Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, vol. 2, p. 502.

6 Shifting Priorities: Portuguese Relations with the Latin Church in the Thirteenth Century

1. DDS, p. 35.
2. PP, pp. 342–43.
3. DDS, p. 48. See also Branco, *Sancho I*, pp. 163–68. For the failed attempt to buy off the crusaders see above, p. 156.
4. Linehan, *History and the Historians*, pp. 252–59.
5. Rodrigo of Toledo, *Historia de rebus Hispanie*, 7.24, pp. 246–47.
6. The severity of Celestine's measures are known only from papal bull issued by Innocent III in 1199, who took his predecessor's actions as a precedent. PL 214: 610–15; *Bulário*, pp. 60–61.
7. DDS, pp. 113–15.
8. Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, vol. 2, p. 685.

9. Huici Miranda, *Las Grandes Batallas de la Reconquista*, pp. 138–216; Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, pp. 244–47.
10. PP, p. 376. See also J. F. O'Callaghan, 'Innocent III and the kingdoms of Castile and León', in J. C. Moore (ed.), *Pope Innocent III and his World* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), p. 319.
11. The phrase is Roger of Hoveden's, *Chronica*, vol. 3, p. 90.
12. See above, pp. 137–38. See also Valente, 'The new frontier', pp. 49–60; Cocheril, 'Les ordres militaires Cisterciens', pp. 23–27; and S. A. Gomes 'A presença das ordens militares na região de Leiria (séculos XII–XV)', in I. C. Ferreira Fernandes and P. Pacheco (eds), *As Ordens Militares em Portugal e no Sul do Europa* (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 1998), pp. 144–56. For the activities of the Hospitallers in Portugal see R. de Azevedo, 'Algumas achegas para o estudo das origens da Ordem de S. João em Portugal', *Revista Portuguesa de Historia*, 4(1949), 317–27.
13. PP, p. 118; DMP, vol. 1, p. 370; Serrão, *História de Portugal*, 1, pp. 166–70.
14. Erdmann, PP, p. 301; P. G. Barbosa, 'Cavaleiros do Templo e cavaleiros de Leiria', in L. A. Fonseca (ed.), *As Ordens Militares em Portugal* (Palmela: Estudos Locais, 1991), pp. 191–204.
15. Valente, 'The new frontier', p. 50.
16. DMP, vol. 1, pp. 370, 415; Forey, 'The military orders and the Spanish reconquest', p. 216; Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León*, p. 171.
17. DMP, vol. 1, pp. 384–85; CMP-A, pp. 319–20.
18. M. Cocheril, *Routier des Abbayes Cisterciennes du Portugal* (Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1978); Serrão, *História de Portugal*, 1, pp. 175–76.
19. DDS, pp. 288–95.
20. M. D. Knowles, *Cistercians and Cluniacs. The Controversy between St Bernard and Peter the Venerable* (London: OUP, 1975).
21. PP, p. 373.
22. *Bulário português Inocência III (1198–1216)*, eds A. de Jesus da Costa and M. A. Fernandes Marques (Coimbra: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1989), pp. 359–62.
23. M. A. F. Marques, 'Inocência III e a passagem do mosteiro de Lorvão para a ordem de Cister', in M. A. F. Marques, *Estudos sobre a Ordem de Cister em Portugal* (Coimbra: Edições Colibri, 1998), pp. 75–125.
24. DDS, p. 161. See also M. de Oliveira, 'Origens da ordem de Cister em Portugal', *Revista Portuguesa de História*, 5 (1951), pp. 347–50.
25. Duggan, 'Aspects of Anglo-Portuguese Relations', 1–19.
26. Marques, 'Inocência III e a passagem do mosteiro de Lorvão', 75–125; Teresa developed a reputation for great piety and was beatified in 1750. B. Lackner, 'A Cistercian of the royal blood: D. Teresa of Portugal', *Vox Benedictina*, 6:2(1989), 106–19.
27. Similarities between the Iberian orders and the *ribat* bands are discussed by E. Lourie, 'The confraternity of Belchite, the Ribat, and the Temple', *Viator*, 13(1982), 159–76. The difficulties in establishing such links are examined by Forey, 'The emergence of the military order', 175–95.
28. D. W. Lomax, *La Orden de Santiago (1170–1275)* (Madrid: Escuela de Estudios Medievales, 1965); and 'The order of Santiago and the kings of Leon', *Hispania: Revista Española de Historia*, 18(1958), 3–32; and *The Rule of the Spanish Military Order of St James, 1170–1493*, ed. and trans. E. G. Blanco (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971).
29. *The Rule of the Spanish Military Order of St James*, pp. 3–12; Lomax, 'The order of Santiago and the kings of León', pp. 12–13; DMP, vol. 1, pp. 409–10 (Abrantes); DMP, vol. 1, p. 415 (Monsanto).

