

THE EMERGING CROWN: THE KINGS OF ARAGON AND THE PAPACY IN THE LONG TWELFTH CENTURY

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Abstract: *The objective of this study is simply to provide an overview of the political relationship between the kings of Aragon and the papacy from the beginnings of the kingdom, through the twelfth century, but with some final remarks on the development of the relationship in the thirteenth century since this deepens our understanding. Almost from the inception of the kingdom of Aragon, the papacy, which itself came politically to the fore at this time, played a crucial role in its development. The terms by which the relationship between them was defined changed several times. Although, in the main, co-operation between the two sides was effective, the alliance was weakened or dispensed with when its political usefulness to the kings of Aragon diminished. Both for the general welfare of the Church and the defence of the idea of Christendom, the papacy could not dispense with kings.*

Keywords: *Papacy; Aragon; kingship; crusades; law.*

Resumo: *O objetivo deste estudo é simplesmente fornecer uma visão geral da relação política entre os reis de Aragão e o papado, desde as origens do reino até o século XII, acrescida, contudo, de algumas observações finais sobre o desenvolvimento desta relação no século XIII, que contribuem para o aprofundamento da nossa compreensão do tema. Quase desde a gênese do reino de Aragão, o papado, cujo protagonismo político cresceu durante este período, desempenhou um papel crucial em seu desenvolvimento. Os termos que definiam a relação entre ambos sofreram diversas transformações ao longo do tempo. Embora a cooperação entre as duas partes tenha sido, em geral, eficaz, a aliança era enfraquecida ou mesmo descartada sempre que sua utilidade política para os reis de Aragão diminuía. Tanto para o bem-estar geral da Igreja quanto para a defesa da ideia de Cristandade, o papado não podia prescindir dos reis.*

Palavras-chave: *Papado; Aragão; realeza; cruzadas; lei.*

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

It can be reasonably argued that in its early history, from its beginnings in the mid-eleventh century until the collapse of good relations at the time of the Sicilian Vespers in 1282, the association and alliance with the Apostolic See was more influential in the development of the kingdom of Aragon and the subsequent Crown of Aragon than any other political relationship, perhaps even more so than the relationship with the kingdom of Castile. Although the fortunes of the papacy were not quite at the nadir in the tenth century that is sometimes suggested, it was nevertheless in the eleventh century, at the very moment Aragon clearly became a kingdom with its own king,

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that the successors of Saint Peter became a dynamic force in the Christian West and thus greatly influenced Aragon's history. In this brief but hopefully helpful overview, I wish to point to some of the important developments which shaped the Aragon-papal alliance, considering the role of the individual actors, the changing circumstances of Aragon regarding its neighbours, and the broader changes in Christian society. As one might expect, there is a fair amount of inconsistency in the actions and words of both sides, and yet patterns emerge which do help us to understand the association. Although this overview is focused on the kingdom which emerges in the eleventh century and develops into the Crown of Aragon in the mid-twelfth century, I have included a short section concerning the period up to the Sicilian Vespers since this helps deepen our understanding of the relationship.

THE KINGDOM OF ARAGON AND THE REFORM PAPACY

The first important development is the kingdom of Aragon itself. In 1035, King Sancho el Mayor died, leaving his lands to four sons: to Garcia Sánchez, Pamplona; to Fernando, Castile and León; to Gonzalo, Sobrarbe and Ribagorza; to Ramiro, an illegitimate son, the county of Aragon¹. Ramiro annexed the lands of Sobrarbe and Ribagorza from the unpopular Gonzalo, who in 1045 met his end, assassinated by his own men². The evidence of Ramiro's original charters indicate that while he was reticent in assuming the royal title, he did consider himself to be reigning in his lands by divine authority, and his contemporaries certainly viewed him as a king³. In 1059, when he made his first will, Ramiro left a small portion of his movable goods to St Peter's of Rome as well as to Compostela; this was the first indication of an awareness of the papacy⁴. In his second will of 1061, Ramiro made no mention of either, most probably in order to leave his heir in a better financial position⁵. It is unlikely that Ramiro made himself and his kingdom a tributary of St Peter. A papal letter, possibly of Gregory VII's final year (1085), and, if so, issued at a time of high political drama, refers to Ramiro in these terms (and refers to him as being alive more than 20 years after his death!), but it was probably mistaken, and, given that the letter appears to be closely related to a bitter personal dispute between Ramiro's son

¹ Pérez de Urbel 1954, pp. 3-26; Ubieto Arteta 1960, pp. 5-56, 163-236; Durán Gudiol 1978, p. 40.

² Fragmentum historicum ex Cartulario Alaonis, p. 58; *Colección diplomática medieval de la Rioja*, II, doc. 7; Durán Gudiol, 1978, pp. 49-50; Ubieto Arteta 1952, pp. 299-325; Nelson 1983, pp. 227-236; Laliena Corbera 1996, p. 53.

³ *La colección diplomática del reinado de Ramiro I de Aragón*, p. 68; See Durán Gudiol 1978, pp. 31-36; cf. Ubieto Arteta 1953, pp. 45-62. During the early reign of his father, Sancho Garcés III, Ramiro was often entitled «regulus» or «kinglet» (*Colección documental de Sancho Garcés III*, nos. 3, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14) while occasionally later in the reign Ramiro is entitled «rex» alongside his brothers García and Ferdinand but with Gonzalvo just appearing as their brother (*Colección documental de Sancho Garcés III*, nos. 46, 48).

⁴ *La colección diplomática del reinado de Ramiro I de Aragón*, doc. 134, pp. 503-508 at 505; *Documentos correspondientes al reinado de Ramiro I de Aragón*, doc. 95, pp. 155-158 at 156; *Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña*, II, doc. 159, p. 199.

⁵ *La colección diplomática del reinado de Ramiro I de Aragón*, doc. 146, pp. 528-532; *Documentos correspondientes al reinado de Ramiro I de Aragón*, doc. 100, pp. 164-166.

and successor, Sancho Ramírez, and Sancho's uncle, Bishop García, alongside more protracted disputes concerning diocesan boundaries and the church of Jaca's status, it may well be that the papacy was deliberately misled, as Paul Kehr suggested long ago⁶.

Nevertheless the reform papacy was already beginning to have an impact on the Peninsula by the time of Ramiro's death in 1063, and then particularly through the legation of the contentious cardinal Hugh Candidus between 1065 and 1068⁷. Whether or not influenced by Hugh, in 1068, the 25 year old king, Sancho Ramírez of Aragon, Ramiro's son, decided to go on a pilgrimage to Rome⁸. His uncle Garcia Sánchez of Navarre had previously been a pilgrim to Rome; there were other Aragonese pilgrims to Rome at this time⁹. As he later recalled, Sancho Ramírez had there given himself and his kingdom into the power of God and blessed Peter, wishing to serve them¹⁰. This act appears to have been primarily born of devotion to the apostle (Sancho Ramírez soon afterwards named his first born son Peter) but we should also recognize that there was probably a political element in play since Aragon had powerful neighbours in Castile, Pamplona and Urgel against whom it might need support¹¹. This new alliance worked well initially, with Alexander II also placing various Aragonese monasteries under papal protection, while commenting that the king had committed and subjected himself to the apostolic dignity¹². Sancho Ramírez then quite ruthlessly established the liturgy of the Roman rite in the churches and monasteries of his kingdom, with Gregory VII encouraging church reform and military campaigns and praising Sancho's *fidelitas*, while at this time stating that by

⁶ Archivo de la Catedral de Jaca, no. 22; Archivo de la Catedral de Huesca, PO2/0561; Santifaller 1957, p. 258; Cowdrey 1998, pp. 470, 643, accepts it as a genuine bull without question. Kehr 1945, doc. 1 pp. 314-317; Kehr 1946, pp. 74-185 at 120-124, considered the bull diplomatically authentic but historically inaccurate; Durán Gudiol 1962, pp. 147-149, doc. 6, pp. 177-8, and again Durán Gudiol 1978, pp. 118-119, viewed it as a clear forgery and from the mid-twelfth century. Erdmann 1935, pp. 356-7, considered the mention of Ramiro a straightforward confusion while concluding that the letter reflected the feudal military service owed by a vassal to the lord. Both Erdmann and Fried (1980, p. 67, n.10) suggest that the reference to a donation to St Peter may be a reference to a donation to the cathedral church of St Peter at Jaca. Wiedemann (2022, p. 28) suggests that what the papacy viewed as a tribute, the Aragonese king viewed as a gift, which, if so, would significantly alter the nature of the relationship.