30. Rodrigo of Toledo, *Historia de rebus Hispanie*, 7.14, pp. 234–36; J. F. O'Callaghan, *The Spanish Military Order of Calatrava and its Affiliates* (London: Variorum, 1975); and more recently, T. M. Vann, 'A new look at the foundation of the order of Calatrava', in D. J. Kagay and T. M. Vann (eds), *On the Social Origins of Medieval Institutions. Essays in Honor of Joseph O'Callaghan* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 93–114.
31. C. Estow, 'The economic development of the order of Calatrava, 1158–1366', *Speculum*, 57:2(1982), p. 271.
32. J. F. O'Callaghan, 'Hermandades between the military orders of Calatrava and Santiago during the Castilian reconquest, 1158–1252', *Speculum*, 44:4(1969), pp. 609–10.
33. Cocheril, 'Les ordres militaires Cisterciens', pp. 41–42.
34. *Narratio de itinere navali*, pp. 630–31.
35. CMP-A, p. 356. Cocheril, 'Les ordres militaires Cisterciens', pp. 47–48; Oliveira, 'Origens da ordem de Cister em Portugal', *Revista Portuguesa de História*, 5 (1951), p. 34.
36. See above, n. 13; The same phrase was repeated virtually verbatim in Pope Innocent's confirmation of the order's status in 1199. *Bulário Português Inocência III (1198–1216)*, ed. A. de Jesus da Costa and A. M. Fernandes Marques (Coimbra: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1989), pp. 55–59; PL, 214: 590–93.
37. Cocheril, 'Les ordres militaires Cisterciens', pp. 46–47.
38. For general overview of the relations between Pope Innocent and the Iberian kingdoms see D. Mansilla, 'Inocencio III y los reinos hispanos', *Anthologica Annua*, 2 (1954), 9–43; and more recently, in addition to J. F. O'Callaghan's previously cited 'Innocent III and the kingdoms of Castile and Leon', see A. García y García 'Innocent III and the kingdom of Castile', also in J. C. Moore (ed.), *Pope Innocent and His World* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 337–52.
39. E. Peters, 'Lotario dei Conti di Segni becomes Pope Innocent III: the man and the pope', in J. C. Moore (ed.), *Pope Innocent and His World*, pp. 3–24; D. J. Smith, *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragon. The Limits of Papal Authority* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 18.
40. H.-J. Schmidt, 'The papal and imperial concept of *plenitudo potestatis*: the influence of Pope Innocent on Emperor Frederick II', in J. C. Moore (ed.), *Pope Innocent and his World*, pp. 305–09.
41. Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073–1198*, pp. 273–76.
42. At the exchange rate of 60 morabitanos to the mark. For Sancho's payment, *Bulário*, pp. 5, 23, 42–44; PL 214: 87–88, 214, 419, 424–25. *Documentación... Inocencio III*, 170, p. 193.
43. *Die Register Innocenz III*, vol. 1, p. 550; vol. 2, p. 128; Rodrigo of Toledo, *Historia de rebus Hispanie*, 7.24, p. 247. Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, vol. 4, p. 79. Linehan, *History and the Historians*, p. 258, n. 43, notes in support of Roger's claim that in the bull *Etsi necesse sit* (May 1199), advising the Spanish clergy of the sentence of interdict, Innocent included a congratulatory note to his legate, Rainier, for refusing any 'gifts'.
44. *Bulário*, p. 62; PL 214: 612–13.
45. P. D. Clark, 'Innocent III, canon law, and the punishment of the guiltless', in J. C. Moore (ed.), *Pope Innocent and His World* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 281–83; and by the same author 'Peter the Chanter, Innocent III and theological views on collective guilt and punishment', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 52:1(2001), pp. 9–10.
46. C. T. Maier, 'Mass, the Eucharist, and the cross: Innocent III and the relocation of the Crusade', in J. C. Moore (ed.), *Pope Innocent III and His World* (Aldershot:

- Ashgate, 1999), p. 355. For the increasing use of liturgy and prayer in support of distant crusading operations see by the same author 'Crisis, liturgy, and the crusade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 48:4(1997), 628–58.
47. Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León*, pp. 195–203.
 48. *Bulário*, pp. 74–79; PL 214: 657–62.
 49. *Bulário*, p. 81. For Eugenius' letter concerning Zamora: PP, p. 218.
 50. *Bulário*, pp. 66–67.
 51. *Bulário*, pp. 69; PL 214: 653–56.
 52. *Bulário*, pp. 92–93; PL 214: 689. For the second letter to Braga: *Bulário*, pp. 82–83; PL 214: 680–88.
 53. *Bulário*, pp. 93–95; PL 214: 689–90.
 54. *Bulário*, pp. 150–51.
 55. Erdmann, *O Papado e Portugal*, p. 77.
 56. Significantly, Innocent's anonymous biographer emphasised the widespread acclaim this settlement attracted among the pope's clerical contemporaries. *Gesta Innocentii Papae*, PL 214: 42.
 57. This determination can be seen most clearly at the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, where Innocent's second sermon dealt with the intended role of bishops. PL 217: 679–88; B. Bolton, 'A show with a meaning: Innocent III's approach to the Fourth Lateran council, 1215', in B. Bolton (ed.), *Innocent III: Studies on Papal Authority and Pastoral Care* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995), XI, p. 62. Ironically the pope's sermon was disrupted by disputing bishops.
 58. *Bulário*, pp. 80, 245; PL 214: 663.
 59. *Bulário*, pp. 294, 305; PL 216: 380–81, 423; Feige, 'La primacía de Toledo', pp. 129–32.
 60. See above, p. 191, n. 54.
 61. *Bulário*, p. 230.
 62. *Bulário*, p. 293; PL 216: 379.
 63. DDS, p. 35.
 64. *Bulário*, p. 168. After a failed attempt to reach agreement in the royal court in 1201, Innocent charged the bishop of Zamora with the task of adjudication, who found in favour of the canons. *Bulário*, pp. 163–83.
 65. See below, pp. 180–81.
 66. *Bulário*, p. 229.
 67. J. Antunes, J. G. Monteiro and A. R. de Oliveira, 'Conflitos políticos no reino de Portugal entre a Reconquista e a Expansão: estado do questão', *Revista de História das Ideias*, 6(1984), pp. 29–35.
 68. *Bulário*, pp. 280–81; DDS, pp. 290–92; PL 216: 272–73.
 69. Queen Urraca first appears in Portuguese charters in February 1209. DDS, pp. 272–73.
 70. They were João Alvo, Pedro Fedum and Martinho Peres Tirou. *Bulário*, pp. 284, 320–21; PL 216: 276.
 71. Delicate and high-profile papal business undertaken by Bishop Pedro included the negotiations in 1204 surrounding the fate of castles disputed after the annulled wedding of Berenguela of Castile and Alfonso of León, *Bulário*, pp. 213–15; PL 215: 373–76, and the imposition of peace upon all the kings on pain of excommunication in 1211, *Bulário*, p. 293.
 72. *Bulário*, pp. 295–97, 299–301; PL 216: 383–86; Antunes, 'Conflitos políticos', pp. 29–41.