⁷ Deswarte 2010, pp. 360-376; Rodamilans Ramos 2018, pp. 259-291; Lerner 1931.

⁸ *Documentos correspondientes al reinado de Sancho Ramírez*, I, doc. 3, pp. 7-8; Kehr 1945, doc. 3, p. 319; Somerville and Kuttner, ed., 1996, pp. 97-99; Buesa Conde 1978, pp. 41-43; Durán Gudiol 1962, p. 26.

⁹ *Historia Silense*, c. 76, p. 180; *Historia Silensis*, c. 29-30, p. 202. Íñigo López and his wife, Onneca, made their will, in February 1061, before their voyage to Rome (*Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña*, II, doc. 158, pp. 197-8; *La colección diplomática del reinado de Ramiro I de Aragón*, p. 525): «Ego Enneco Lopiz, una cum uxore mea, Onnica, votum vovimus Deo et Sancto Petro, ut iremus Romam». Probably in 1059, Oriol Iniguez, returning from Zaragoza, had made his will along with his wife, Sancha, giving a money-gift to St Peter's at Rome (*Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña*, II, no. 153, p. 189; *La colección diplomática del reinado de Ramiro I de Aragón*, doc. 217, p. 594): «Do pro remedio animarum nostrarum ad Sanctum Petrum de Roma nonaginta nummos aureos et I grecisco».

¹⁰ Ewald 1880, doc. 27, p. 359; Kehr 1926, doc. 3, p. 218; Kehr 1945, doc. 3, p. 319; Somerville and Kuttner, ed., 1996, pp. 97-99.

¹¹ Kehr 1945, pp. 305-309; Buesa Conde 1978, pp. 41-43; García-Guijarro Ramos 2004, pp. 248-252; Lapeña Paúl 2004, pp. 73-112; Utrilla Utrilla 2007, pp. 102-106.

¹² PL 146, doc. 80, cols. 1362-1363; *Papsturkunden in Spanien*, II, docs. 3-4, pp. 260-265.

ancient statutes the kingdom of Spain had been handed into the right and property of blessed Peter and the holy Roman church¹³.

In 1076, Sancho IV of Pamplona was assassinated and Sancho Ramírez annexed a substantial part of his territory to become *gratia Dei aragonensium et pampilonensium rex*¹⁴. With his position now consolidating, the papal alliance appears to have mattered less to Sancho Ramírez until a failed military campaign at Tudela in 1087, at which time, perhaps feeling remorseful about his treatment of his bishops and his non-payment of tithes to the church, the Aragonese king reflected that he had not served God and Peter as well as he had intended. There and then Sancho Ramírez decreed that he and his successors would give an annual tribute of 500 *mancusos* to God and blessed Peter; almost all the knights who were with him on the campaign agreed to give an annual tribute of one *mancuso* each¹⁵. In 1089, the new pope, Urban II, was informed of this, and commended Sancho Ramírez's devotion to the Roman church, while placing the kingdom and various religious houses under papal protection from assault by any person, whether ecclesiastic or secular¹⁶. The pope expected Sancho's successors to receive the kingdom from the pope's hand and show fidelity and obedience, paying the census and recognizing themselves as kings, ministers and servants of blessed Peter¹⁷.

It has been emphasized in the studies of Fried that there was no talk either then or for a long time to come concerning fiefs and vassals, while more recently Wiedemann has noted that the king did receive his kingdom from the pope's hand in a form of investiture not dissimilar to that which a bishop might receive from a king¹⁸. Although his kingdom may look small indeed, Sancho Ramírez was a man who thought big and his international alliances, across the Pyrenees and with Rome, reflected this¹⁹. His charters exhibited his desire «to recover and expand the church of Christ and to obtain the destruction of the pagans»²⁰. Considering his desire to

¹³ Gregory VII, *Das Register*, I, doc. 7, pp. 11-12, I, doc. 63, pp. 91-92, I, doc. 64, pp. 92-94, IV, doc. 28, pp. 343-347; *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III*, doc. 6, pp. 12-13, doc. 9, pp. 16-17; Smith 1996, pp. 95-105; Álvarez de las Asturias 2014, pp. 29-90.

¹⁴ *Crónica de San Juan de la Peña*, p. 53; Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, *De Rebus Hispanie*, V, XXIII, 6, VI, XI, 7; *Documentación medieval de Leire*, no. 106; *Documentos correspondientes al reinado de Sancho Ramírez*, I, doc. 14, p. 31; Cabanes Pecourt 1994, p. 37; Kehr 1946, pp. 74-185 at 114-115.

¹⁵ Kehr 1945, doc. 3, p. 319; Ewald 1880, pp. 359-360; Somerville and Kuttner, ed., 1996, pp. 97-99; Durán Gudiol 1962, pp. 23-54; García-Guijarro Ramos 2004, p. 259; Wiedemann 2022, pp. 29-30.

¹⁶ Kehr 1945, doc. 4, pp. 320-321; JL nos. 5398, 5400; *Papsturkunden in Spanien*, II, doc. 7, pp. 269-272; Fried 1980, no. 1, pp. 327-329; Somerville and Kuttner, ed., 1996, pp. 155-162.

¹⁷ Kehr 1945, doc. 4, pp. 320-321; Somerville and Kuttner, ed., pp. 155-162.

¹⁸ Fried 1980, pp. 63-87, 184-261; Wiedemann 2022, pp. 32-33.

¹⁹ Lapeña Paúl 2004; Lapeña Paúl 1994, pp. 129-150; Buesa Conde 1994.

²⁰ (1092) *Documentos correspondientes al reinado de Sancho Ramírez*, I, doc. 48, p. 188: «Hoc autem omnibus notum sit fidelibus, quod ad amplificationem Christi ecclesie ex Ispanis partibus olim depulse, ego, Sancius, Dei gratia Aragonensium seu Pampylonensium Rex, memoratum locum habitatoribus curaui replere, ut dictum est, ad recuperandam et dilatandam Christi ecclesiam, pro destructione paganorum, Christi inimicorum, atque edificatione

destroy the pagans and his defence of the Christian church (we see the all-pervasive Chrismon symbolism of the Aragonese churches including the cathedral of San Pedro de Jaca which Sancho funded), it is possible that the king, who certainly took David and Solomon as role models, may also have been thinking of Constantine in the same way²¹.

ARAGON, THE PAPACY AND THE CRUSADES

Sancho Ramírez was struck by a Muslim arrow at the siege of Huesca in 1094 and replaced by his eldest son, Peter I, who in 1095 apparently called himself the pope's servant and friend and subject to his lordship²². Peter and his kingdom were received under the tutelage of the Apostolic see and paid the same census of 500 *manfosos* (there is evidence of him actually paying it in the early years of his reign), and was required to recognize himself as minister and servant of blessed Peter²³. Urban II also granted the king and queen of Aragon the privilege that they could not be excommunicated except by the pope or by his legate with the pope's approval; this move, at the request of the king, was apparently because of various conflicts with his bishops, particularly with Bishop Pedro of Jaca over his treatment of the exempt monastery of San Juan de la Peña²⁴. Precisely a year after the council of Clermont, Peter I captured Huesca — a key moment in Aragon's history — and the pope recognized its importance by

uel profectu Chricolicorum, ut regnum ab Ismaelitis inuasum et captiuatum, Christi liberaretur ad honorem et seruicium, ut expulso inde omni gentis incredule ritu, errorisque nefarii eliminata spurcitia, Ihesu Christi, Domini nostri sempiternaliter ibidem uenerabilis coleretur Ecclesia»; Buesa Conde 1994, pp. 47–63 at 51.

²¹ Barton 2019, p. 32; Martínez de Aguirre 2011, pp. 181–249; Simon 2011, pp. 367–390; Pozo Yagüe 2014, pp. 185–197.

²² Fragmentum historicum ex Cartulario Alaonis, p. 58; *Crónica de San Juan de la Peña*, p. 59; *Liber Feudorum Maior*, doc. 4, pp. 6–7. Peter's letter, which is largely concerned with his disputes with the bishop of Jaca and the monastery of San Juan de la Peña, and which is preserved in the *Liber Feudorum Maior*, has not been subject to quite the same scrutiny as some of the papal letters of this period, even though it suggests that the payment of the census was agreed with Gregory VII: «Noverit paternitas vestra, dilectissime mi domine, me semper vestrum fidelem servum et amicum ad omnia me precepta vestra exequenda indubitanter existere, presertim cum pater meus, vester fidelis servus, quia maiorem dominum, excepto Deo, cuius se servum et amicum efficeret, in toto mundo non inveniebat, Romani pontificis se ipsum dominatui subdiderit, atque etiam singulis annis, ex censu D aureorum sese tributarium a temporibus pape Gregorii usque ad obitum suum fideliter exhibuit, ea nimirum, intentione, ut vestra sanctissima auxiliaretur intercessione, vegetaretur benedictione, peccatorum suorum vestra purgaretur absolutione, atque, ad universa adversantia, protectione vestra tutior permaneret». See Kehr 1946, p. 180; Durán Gudíol 1962, p. 63.

²³ *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III*, doc. 34, pp. 53–54 (JL 5552), doc. 39, pp. 58–59; *Regesta de letras pontificias*, doc. 8, pp. 21–22; *Colección diplomática de Pedro I de Aragón*, doc. 58, pp. 292–293 (1098), doc. 62 (1099); Utrilla Utrilla 2007, p. 107.

²⁴ JL 5552; PL 216, 888; The influential bull, *Tue, dilectissime fili*, of 16 April 1095, in which Urban II supposedly grants Peter II the right to distribute the churches of the lands conquered from the Muslims and free disposition of tithes and first-fruits (JL 5562; *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III*, doc. 36, p. 55; *Liber Feudorum Maior*, I., doc. 5; Torra 1999, pp. 1081–1100) is most usually taken as a forgery not only for its content but also for its association with those usually skilled forgers from the monasteries of San Juan de la Peña and San Victorán. On this occasion, it does appear they may have been a little careless. The letter is dated to Rome on 16 April 1095, although Urban II was then far away in Cremona receiving the «oath of security» of King Conrad, son of Henry IV, in a bid to end the schism (JL I, p. 679; Geoffrey Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae*, IV. 23, p. 10; Bernold of Blasien, *Chronicon*, MGH SS 5, p. 463; Robinson 2003, pp. 291–292).

comparing it to the campaign of the First Crusade²⁵. Peter, like many others from the Peninsula, pledged to campaign in the East, only to have second thoughts, probably because of papal pressure — and instead led an expedition against Muslim Zaragoza — carrying a banner of Christ with him²⁶.

We know that the new pope, Paschal II, sought to dissuade others from going from Spain to Jerusalem at this time, since he considered that those who died on expedition in Spain would gain a share of eternal life²⁷. Paschal II is one of two papal figures who play an outsized role in Iberian-papal relations through to the end of the twelfth century²⁸. I am slightly doubtful, despite the forceful argument made by Masnou, that Paschal is the Raynerius Grammaticus who appears in the 1060s at the monastery of Àger in Catalonia²⁹, but he is certainly the Cardinal Rainerius of San Clemente to whom Urban II entrusted a delicate mission to the Peninsula in 1089-1090, which culminated in the legate's trip to the depopulated metropolitan city of Tarragona³⁰. Urban II had already offered those who wished to go to Jerusalem or other places in a spirit of penitence and devotion to labour towards the restitution of the church of Tarragona, the same indulgence they would earn undertaking the long journey to Jerusalem³¹. An important moment — Urban compared what would have been clear to him was a strategic military enterprise with penitential pilgrimage. The count of Barcelona, Berenguer Ramon the Fratricide, responded by offering «per manum domini Rainerii Romane ecclesie cardinalis», now undertaking a legation

²⁵ PL 151, col. 504; JL 573; *Colección diplomática de la catedral de Huesca*, I, doc. 69; *Papsturkunden in Spanien*, II, doc. 15, p. 288: «in Asia turcos, in Europa mauros christianorum viribus debellavit et urbes quondam famosas religiones sive cultui gratie propensiore restituit. Inter quas Oscam, urbem sarracenorum tiranide liberatam karissimo filii nostri Petri Aragonensis regis instancia catholice sue ecclesie reformavit».

²⁶ *Colección diplomática de Pedro I de Aragón*, docs. 80, 96, 99 and then p. 113: «et fuit facta in anno quando rex accepit crucem per ad Iherosolimitanis partibus»; Fita, ed., 1894, p. 232: «Petrus quoque rex aragonensis, cum infinita armorum multitudinem cesaraugustanam civitatem cum christi vexillo preliantem»; Goñi Gaztambide 1958, p. 67; Laliena Corbera 1996, pp. 192-193; O'Callaghan 2003, p. 33.

²⁷ *Historia Compostellana*, pp. 24-26, 77-78.

²⁸ See Servatius 1979; Cantarella 1997; Cantarella 1982.

²⁹ Masnou Pratdesaba 2021, *passim*, mainly on the basis of Kehr, *Papsturkunden in Spanien*, I, doc. 39, pp. 305-306, «Quanto pii laboris studio bone memorie A. R. nobilis vir auus tuus Agarenos de castro Aggerensi extruserit seu qualiter eundem locum cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus pro adeptae uictoria sub iure et potestate beati Petri apstolorum principis tradiderit, satis ad memorie nostre cognitionem peruenit», argues that the young Paschal, as Raynerius Grammaticus, had been a canon at the monastery of Àger and knew of the exploits of Arnau Mir de Tost from his time there. Masnou makes a good case, and the name Raynerius would certainly be unusual at this time in what was to become Catalonia, but there remains the possibility that Paschal had learnt of Arnau Mir's deeds during his legation in 1089-90 and that the Raynerius at Àger is another.

³⁰ Servatius 1979, pp. 18-32; Vones 2009, pp. 203-218; Rodamilans Ramos 2018, pp. 449-480. On Paschal's memory of this event, see his letter to Bishop Sancho of Calahorra of 3 November 1109 (*Papsturkunden in Spanien*, II, doc. 26, p. 310: «Tarraconensem metropolim diuino iudicio depopulatam et pro barbarorum incursu fere inhabitabilem factam non tam fastorum lectione quam oculorum inspectione cognovimus»).

³¹ Urban II, *Epistolae et privilegia*, PL 151, cols. 302-303; *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III*, doc. 29, pp. 46-47; Cf. *Papsturkunden in Spanien*, I, doc. 23, pp. 286-287.

«in partibus nostris», his *honor* and especially the city of Tarragona to God, St Peter and the pope paying every five years a census of 25 pounds of silver³².

For some time the papacy had looked to sacralize the military conflict in the Peninsula, but with Urban II and Paschal II, we see this particular emphasis in their letters on restoration, restitution (*restituere* — the verb we see used more than any other) and liberation — and that language begins to filter through to the documents of the Christian Iberian kings³³; and that desire for the restitution of Christian churches from the infidel links the campaigns in the Peninsula with those elsewhere, and with the Holy Land in particular³⁴. Although we are not quite yet at the First Lateran council of 1123 and the full equation of the defence of the Church in Spain and the defence of the Eastern church (with the same remission of sins), we appear to be moving inexorably towards this, most of all during Paschal II's pontificate³⁵.

ALFONSO THE BATTLER, THE CHURCH AND THE LAW

Most of this was during the time of Alfonso I the Battler, and historians have noted a cooling off in the hitherto warm relations between Rome and Aragon during his reign, even though we must always be somewhat cautious when dealing with Alfonso, given the weight of the propaganda against him from some very notable opponents³⁶. There were three chief reasons for the perceived difficulties in the relationship. Firstly, there was Alfonso's marriage to Urraca of Castile, which was considered incestuous, and led to a long period of conflict between Aragon and León-Castile, during some of which the pope was Calixtus II (1119-1124), brother of Raymond of Burgundy, first husband of Urraca, and hence uncle to Alfonso VII of León-Castile³⁷. Partly because of this conflict, in the *Historia Compostellana* (the magnificent apology for the influential Archbishop Diego Gelmírez of Compostela) Alfonso I is depicted as a cruel, malignant, unjust, impious, perfidious, warmongering tyrant and this, of course, may well be how Alfonso was seen at the curia, at least when Diego Gelmírez's representatives could get to Rome, since so often Alfonso and his troops blocked

³² *Le Liber Censuum de l'èglise romaine*, doc. 216, pp. 468-469; *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III*, doc. 32, pp. 50-52.