73. *Bulário*, pp. 296–97; PL 216: 384.
74. *Bulário*, p. 298; PL 216: 386–87. Innocent raised similar concerns about Latin literacy in the French court in response to the angry resistance he faced from King Philip Augustus. PL 215: 1135–36; and 216: 36–37. See also B. Bolton, 'Philip Augustus and John: two sons in Innocent III's vineyard?', in B. Bolton, *Innocent III: Studies on Papal Authority and Pastoral Authority* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995), V, p. 129.
75. C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy. The Western Church from 1050–1250* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 424–25; Bolton, 'Philip Augustus and John', pp. 123–29.
76. *Bulário*, p. 296; PL 216: 383–85.
77. Rodrigo of Toledo, *Historia de rebus Hispanie*, 7. 6, p. 228; *Bulário*, pp. 237; PL 215: 1008.
78. DDS, pp. 47–51 (first version), and 297–301 (second version); *Bulário*, p. 303; PL 216: 423. See also *Bulário*, pp. 301–02; PL 216: 424.
79. DDS, pp. 308–24. The exemption from military service was granted on 28 December 1210. DDS, p. 309.
80. DDS, pp. 313–19. Despite being abandoned by their royal ally the burghers maintained their resistance to the bishop for several months before they too capitulated. *Bulário*, pp. 320–21, 329.
81. *Bulário*, pp. 301–02; PL 216: 424. In a second bull Innocent sought to extract further concessions on behalf of the local church. *Bulário*, p. 303; PL 216: 423.
82. *Documentación...Inocencio III*, no. 442, pp. 472–73; PL, 216: 353.
83. A forged letter attributed to al-Nāsir and dated 8 December 1211 gave form to these fears. In this widely circulated letter the caliph reacted angrily to papal interference in his affairs and threatened to wage war against Christians to the very gates of Rome. O'Callaghan, 'Innocent III and the kingdoms of Castile and Leon', p. 330, n. 63. For the letter itself: *Continuatio Lambacensis*, MGH SS, vol. 9, pp. 557–58.
84. *Chronica Latina Regum Castellae*, ed. L. C. Brea, CCCM, 63 (Turnhout, 1996); trans by J. F. O'Callaghan as *The Latin Chronicle of the Kings of Castile* (Tempe: Arizona University Press, 2002), 20, p. 40; Rodrigo of Toledo, *Historia de rebus Hispanie*, 7.38, p. 258.
85. O'Callaghan, 'Innocent III and the kingdoms of Castile and Leon', p. 331; Smith, *Innocent and the Crown of Aragon*, pp. 89–92, 103–13.
86. B. Bolton, 'Fulk of Toulouse: the escape that failed', in B. Bolton, *Innocent III: Studies on Papal Authority and Pastoral Care* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995), III, p. 85; Smith, *Christians and Moors in Spain*, vol. 2, pp. 12–13.
87. *Documentación...Inocencio III*, nos 468, 470–71, pp. 468, 500–02; PL 216: 154, 513–22, 553. In these communications Innocent reveals a very human fear about the outcome and encourages the Castilian king and prelates to seek a truce with the Almohads if possible, rather than risk disaster in a direct confrontation.
88. Maier, 'Mass, the Eucharist and the cross', pp. 352–56; Smith, *Innocent and the Crown of Aragon*, pp. 105–06.
89. 'Alfonso's letter', *Documentación...Inocencio III*, no. 483, pp. 511; Smith, *Christians and Moors in Spain*, vol. 2, p. 17; Bishko, 'The Spanish and Portuguese Reconquest', pp. 422–23.
90. Rodrigo of Toledo, *Historia de rebus Hispanie*, 8.2, p. 260.
91. A more official Portuguese presence is suggested by Alberic of Trois Fontaines, *Chronica*, MGH SS, vol. 23, p. 894.

92. This was true even when opportunities fell into his lap. In 1197 a passing flotilla of crusaders attacked and captured Silves. Doubting that King Sancho was either willing or able to defend the city crusaders burned Silves themselves before continuing their journey. *Narratio de itinere navali*, p. 660, n.101.
93. Rodrigo of Toledo, *Historia de rebus Hispanie*, 8. 5, p. 264.
94. Rodrigo of Toledo, *Historia de rebus Hispanie*, 8. 6, pp. 265–66; ‘Alfonso’s letter,’ p. 511.
95. ‘Alfonso’s letter,’ pp. 511–12.
96. Rodrigo of Toledo, *Historia de rebus Hispanie*, 8. 9–11, pp. 270–75; ‘Alfonso’s letter,’ p. 511; ‘Arnaud’s letter,’ *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. M. Bouquet, 24 vols (Paris, 1840–1904), vol. 19, pp. 250–54; European accounts of the battle include: Alberic of Trois Fontaines, *Cronica*, pp. 894–95; *Continuatio Claustroneoburgensis*, MGH SS, vol. 23, p. 622; and Ricardo of San Germano, *Chronica*, ed. C. A. Galufi, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 32 vols (Bologna, 1937–1938), vol. 7/2, pp. 35–46. See also Huici Miranda, *Las Grandes Batallas de la Reconquista*, pp. 231–37; Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, pp. 255–56.
97. *Documentación...Inocencio III*, no. 488, pp. 520–21; PL 216: 703–04; and translated in Riley-Smith, *Crusade: Idea and Reality*, p. 61.
98. Smith, *Christians and Moors in Spain*, vol. 2, p. 20.
99. Rodrigo of Toledo, *Historia de rebus Hispanie*, 8. 10, p. 273.
100. Rodrigo of Toledo, *Historia de rebus Hispanie*, 8. 12, p. 276.
101. Smith, *Pope Innocent and the Kingdom of Aragon*, p. 112.
102. Rodrigo of Toledo, *Historia de rebus Hispanie*, 8. 10, p. 275.
103. Linehan, *History and the Historians*, pp. 295–97.
104. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality*, p. 122.