³³ See Smith and Summers 2026; Ayala Martínez 2024, pp. 1-26; *Colección diplomática de Pedro I de Aragón*, doc. 96, pp. 345-346; doc. 117, pp. 375-378.

³⁴ For examples, see *Papsturkunden in Spanien*, I, doc. 23, pp. 287-288; PL 151, 504 (JL 5703); *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande*, doc. 109 (JL 6298); doc. 117 (JL 6328).

³⁵ *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III*, doc. 29, pp. 46-47 (JL 5401), doc. 62 p. 79 (JL 7116); *Papsturkunden in Spanien*, I, doc. 23, pp. 287-288; *Historia Compostellana*, 25 (JL 5840), 78 (JL 5863); *Livro Preto: cártulario da sé de Coimbra*, 840 (JL 6485); *Liber Maiolichinus de gestis Pisanorum illustribus*, 9; *Liber Maiorichinus de gestis Pisanorum illustribus*, I, line 66, p. 190; III, line 306, p. 271; *Vita Sancti Ollegarii*, 476-477; PL clxiii, 508 (JL 6665); *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, pp. 167-168: «pro hierosolymitano vel pro hispanico itinere»; Goñi Gaztambide 1958, pp. 76-78; O'Callaghan 2003, pp. 31-38.

³⁶ On the reign generally, Lema Pueyo 2008; Lacarra 1978.

³⁷ See Reilly 1982, pp. 45-118; Lema Pueyo 2008, pp. 247-304; Stroll 2004.

their way there³⁸. Secondly, Alfonso had a reputation for the mistreatment of the clergy, from both other kingdoms and his own, and especially with his consistent support for the warrior bishop Esteban of Huesca, who removed the saintly Ramon of Roda-Barbastro from his see by force of arms³⁹. Thirdly, Alfonso was a tremendously successful Christian king, greatly expanding the land, and therefore he may simply have felt that he did not need papal support to the same extent as his predecessors. Having said this, it should be noted that the papacy did offer considerable spiritual rewards to the Christian army which besieged and took Zaragoza in 1118⁴⁰; moreover, Innocent II excused the newly elected bishop of Zaragoza from the council of Rheims in 1131 at Alfonso's request⁴¹. There has never to my knowledge been quite as full a study of the Church under Alfonso I as has been the case with other major rulers of this time (one thinks of Brett's study on the Church in England under Henry I) and such an undertaking would surely bring rewards⁴².

Mention of the protracted and complex dispute between Huesca and Roda-Barbastro, ultimately resolved by Innocent III and his lawyers, reminds us of another development which should perhaps be more than an aside here and that is the advancing canon law in these years when Gratian is teaching in Bologna⁴³. Already, remarkably, at the turn of the century, attached to the canon law *Collectio Tarraconensis*⁴⁴, conserved as MS 26 of the Biblioteca Pública de Tarragona, we have the remarkable letter from Cardinal Albertus of Santa Sabina (1099-1100), in consultation with the cardinals, but particularly Maurice of Porto e Santa Rufina (soon to be papal legate in the Holy Land), and with the final review of Paschal II, which answered seventeen questions from Bishop Pons of Roda. These questions concerned the administration of the sacraments, the liturgy, and church discipline: how should apostates be reconciled to

³⁸ *Historia Compostellana*, I, 64, 67-69, 73-74, 79-80, 82-84, 88-89, 92; II, 4, 13, 15-16, 20, 53, 64.

³⁹ *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III*, doc. 43, p. 63, doc. 46, p. 66, doc. 56, p. 74, doc. 58, pp. 75-76; *Papsturkunden in Spanien*, II, doc. 31, pp. 316-318; *Acta Sanctorum* (21 June), pp. 108-117; Villanueva 1851, XV, doc. 37, pp. 314-321; Durán Gudiol 1965, pp. 35-134. It should be said that there was, of course, very significant and effective co-operation between Alfonso and much of the Aragonese episcopate throughout his reign, on which see, Dorronzoro Ramírez 2014, pp. 7-42.

⁴⁰ JL 6665; Mansi, XXI, coll. 169-170; PL 163, coll. 508: «si quis vestrum accepta de peccatis suis poenitentia in expeditione hac mortuus fuerit nos eum sanctorum meritis, et totius Ecclesiae catholicae precibus a suorum vinculis peccatorum absolvimus. Caeterum, qui pro eodem Domini servitio vel laborant, vel laboraverint, et qui praefatae urbis ecclesiae a Saracenis et Moabitibus dirutae, unde reficiatur, et clericis ibi Deo famulantibus, unde pascantur, aliquid donant vel donaverint, secundum laborum suorum et beneficiorum suorum ecclesiae impensorum quantitatem, ad episcoporum arbitrium, in quorum parochiis degunt, poenitentiarum suarum remissionem et indulgentiam consequantur»; Goñi Gaztambide 1958, pp. 71-73; O'Callaghan 2003, pp. 36-38; *Los cartularios de San Salvador de Zaragoza*, I, doc. 5, p. 6. The «via de Hispania» for the crusaders had been confirmed at a council at Toulouse early in 1118 (*Chronicon Sancti Maxentii Pictavensis*, p. 427: «Tholosae fuit concilium in quo confirmata est via de Hispania»).

⁴¹ *Papsturkunden in Spanien*, II, doc. 30, pp. 315-316.

⁴² Brett 1975.

⁴³ *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, 6, doc. 75, pp. 104-116; See Hartmann and Pennington, ed., 2008; Winroth 2000; Winroth 2013, pp. 105-128.

⁴⁴ Biblioteca Pública de Tarragona, MS 26. [Collectanea Canónica] [. Rituale. Diplomata ecclesiastica] [S.XI].

the church? when could little children communicate? should clerics and priests who have committed crimes be expelled from their church? And so forth. Some of the questions demonstrated that, although the Roman liturgical rite had been established relatively quickly, as new territories were incorporated, new questions arose⁴⁵. As Goering commented, the letter revealed a new dimension of legal education and canonical discipline developing both in Rome and in the provinces, as well as the expanding role of the college of cardinals⁴⁶. This was the shape of things to come—an extension of Roman authority, which affected the whole kingdom, and which increased because of a sincere desire on all sides to find adequate pastoral solutions to difficulties rather than being the result of a straightforward quest for power.

ALFONSO'S TESTAMENT, RAMIRO AND THE CROWN OF ARAGON

The next development (something which could certainly not have been anticipated) is the Crown of Aragon itself. In his famous will of 1131, the childless Alfonso I, left his kingdom to the military order of the Temple, the brothers of the Hospital and the order of the Holy Sepulchre⁴⁷. Probably not wishing his kingdom to fall to Alfonso VII of León-Castile, and having spent his whole life crusading as an act of love, Alfonso sought to strengthen the presence of the new orders for the support of the Holy Land within his kingdom while in turn considering his kingdom as a path to the Holy Land⁴⁸. After his catastrophic defeat at the battle of Fraga in July 1134, the Battler reaffirmed the will just before his death in September, at which time Pamplona/Navarre separated from its union with Aragon, which had lasted 58 years, and took as its king García Ramírez, a descendant through an illegitimate line of García Sánchez of Navarre⁴⁹. Alfonso I surely had no intention that his surviving brother, Ramiro, would succeed him to the throne. Had Alfonso wished Ramiro to do so, in the months before his death he would have named him as his heir rather than as bishop-elect of Roda-Barbastro⁵⁰.

By then, Ramiro had already endured, a long, winding and unimpressive life as a counter in his father and brother's ecclesiastical politics, as monk of Saint Pons-de-Thomières, abbot of Sahagún, probably bishop-elect at Burgos and then Pamplona,

⁴⁵ Goering 2009, appendix 2, pp. 25-28.

⁴⁶ Goering 2013, pp. 529-538; Robinson 1990, pp. 33-120.

⁴⁷ *Colección diplomática de Alfonso I*, doc. 241, pp. 356-365; *Liber Feudorum Maior*, I, doc. 6, pp. 10-12.

⁴⁸ Forey 1980, pp. 59-65; Lourie 1975, pp. 635-651; Lourie 1984-1985, pp. 165-172; Fried 1980, pp. 140-142, 186-193; Aurell 1998, pp. 340-351; Ubieto Arteta 1987b.

⁴⁹ *Colección diplomática de Alfonso I*, doc. 284, pp. 446-448; *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, I, pp. 173-178, c. 50-61; Orderic Vitalis, VI, pp. 410-417; *Arxiu Comtal de Barcelona*, III, doc. 702, pp. 1163-1165; Ubieto Arteta 1987a, p. 106; Pamplona 1949, pp. 275-283; Grassotti 1963, pp. 318-329.

⁵⁰ *Colección diplomática de Alfonso I*, doc. 281, pp. 443-444. Lourie's conjecture, that Alfonso was actually hale and hearty in August 1134, when Ramiro was appointed to Roda-Barbastro (Lourie 1984-1985, p. 168), is improbable.

and probably monk again at San Pedro el Viejo⁵¹. Ramiro was not groomed to be king, and from the evidence of his actions when he became king it is fairly clear why his brother, whose devotion to the expansion of Christian territory was not always matched by his respect for the clergy, did not consider Ramiro an obvious successor. After Alfonso's death, Ramiro, with the approval of a significant majority of the clergy, nobles, and townsmen, who were determined to continue the blood line, moved quickly to secure the throne⁵². Already in October 1134, at Zaragoza, Ramiro, as a true son of the reform movement, confirmed the restoration of full liberty to the Church of God, which he considered had long been oppressed by *pessimi homines* in his kingdom⁵³. But also mindful of his family and the kingdom, Ramiro, although insistently not driven by the needs of the flesh, determined to provide an heir and married the fertile Agnes, sister of William X of Aquitaine⁵⁴. Ramiro and Agnes produced a daughter, who was given the name Petronila. It has often been suggested, rightly or wrongly, that this name was given to appease Pope Innocent II, given that Petronila was considered the daughter of St Peter. Through Petronila, power could be transmitted⁵⁵. Of course, if Ramiro the Monk had produced a son, there would have been no subsequent Crown of Aragon!

The chronicle of Robert of Torigni stated that Ramiro was taken from the monastery to be made king with papal license, while the highly influential *Crónica de San Juan de la Peña* insisted that Innocent II gave Ramiro a dispensation for the marriage and approved it; but neither is particularly close to these events and this seems quite unlikely⁵⁶. Rather, as a result of Ramiro's manoeuvres or because Alfonso VII of León-Castile and others were seeking to steal an advantage from Aragon's troubles (Alfonso VII had established a hold over the *regnum caesaraugustanum*), Innocent II

⁵¹ *Crónica de San Juan de la Peña*, p. 83; *Colección diplomática de Alfonso I*, doc. 6, pp. 7-8, doc. 65, pp. 90-92; Lapeña Paúl, 2008, pp. 72-87; Aurell 1998, p. 343.

⁵² *Documentos de Ramiro II de Aragón*, doc. 23, pp. 34-35; Ubieto Arteta 1987a, pp. 95-104.

⁵³ *Documentos de Ramiro II de Aragón*, ed. A. Ubieto Arteta (Zaragoza, 1988), doc. 23, pp. 34-35; Ubieto Arteta 1987a, pp. 95-104.

⁵⁴ «Uxorem quoque, non carnis libidine, sed sanguinis, ac progeneri restauratione, duxi» (*Documentos de Ramiro II de Aragón*, doc. 119). On Alfonso I's failure to do the same, *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, I, c. 58, p. 177: «Post ipsum autem vel ante non fuit similis ei in preteritis regibus Aragonensium neque fortis neque prudens seu bellicosus sicut ipse. Sed disposuit non de domo sua uel de regno quidnam esset, quia nullam prolem dimisit».

⁵⁵ Vajay 1966, pp. 727-750; Hirel-Wouts 2015; Utrilla Utrilla 2007, pp. 101-102. It should be noted here that William X of Aquitaine, Agnes's brother, had previously named his younger daughter Petronila, as well as which Saint Petronilla had in an earlier period held a significant role in Franco-papal relations (Goodson 2015, pp. 159-182).

⁵⁶ *The Chronography of Robert of Torigni*, I, p. 214-215; *Chronique de Robert de Torigni*, I, p. 318: «ne regnum illud ab extraneis occuparetur, Remelium monachum et iam senem, licencia Romani pontificis a monasterio abstractum, regem fecerunt»; *Crónica de San Juan de la Peña*, p. 86: «Mittunt igitur nuntios ad Romanum pontificem pro obtinenda dispensatione, quod dictus Remirus possit exire monasterium, et in regno succedere deficientibus aliis, quibus ipsius regni gubernacula debebantur. Quam dispensationem, Romanus pontifex cum magna deliberatione et maturitate concessit. In aliquibus enim capitulis legitur quod dictus Remirus erat presbiter; in aliquibus vero quod non erat in sacris ordinibus constitutus».

responded to a request to intervene which came from the Templars themselves⁵⁷. It is the case that the centuries have not been kind to the copy of Innocent's letter of 10 June 1135 or 1136 in the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, conserved at the foot of a copy of the will of the Battler, but enough of it survives to show that it was addressed to Alfonso VII and other princes in Spain on behalf of the Templars, reported on the terms of Alfonso I's will, and asked that everybody strive to see that the terms of that will were fulfilled⁵⁸. It should be noted that Innocent II intervened here on the basis of the needs of the church in the East and of pilgrims and the papal obligation to uphold the integrity of a will, rather than because Aragon was a census-paying protectorate⁵⁹.

The pope's letter was of prime importance in the subsequent history of the Crown⁶⁰. Ramiro soon abandoned his kingdom (though never his kingly title), possibly because, on hearing the pope's decision, he became wholly conscious of the sin he had committed, as the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* suggests, although not before arranging a marriage between Petronila and Count Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona⁶¹. Although Archbishop Oleguer of Tarragona had probably been one of the chief architects in setting aside Alfonso's will, and even though the papacy was aware that the will was unrealistic (this is evident from letters addressed to Alfonso VII's *zalmedina* in Zaragoza in 1139 as well as the silence on the issue in privileges to

⁵⁷ In late 1134, Ramiro had ceded to Alfonso the *regnum caesaraugustanum* (*Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, I, 179-180, c. 64; *Los cartularios de San Salvador de Zaragoza*, doc. 79, pp. 45-46) but a year later Alfonso VII surrendered Zaragoza to García Ramírez of Navarre, who did homage for it (*Documentos de Pilar*, doc. 17; *Documentos medievales arajonenses*, 205; Reilly 1998, pp. 46-51). After the marriage of Ramiro and Agnes, Alfonso VII returned Zaragoza to them (*Documentos de Pilar*, doc. 18: «Facta carta era MCLXXXIII in anno quando imperator reddidit Zaragoza ad regem Ranimiri & uxori sue»). In December 1137, Alfonso VII ceded Zaragoza and other territories to Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona, who did homage for them (Vajay 1966, p. 745, n. 143; Reilly 1998, p. 61).

⁵⁸ Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Cancillería, pergaminos, Ramon Berenguer IV, serie general, 7 dupl.; *Papsturkunden in Spanien*, I, doc. 50, p. 318: «Innocentius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei. [...] filio A. regi et dilectis filiis principibus per Yspaniam constitutis salutem et apostoli[cam] benedictionem. [...] sint ad ecclesie orientalis et peregrinorum liberationem necessari, qui sepulchrum [...] fama alii perceperunt. Accepimus autem, quod A. rex Aragonensium terciam pa[rtem] regni sui [...]m principes suos fecit iuramento firmare. Ideoque uniuersitati uestre man[damus et in] remissione [m] peccatorum uestrorum iniungimus, q[uod] uatenus ad hoc quod eis a prefato rege A. collatum est, acquirendum et retinend[um] auxilium et consilium unanimiter et deuote prestetis. Data Pisis IIII idus iunii».

⁵⁹ Cf. Fried 1980, pp. 184-190; Wiedemann 2022, pp. 88-90.