7 The Science of Kingship: Institutional Innovation during the Reign of Afonso II (1211–1223)

1. H. V. Vilar, *D. Afonso II* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2005), p. 10.
2. DDS, pp. 12, 35.
3. DDS, pp. 47–48.
4. Queen Urraca first appears as a signatory to a Portuguese document on 25 February 1209. DDS, pp. 272–73.
5. DDS, pp. 297–301.
6. M. J. V. Branco, ‘The general laws of Afonso II and his policy of “Centralisation”: a reassessment’, in M. Gosman, A. Vanderjagt and J. Veenstra (eds), *The Propagation of Power in the Medieval West* (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1997), pp. 79–95; also P. Linehan, ‘The church and feudalism in the Spanish kingdoms in the eleventh and twelfth centuries’, in P. Linehan, *The Processes of Politics and the Rule of the Law. Studies on the Iberian Kingdoms and Papal Rome in Middle Ages* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 327–29. The laws themselves are to be found in PMH, *Leges et consuetudines*, pp. 168–73.
7. PMH, *Leges et consuetudines*, pp. 163–64, 173; Diffie, *Prelude to Empire*, p. 31.
8. PMH, *Leges et consuetudines*, pp. 168–73; H. V. Livermore, *A History of Portugal* (Cambridge: CUP, 1974), p. 72.
9. PMH, *Leges et consuetudines*, pp. 178–79.
10. Shillington and Wallis Chapman, *The Commercial Relations of England and Portugal*, pp. 20–27; Y. Renouard, ‘Les Relations du Portugal avec Bordeaux et La Rochelle au Moyen-Age’, *Revista Portuguesa de História*, 6(1955), pp. 244–48;

- Marques, *Hansa e Portugal na Idade Média*, pp. 97–98, 130–31; and Odber de Baubeta, ‘Some early English sources’, pp. 205–07.
11. R. L. Wolff, ‘Baldwin of Flanders and Hainault, first Latin emperor of Constantinople: his life, death, and resurrection, 1172–1225’, *Speculum*, 27(1952), 281–322. For the marriage and subsequent events see Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, pp. 152–53 and Marques, *Hansa e Portugal na Idade Média*, pp. 97–98.
 12. *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, ed. D. L. C. Bethmann, MGH SS, vol. 9, p. 330; *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, eds A. Teulet, H.-F. Delaborde, and E. Berger, 5 vols (Paris, 1863–1909), vol. 1, 978–81, pp. 373–75; J. W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus. Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), pp. 203–04.
 13. *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, vol. 5, 189, p. 66; Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, p. 152; see also J. Bradbury, *Philip Augustus. King of France 1180–1223* (London: Longman, 1998), pp. 285–86.
 14. Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, pp. 152–53; Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, pp. 211–13.
 15. Bradbury, *Philip Augustus*, pp. 290–92.
 16. N. Fryde, ‘King John and the Empire’, in S. D. Church (ed.), *King John. New Interpretations* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999), pp. 335–46; Bradbury, *Philip Augustus*, pp. 292–93.
 17. Bradbury, *Philip Augustus*, pp. 279–311.
 18. William the Breton, ‘Gesta Philippi Augusti’, *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton: historiens de Philippe-Auguste*, ed. H.-F. Delaborde, 2 vols (Paris: Societe de l’histoire de France, 1883–1885), vol. 1, 203, pp. 296–97.
 19. William the Breton, ‘Gesta’, vol. 1, 202, pp. 295–96; G. Duby, *The Legend of Bouvines: War, Religion and Culture in the Middle Ages*, trans. C. Tihanyi (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 31–32.
 20. Bradbury, *Philip Augustus*, pp. 177–84.
 21. Fryde, ‘King John and the Empire’, p. 342.
 22. L. Cordeiro, *Berengela e Leonor, Rainhas da Dinamarca* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1984).
 23. S. Barton, ‘Traitors to the faith? Christian mercenaries in al-Andalus and the Maghreb, c. 1100–1300’, in R. Collins and A. Goodman (eds), *Medieval Spain, Culture, Conflict, and Coexistence* (Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2002), p. 29; Smith, *Christians and Moors in Spain*, vol. 2, pp. 26–31; M. T. N. Veloso, *D. Afonso II. Relações de Portugal com a Santa Sé durante o seu reinado* (Coimbra: Arquivo da Universidade, 2000), pp. 65–70.
 24. *Bulário*, pp. 315–17, 318–20; PL 216: 473–75.
 25. *Bulário*, pp. 330–31.
 26. *Bulário*, p. 332.
 27. P. Moraw, ‘Careers of graduates’, in W. Rüegg (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe*, 3 vols (Cambridge: CUP, 1992–2004), vol. 1, pp. 244–64; J. W. Baldwin, ‘*Studium et regnum*: the penetration of university personnel into French and English administration at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries’, *Revue des Études Islamiques*, 44(1976), 199–215.
 28. Veloso, *Afonso II*, pp. 179–89.
 29. Barroca, *Epigrafia medieval portuguesa*, vol. 2:1, pp. 682–86; Veloso, *Afonso II*, pp. 187–95; Vilar, *Afonso II*, pp. 158–59.
 30. Antunes, ‘Conflitos políticos’, p. 48, n. 55, and p. 66, n. 120; Branco, ‘The king’s counsellors’ two faces’, pp. 524–28.