⁶⁰ Ubieto Arteta 1987a, pp. 132-137.

⁶¹ *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, I, c. 62, p. 179: «Radimirus rex ingressus est ad uxorem suam, que concepit et peperit filiam, et, consilio accepto cum suis principibus, protinus desponsauit eam cum comite Berengario Barchinonense et dedit ei regnum et cognouit se coram Deo peccator et egit penitentiam». The marriage was agreed on 11 August 1137 (*Arxiu Comtal de Barcelona*, III, doc. 722, pp. 1191-1192; *Liber Feudorum Maior*, I, doc. 7-9, pp. 12-14), after the rejection by the Aragonese nobles of a marriage of Petronila to the eldest son of Alfonso VII (Jaspert 2018, p. 13); Ramiro insisted on keeping his royal title both in his own kingdom and in the lands of the count for as long as he wanted: «Et ego prephatus rex Ranimirus sim rex, dominus et pater in prephato regno et in totis comitatibus tuis dum mihi placuerit». He kept the title throughout the remainder of his life (*Documentos de Ramiro II de Aragón*, doc. 120-123, pp. 147-150).

the Holy Sepulchre and the Hospitallers in the same period), Innocent II's decision meant that Ramon Berenguer IV would essentially buy out the military and religious orders in order to create the union which later in the Middle Ages would be called the Crown of Aragon. Ramon Berenguer arranged this with the Sepulchre and the Hospital in 1140 and then in a roundabout way with the Temple in 1143, with the ubiquitous Cardinal Guido of Cosma e Damiano present for the final deal⁶². The papacy maintained the fiction that the Count of Barcelona's marriage to Petronila was irrelevant because Ramiro's reign had no validity and hence was to be written out of history altogether (a somewhat ignominious end for the most devoted son of the reform movement!)⁶³. It should be noted here that because Innocent II insisted on upholding Alfonso's will, the breakaway kingdom of García Ramírez in Navarre likewise would not have «legitimacy», at least from a papal viewpoint, until approved by Celestine III in 1196⁶⁴.

From the viewpoint of the astute and ambitious Ramon Berenguer IV, he had two paths to power in Aragon — through Petronila and through the concession of the military orders. But there was a delicate balancing act to perform. Ramon Berenguer never attempted to take the title of king but was always count of Barcelona and *princeps* or *dominator* in Aragon — he never attempted to show himself seated in majesty on his seals⁶⁵. In 1148-9, he successfully took the cities of Tortosa and Lleida, and, somewhat riskily, placing the alliance with Aragon in some doubt, in July 1149 agreed a treaty with García Ramírez of Navarre, whereby Ramon Berenguer would marry García's daughter, Blanca, and the two men would divide up future conquests in the kingdom of Zaragoza⁶⁶. In July 1150, they got the pope, Eugenius III, to approve this peace between the count of Barcelona and the duke of Pamplona (as the papacy called García Ramírez) but the agreement then fell through⁶⁷. A few

⁶² (Zalmedina) *Papsturkunden in Spanien*, II, doc. 36, pp. 328-329; (Sepulchre privileges) *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande*, doc. 37, pp. 147-149, doc. 39, pp. 150-152, doc. 47, pp. 165-166; (Hospitaller privilege) *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanner*, II, doc. 4, pp. 206-207. (Ramon Berenguer's deal with Sepulchre, Hospitallers) *Arxiu Comtal de Barcelona*, III, docs. 773-775, pp. 1269-1274; (Deal with Templars) *Arxiu Comtal de Barcelona*, III, doc. 820, pp. 1331-1333, doc. 822, pp. 1334-1339. Also, *Liber Feudorum Maior*, docs. 10-12, pp. 15-19. Also see Forey 1973, pp. 17-24; Jaspert 1998, pp. 381-410, at 390. On the legations of Cardinal Guido, see Rodamilans Ramos 2018, pp. 746-800.

⁶³ *Papsturkunden in Spanien*, I, doc. 81, pp. 364-365; Smith 2003, pp. 29-39, at 37. It is perhaps notable in this respect that Petronila herself, when she was pregnant with her first child in 1152, left her kingdom to a prospective son as it had been at the time of Alfonso I: «Concedo dono et firmiter laudo infanti meo qui est ex utero meo Deo volente processurus totum regnum aragonensem cum omnibus comitatibus et episcopatibus et abbatibus et cum omnibus eidem regno pertinentibus sicut rex Adefonsus melius unquam tenuit et habuit» (*Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, IV, pp. 202-203; *Liber Feudorum Maior*, doc. 16, pp. 522-523).

⁶⁴ Fita, ed., 1895, pp. 229-230; *Papsturkunden in Spanien*, II, doc. 530, pp. 592-593.

⁶⁵ *Els pergamins de l'Arxiu Comtal de Barcelona*, III, doc. 738, p. 1216 until IV, doc. 1086, p. 1738; Zimmermann 2023, pp. 624-636; Aurell 2016, pp. 33-44 at 34; *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, I. II.10, pp. 124-125.

⁶⁶ *Els pergamins de l'Arxiu Comtal de Barcelona*, III, doc. 884, pp. 1425-1427; Barton 2019, pp. 64-65, explains what seems an act of duplicity by Ramon Berenguer IV by considering that marriage agreements were made and broken on a regular basis and that the count of Barcelona may have contemplated obtaining both Navarre and Aragon.

⁶⁷ *Papsturkunden in Spanien*, I, doc. 57, pp. 327-328.

months before this, Eugenius III confirmed to the Templars the possessions which Ramon Berenguer IV had given them when they let go their claim to Aragon⁶⁸. In 1151, Ramon Berenguer actually married Petronila⁶⁹.

In the following years, the papacy supported Ramon Berenguer's conquests and the reestablishment of the ecclesiastical province of Tarragona⁷⁰, after which relations intensified, probably for two major reasons: first, the election of Adrian IV, the English pope (who had spent his life in Provence) and as abbot of Saint-Ruf had been present in Catalonia for Ramon Berenguer's major campaigns⁷¹; second, the death of Ramiro II, who had continued to style himself as king even when he had returned to the monastery⁷². In 1156, Ramon Berenguer, declared himself *homo, miles et servus* of his holiness, Adrian IV, considering his conquests the «opus Dei» and «ad augmentationem sancte Romane ecclesie»⁷³. In 1157, Adrian allowed the noble count of Barcelona the privilege not to be excommunicated except by the pope or his legate *a latere* – not a renewal of the ancient privilege, since the privilege before had been to the king of Aragon⁷⁴. Then, on 24 June 1158, at Sutri, Adrian IV confirmed with apostolic authority the concession made by the Templars, the Hospitallers and the Sepulchre, the land which Alfonso I had left to them⁷⁵. For those historians who consider papal confirmation important (and not all do), this is a key moment in the Crown of Aragon's history.

ULTRAPYRENEAN AMBITIONS, TITLES, THE CENSUS

Yet it was followed very soon by a moment of major crisis because the union with the counts of Barcelona meant a new political reality: that of the traditional ultrapyrenean interests of the counts of Barcelona, and particularly at that moment in the need for the support of Frederick Barbarossa as overlord of Ramon Berenguer, count of Provence, and nephew of Ramon Berenguer IV⁷⁶. Barbarossa and the antipope, Victor IV, wanted the support of the Catalan counts in their struggle against Alexander III, and after the marriage of Ramon Berenguer of Provence to Frederick's niece Riquilda in 1161, the emperor secured an agreement in which he enfeoffed to the house of Barcelona the county of Provence, the county of Forcalquier and the city of Arles, while the counts promised among much else not to allow Rolandus (that is,

⁶⁸ Col·lecció diplomàtica de la casa del Temple de Gardeny, I, doc. 28.

⁶⁹ Arco (1947-8), doc. 97, pp. 291-354 (Feb 1151): «eodem anno quando Comes Barchinonensis presit uxorem ad illa regina de Aragon».

⁷⁰ Papsturkunden in Spanien, I, doc. 65, pp. 336-338, doc. 70, pp. 346-347.

⁷¹ Smith 2003; Vones-Liebenstein 1996, I, pp. 250-279.

⁷² Documentos de Ramiro II de Aragón, nos. 120-123, pp. 147-150.

⁷³ Kehr 1931, doc. 10, p. 123; Villanueva 1806, V, p. 263.

⁷⁴ Papsturkunden in Spanien, I, doc. 82, p. 365.

⁷⁵ Papsturkunden in Spanien, I, doc. 81, pp. 364-365; Liber Feudorum Maior, doc. 13, p. 19.

⁷⁶ Aurell 1986, pp. 175-95; Smith 2012, pp. 206-207.

Alexander) and his cardinals into Provence and to seize them wherever they could⁷⁷. Both uncle and nephew attended Frederick's council at Turin in June 1162, where Frederick confirmed the house of Barcelona in its Provençal holdings, before death surprised the count of Barcelona at Borgo San Dalmazzo on 6 August⁷⁸. Given a significant opportunity to consolidate the holdings of his family, Ramon Berenguer IV was willing to compromise the papal alliance, even though there are indications that the church of his kingdom had by then decided, like most of the Peninsula, to side with Alexander in the schism⁷⁹. After the count of Barcelona's death, Alexander III acted quickly to normalize the situation, greeting the count's young heir in December 1162 as «our beloved son in Christ, the illustrious king of the Aragonese», taking the king and the kingdom under protection, praising the faithfulness and devotion of his father and his ancestors to the Roman church, and later granting Alfonso, as one of those who worked for the expansion of the Christian faith through the defeat of the enemies of the cross of Christ, the right to hear the divine office in places in his lands which were under interdict⁸⁰.

Given that from this point on the king of Aragon and the count of Barcelona will be the same person, it is perhaps necessary to say that the officials of the papal chancery referred to rulers by what they considered to be their highest titles (many rulers across Europe held multiple titles)⁸¹. Therefore, in correspondence, the chancery writes «to the illustrious king of Aragon» («illustri regi Aragonum») but, as one would expect, makes no reference to the count of Barcelona. Indeed, even when the king of Aragon conquers other kingdoms in the thirteenth century (Majorca, Valencia), the papal chancery will still simply refer to him as the king of Aragon. The idea of a «count-king», so popular in modern historiography, would, of course, have been a completely alien concept for the papacy⁸². It should be said, however, that the admittedly sparse correspondence which the papacy had enjoyed with the counts of Barcelona before the time of Ramon Berenguer IV continued to have some relevance⁸³. In 1091, Urban II surely corresponded with Berenguer Ramon II of Barcelona concerning the

⁷⁷ *Liber Feudorum Maior*, II, doc. 901, pp. 366-367: «Rolandum, autem, et eius cardinales ceterosque nuncios eius terram suam intrare non permittet, et ubicumque poterit, bona fide capiet eos et tamquam hostes tractabit»; *Papsturkunden in Spanien*, I, doc. 87, pp. 371-372.

⁷⁸ *Liber Feudorum Maior*, II, doc. 902, pp. 368-371; *MGH Constitutiones*, I, 304-308; *Liber Feudorum Maior*, I, no. 494, pp. 532-534; Kehr 1926, p. 65; Schramm 1985, pp. 31-33.

⁷⁹ *Papsturkunden in Spanien*, II, no. 91, pp. 376-380; Freedman 1994, docs 6-12.

⁸⁰ *Papsturkunden in Spanien*, I, doc. 95, pp. 381-382, docs. 107-108, pp. 392-394, doc. 111, pp. 400-401, doc. 154, pp. 448-449. In June 1164, Petronila, as queen of Aragon and countess of Barcelona, gave the kingdom of Aragon to her son, Alfonso II (*Liber Feudorum Maior*, doc. 17, pp. 23-24), and repeated this concession in her final will of 24 October 1173 (*Liber Feudorum Maior*, doc. 18, p. 25).

⁸¹ On this theme, concerning imperial-papal relations, see Schwarz 2003.

⁸² Note the recent comments of Flocel Sabaté (Sabaté 2026) on the nature of royal power after the political union. The idea of a count-king would have been alien to everyone.

⁸³ Kehr 1926; Kehr 1931.

count's offer of his «honor» and the city of Tarragona and the payment of a census to the pope⁸⁴. In 1116, Paschal II wrote to Count Ramon Berenguer III after the Balearic Crusade and before a projected campaign in Tortosa and took him, his family and his «honor» under protection for an annual payment of 30 morabetins⁸⁵. Some of this money owed by the count of Barcelona remained relevant because in the 1190s, when Cardinals Cencius and Albinus worked on the compilation of the censuses owed to the Roman Church, they included in the *Liber Censuum* the census owed by the count of Barcelona for his «honor» (that which Berenguer Ramon II had offered in 1090) and Albinus also, in his separate list, included the census payment of Sancho Ramírez⁸⁶. When the king of Aragon offered a new census in 1204 this payment too was added to the *Liber Censuum*⁸⁷. After Cardinal Cencius became pope in 1216, as Honorius III, he looked for the payment of both censuses, even though the count of Barcelona and the king of Aragon were now the same person⁸⁸. The *Liber Censuum*, it should be said, was not simply a book concerning money, and the relationship with kings and counts was not simply about money, although the census was important to the papacy's finances⁸⁹. The *Liber Censuum* actually included the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, the *Ordo Romanus*, chronicles of the pontiffs, and much else besides, all of it designed to enhance the prestige of the Roman Church⁹⁰. The census payments of the king of Aragon and count of Barcelona helped to enhance that prestige.

RENEWED FRIENDSHIP, LAS NAVAS, MURET

The renewed closeness of the relationship between the papacy and Aragon under Alfonso II would culminate in the attendance at the wedding of Alfonso II to Sancha of Castile in 1174 of the papal legate, Cardinal Hyacinth Bobone, the other great twelfth-century figure, after Cardinal Rainier/Paschal II, in papal-Iberian relations⁹¹. We tend to meet him as Celestine III (1191-8), a feeble old man, struggling to cope, but as Iberian legate in the 1150s and the 1170s, he had been energetic, purposeful and highly respected. Indeed, when looking at the intensity of Hyacinth's proactivity in the Peninsula it is difficult not to qualify some of the current enthusiasm in the historiography for treating papal government as overwhelmingly reactive⁹². This energy

⁸⁴ *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III*, doc. 32, pp. 50-52. This letter is to Berenguer of Vic, but it is reasonable to think that Urban wrote to Berenguer Ramon at the same time.

⁸⁵ *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III*, doc. 50, pp. 69-70.

⁸⁶ *Le Liber Censuum de l'église romaine*, I, pp. 16, 213; II, p. 116.

⁸⁷ *Le Liber Censuum de l'église romaine*, I, pp. 17, 216.

⁸⁸ *La documentación pontificia de Honorio III*, doc. 432-433.

⁸⁹ Robinson 1990, pp. 223, 229, 255, 260-262, 269-72.

⁹⁰ Dumas 2017.

⁹¹ *Alfonso II Rey de Aragón, Conde de Barcelona y Marqués de Provenza. Documentos (1162-1196)*, no. 161.

⁹² Smith 2008, pp. 81-111; Rodamilans Ramos 2018, pp. 844-909, 921-953.

was surely a reaction to the new reality of Hyacinth's time which saw the fervent advance of the Almohad movement and, after the death of Alfonso VII of Castile in 1157, a Christian peninsula which was politically and ecclesiastically fragmented⁹³. As cardinal and pope, Hyacinth/Celestine sought to recognize the legitimacy of the Christian rulers and press for peace between them, while promoting the reform of the church and the crusade through councils, those at Lleida being two of the more significant⁹⁴. Frustrating as it all must have been, his policies, if one may call them that, including his support of the military orders, would play an important role in bringing the Christians to victory at Las Navas de Tolosa, a victory naturally associated with his notable successor⁹⁵.