31. A. D. de Sousa Costa, *Mestre Silvestre e Mestre Vicente, juristas da contenda entre D. Afonso II e suas irmãs* (Braga: Franciscana, 1963), pp. 26–33.
32. Branco, 'The nobility of medieval Portugal', p. 235.
33. Antunes, 'Conflitos políticos', p. 52; Branco, 'The king's counsellors' two faces', pp. 526–27.
34. *Bulário*, pp. 331–42, 348–49, 376–78; PL 216: 855–56.
35. J. M. Powell, 'Innocent III and the crusade', in J. M. Powell (ed.), *Innocent III. Vicar of Christ or Lord of the World*, 2nd ed. (Washington, DC: Catholic University Press, 1994), pp. 121–34.
36. Eyewitness accounts include *Gosuini de expugnatione Salaciae carmen*, PMH, *Scriptores*, pp. 101–04; *Gesta crucigerorum Rhenanorum*, in *Quinti belli sacri scriptores minores*, ed. R. Röchricht (Geneva: Soc de l'Or. Lat., 1879), pp. 29–59; and *De itinere Frisonum*, in *Quinti belli sacri scriptores minores*, 59–71, also in 'Emonis et Menkonis Werumensis Chronica', ed. L. Weiland, MGH SS, vol. 23, pp. 478–83. For a brief overview of the operation see J. M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–1221* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1986), pp. 124–27.
37. *Gosuini*, pp. 101–02a; *Gesta*, pp. 29–30; *De itinere*, pp. 59–62.
38. *Gosuini*, p. 202a; *Gesta*, pp. 30–31.
39. *De itinere*, p. 62.
40. *De itinere*, p. 63; Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 125.
41. *Gosuini*, p. 103a–b; *Gesta*, p. 31; *De itinere*, pp. 62–63. The Rhinelanders noted with sullen satisfaction that several of the Frisian ships encountered the predicted adverse weather conditions and were forced to rejoin them at Alcácer anyway. *Gesta*, p. 31.
42. *De itinere*, p. 62; see also *Gesta*, p. 30. Also Lay, 'Miracles, martyrs and the cult of Henry', pp. 19–23.
43. *Gesta*, pp. 31–32 claims 4 kings and 100,000 soldiers; *Gosuini*, pp. 103 included only three kings and less than half as many troops.
44. *Gesta*, pp. 32–33; *Gosuini*, pp. 103–04.
45. *Gesta*, p. 33.
46. MGH, *Epistolae saeculi XIII*, eds G. Pertz and C. Rodenburg, 3 vols (Berlin, 1883–1894), no. 35, 36; *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, ed. P. Pressutti, 2 vols (Rome: Typographia Vaticana, 1888), vol. 1, 997, p. 170; vol. 1, 1027, p. 174; *Monumenta Henricina*, vol. 1, pp. 45–47.
47. Velar, *Afonso II*, pp. 131–13; R. P. de Azevedo, 'Primórdios da ordem militar de Évora', *Boletim da Junta Distrital de Évora*, 8(1967), 45–62. Afonso's initial grant to the order was to prove a significant one. The knights of Évora established Avis as their primary base of operations and eventually renamed the order to reflect this relocation.
48. *Bulario*, p. 332.
49. *Regesta Honorii*, 1, 990, p. 169; *Monumenta Henricina*, pp. 50–51.
50. Significantly, the inscription over Bishop Soeiro's tomb, preserved in a sixteenth-century transcript, highlighted his role in the conquest of Alcácer above all his other achievements. Barroca, *Epigrafia medieval portuguesa*, 2:1, pp. 745–49.
51. Vilar, *Afonso II*, pp. 165–66; R. P. de Azevedo, 'O livro da chancelaria de D. Afonso II de Portugal', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 8(1967), 35–62.
52. PMH, *Inquisitiones*, pp. 1–287; Branco, 'The general laws of Afonso II', pp. 79–85.
53. Costa, *Mestre Silvestre e Mestre Vicente*, pp. 91–104; Antunes, 'Conflitos políticos', pp. 62–73; Veloso, *Afonso II*, pp. 125–53.

54. *Regesta Honorii*, vol. 1, 1652, p. 275; *La Documentación pontificia de Honorio III (1216–1222)*, ed. D. Mansilla (Rome: Monumenta Hispaniae Vaticana, Sección Registros, 1965), 192, pp. 152–53.
55. *Regesta Honorii*, vol. 1, 2910, p. 480; *Documentación... Honorio III*, 343, pp. 253–56; Veloso, *Afonso II*, pp. 143–45.
56. Ironically, the identity of these loyal followers was recorded for posterity by the royal officials undertaking the very *Inquisitiones* in the Braga region that had provoked the confrontation. Herculano, *História de Portugal*, vol. 2, pp. 294–95.
57. *Regesta Honorii*, vol. 1, 2905–06, 2919–22, pp. 479–80, 82; *Documentación... Honorio III*, 342, 346–49, 357, pp. 253, 257–60, 263–64. Also Antunes, 'Conflitos políticos', pp. 68–69, n. 125.
58. *Documentación... Honorio III*, 343, pp. 253–56.
59. *Regesta Honorii*, vol. 1, 2911, pp. 480–81.
60. *Regesta Honorii*, vol. 1, 2917, p. 481.
61. Antunes, 'Conflitos políticos', p. 169, n. 126.
62. *Regesta Honorii*, vol. 2, 4045–46, p. 81; *Documentación... Honorio III*, 407, p. 301.
63. The *Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro, Portugaliae Monumenta Historica, Nova Series*, ed. J. Mattoso and J. Piehl, 2 vols (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências, 1980). 25G3; Herculano, *História de Portugal*, vol. 2, pp. 297–301; see also Antunes, 'Conflitos políticos', pp. 71–73.
64. *Regesta Honorii*, vol. 2, 5135–57, p. 275; Veloso, *Afonso II*, pp. 143–50.

8 The Final Campaign: Sancho II, Afonso III and the Completion of the Reconquest in Portugal (1223–1250)

1. The exact date of Sancho's birth is unknown, but a comment in the agreement reached with the infantas in 1223 (see below, n. 3) records that the king was approaching his majority at that time. Afonso's will made careful provision for the succession should Sancho die without heirs. Veloso, *Afonso II*, pp. 282–84.
2. H. Fernandes, *D. Sancho II* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2006), pp. 125–27.
3. A. Costa, *Mestre Silvestre e Mestre Vicente*, pp. 130–32; Antunes, 'Conflitos políticos', pp. 25–160; Fr. A. Brandão, *Crónicas de D. Sancho II e D. Afonso III*, ed. A. de Magalhães Basto (Lisbon: Biblioteca Histórica, n.d.) pp. 345–51.
4. Fernandes, *Sancho II*, pp. 128–29.
5. PMH, *Leges et consuetudines*, pp. 600–06; Azevedo, *História de Portugal*, vol. 6, pp. 10–11.
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60. Serrão, *História de Portugal*, vol. 1, pp. 37–39. In fact, the status of the Algarve remained a point of friction between the kings of Portugal and León-Castile for much of Alfonso's reign, with violence flaring on the disputed border on several occasions. Ventura, *Afonso III*, pp. 138–48.
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Conclusion: The Reconquest Kings of Portugal

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Appendix: Portuguese Voices

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