Celestine III had protected both Queen Sancha and her son Peter after Alfonso's death in 1196⁹⁶. In November 1204, Peter II went to Rome and at San Pancrazio was anointed by Cardinal Peter of Porto before being crowned by Innocent III himself⁹⁷. The king swore on the Gospel that he would be faithful and obedient to the popes and the Roman church, defending the Catholic Faith and persecuting heretical wickedness. He would guard the liberty and immunity of the Church. Then, at St Peter's, Peter placed his crown and scepter on St Peter's altar, received his knightly sword from the pope's hand, offered his kingdom to St Peter, declared he desired nothing so much after the protection of God as that of Saint Peter and the apostolic see, and fixed an annual census of 250 mazmudins to be given to the pope and his successors. It was a moment which suited the ambitions of both men well: Peter sought to outdo his ancestors and increase his prestige before his fellow Iberian kings, while also looking to conquer Majorca, control the Midi, and contract the marriage of his sister to Frederick of Sicily (the Emperor Frederick II); Innocent III, as part of his propaganda in the imperial election dispute, as a show with a meaning for the ever rebellious Romans, as a means of securing his cherished goals of the Church's freedom and the destruction of the perceived reality of heresy, and, of course, in order to enhance the prestige of a king who he hoped would help protect his ward Frederick⁹⁸.

It was the case that this same Peter who was anointed and crowned at Rome, who granted the freedom of the church, who protected the pope's ward, Frederick II, in Sicily, who defeated the Almohads in a decisive battle, who seemingly accepted

⁹³ Mansilla 1954, pp. 9-49; González González 1960.

⁹⁴ *Les Constitucions de Pau i treva de Catalunya*, doc. 12, p. 53, doc. 13, p. 61; Valls Taberner 1926, pp. 364-368; Weiß 1995, pp. 180, 183-184; Smith 2008, p. 88, note 59. It does appear to be the case that Cardinal Hyacinth paid a visit to Lleida on a third legation in early 1190 when he confirmed the number of canons of the chapter at 25 (Arxiu de la catedral de Lleida, pergamins no. 5114).

⁹⁵ Smith 2008, pp. 98-111; O'Callaghan 2003, pp. 59-64.

⁹⁶ *Papsturkunden in Spanien*, I, docs. 268-269, pp. 578-579.

⁹⁷ *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, 7, doc. 229, pp. 406-409; *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III*, no. 337, pp. 339-341.

⁹⁸ Smith 2004, pp. 43-60. See also Smith 2000b, pp. 163-179; Palacios Martín 1975; Palacios Martín 1969, pp. 485-504; Fried, 1980, pp. 206-235.

the role that the pope envisaged for a king, found himself in 1213 at the head of an army all of whose members, save for the king himself, were excommunicated fighting against the army of the pope, which Innocent III had called into the Midi to quash the same heretics whom Peter had legislated against with more severity than any other ruler of his time⁹⁹. The limits of papal authority were rarely exposed more cruelly than at Muret, as the pope's desire to save souls clashed with the secular rulers' overwhelming ambition to dominate the land.

JAMES I AND A CHANGING RELATIONSHIP

Had Innocent III wished truly to be the «dominus mundi», then now would have been his best opportunity¹⁰⁰. After Muret, the Aragonese census-paying protectorate had a five-year old king who was in the hands of his enemy; James's neighbours, both Christian and Muslim, threatened, while his relatives hoped for the throne, his lands split into factions, and his finances collapsed¹⁰¹. But in league with his legate the canonist Peter of Benevento, Innocent III did what the popes had long promised to do — he protected the king, made peace with his neighbours, had his rivals swear allegiance to him, established a sort of government, and restored the finances; all this was done through the obligation to protect *miserabiles personae*, especially when they were kings, and with an appeal to *utilitas* for the common good¹⁰². True, Honorius III would threaten Aragon with invasion if it continued to support the opponents of the Albigensian crusade, and, surprisingly, referred to James I as a vassal of the Roman church in 1222, at a time when the pope himself had run into political difficulties; as Dr. Veneziani has argued, the boldest papal claims often coming in the most desperate circumstances¹⁰³. But in reality, Honorius III and Gregory IX too did all they could to protect James during his difficult early years¹⁰⁴.

Was the special son of the Apostolic See grateful? Not very grateful, no. In 1229, James conquered Majorca, in 1238 Valencia. As his power and prestige increased, he relied on the papacy less. In 1236, having finally rid himself of the troublesome Bishop Sancho de Ahonés, he violently detained the bishop-elect of Zaragoza, Bernardo de Monteagudo, and tried to block his consecration¹⁰⁵; in 1245, he had the bishop of Gerona's tongue chopped out, mistakenly believing he had revealed his confession.

⁹⁹ Smith 2004, pp. 11-141; Alvira Cabrer, 2002; Alvira Cabrer 2008.

¹⁰⁰ Powell, ed., 1994.

¹⁰¹ Smith 2004, pp. 143-172; Smith 2000a, pp. 19-50; Bisson 1989, pp. 351-392.

¹⁰² Montaubin 2015, pp. 391-418; Smith 2016, pp. 85-97.

¹⁰³ *La documentación pontificia de Honorio III*, docs. 106-107, pp. 86-88; doc. 404, p. 298; Veneziani 2023, pp. 123-144.

¹⁰⁴ *La documentación pontificia de Honorio III*, doc. 34 p. 28, doc. 57, p. 46, doc. 59, p. 47, doc. 224, p. 171, doc. 226, p. 172, docs. 234-235, pp. 177-178, doc. 404, p. 298, doc. 409, p. 303, doc. 500 p. 367, doc. 572, p. 426; *Documentos de Gregorio IX*, doc. 20, p. 60.

¹⁰⁵ *Documentos de Gregorio IX*, docs. 632-633, pp. 507-508.

Both times James was excommunicated¹⁰⁶. By marrying his son, Peter (Peter III) to the daughter of Manfred of Sicily in 1262, he showed disregard for the pope's expressed will¹⁰⁷. James still turned up for the second council of Lyons in 1274 and his account of this in his famous autobiography is revelatory — he was excited to meet a pope because he had never met one before; he boasted that the pope let him sit next to him during discussions; he delighted in telling how the pope heard his confession, where James, besides his sins, told him «the good things that we had done»; and when he had suggested that the pope might crown him, all appeared well, until Gregory X asked James to backpay the census owed since the time of his father, at which point the mood soured. James said he would pay the arrears, but he would not put himself and his descendants under such an obligation; he had done such service to God and the Roman church that «trifles should not intervene between us and him». The coronation was cancelled¹⁰⁸.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

We are now a long way from Sancho Ramírez but only a stone's throw from the Sicilian Vespers and a crusade against Aragon¹⁰⁹. The Crown of Aragon, in the formation of which the papacy played such a central role, was no longer emerging; rather, it was now a major player in the Mediterranean World. On the Aragonese side, the relationship with the papacy was initially based in large measure on devotion to Saint Peter, and that continued- James I simply refers to the pope as «the apostle» throughout his autobiography. It was a relationship which was substantially co-operative in most areas, but it was also one which had its limitations. When the king of Aragon did not need the pope, he could be quick to forget him (as was the case with Sancho Ramírez and Alfonso I), and when papal politics conflicted with the territorial ambitions of the crown, then the alliance would be weakened and at times broken (as was the case with Ramon Berenguer IV in 1162 and Peter II in 1213). With all the troubles that burdened the papacy, there could not be a time when the king was unimportant or irrelevant to the pope because he was vital to the well-being of the Christian Church and the faithful in his realm. In the defence of Christendom, in the war against the infidel, the king's support was vital. The popes did not imagine (at least not for very long) a kingdom without kings, even one which might be run by Christian knights. The special status of the king as census-payer, eventually even as vassal, gave him special obligations, but it also gave him special privileges; and even if James I and his

¹⁰⁶ *La documentación pontificia de Inocencio IV*, doc. 285, pp. 305-306, doc. 304, pp. 319-320.

¹⁰⁷ *Diplomatari de Pere el Gran*, doc. 2, pp. 50-51, doc. 7, p. 58; *La documentación pontificia de Urbano IV*, docs. 31-32, pp. 71-72.

¹⁰⁸ *Llibre dels Fets del rei en Jaume*, II, 524-542: «E dixem-li nostres peccats, e del bé que havíem feit d'altra part» (c. 542); «tant havíem nós servit a Déu e a la Església de Roma, que aquestes menuderies no devien caber entre nós e ell» (c. 537).

¹⁰⁹ Strayer 1953, pp. 101-113; Pou y Martí 1954, pp. 139-160; Cingolani 2010; Laliena Corbera 2023.

successors may ultimately have balked against this, it had been more than useful to the kings of Aragon during the early stages of their history to be in some sense subordinate to the servant of the servants of God.

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