

Praying for Conquest in Thirteenth-Century Castile: The *Oratio in tempore belli adversus Saracenos*

Teresa Witcombe

Relations between Christians and Muslims in medieval Iberia, from the most cosmic and ideological to the most intimate and personal, were a consistent theme in the work of Simon Barton. It was a field to which he contributed an enormous amount. Alongside his own supervisor, Richard Fletcher, he was one of a vanguard of historians to overturn and move beyond long-held conceptions of ‘Reconquista’, demonstrating in a variety of ways the pragmatism that often underpinned relations between Christians and Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula and the permeability of religious and cultural borders in both war and peace.¹ He also wrote about what he described as “the new-fangled crusading ideology” that came increasingly to influence the rhetoric of inter-religious conflict by the late twelfth century, and he identified a “forgotten crusade” at Jaén.²

This study concerns the most ethereal of these interactions: the ways in which Christians prayed about their Muslim neighbours, and the creeping into these prayers of the ‘new-fangled’ ideology of crusade over the first half of the thirteenth century. The geopolitical map of the Iberian Peninsula was redrawn during this period, as almost all of Islamic al-Andalus, the northern-most lands of the Almohad Empire, was brought under the control of King Fernando III of Castile (r. 1217–1252), culminating in the conquest of Córdoba in 1236 and of Seville in 1248. These were events in which the Castilian Church and clergy were deeply involved, both on and off the battlefield. The interest and involvement of the rest of Latin Christendom, especially that of the papacy, and the extent

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- 1 See the Introduction of this volume for an overview of Simon’s work. Specifically on the question of ‘Reconquista’, see his most recent co-edited volume, published posthumously: Simon Barton† and Robert Portass, eds., *Beyond the Reconquista: New Directions in the History of Medieval Iberia (711–1085)* (Leiden, 2020).
 - 2 Simon Barton, “Islam and the West: A view from twelfth-century León,” in *Cross, Crescent and Conversion: Studies on Medieval Spain and Christendom in memory of Richard Fletcher*, eds. Simon Barton and Peter Linehan (Leiden, 2008), p. 174; and idem, “A forgotten crusade: Alfonso VII of León-Castile and the campaign for Jaen (1148),” *Historical Research Oxford* 73, no. 182 (2000): 312–320.

to which these endeavours could be considered part of the wider ‘crusading’ effort are topics that have been richly debated.³ Largely absent from this, however, has been the question of the liturgy itself, that is, the prayers and rites chanted in Castilian churches and cathedrals in support of and preparation for these wars. Thirteenth-century liturgical books are quite plentiful in Castilian archives, but few have received detailed attention or critical edition, and liturgical material relating specifically to military action against al-Andalus is hard to find. In what follows, I shall discuss one such prayer, a ‘Prayer in time of war against the Saracens’ (*Oratio in tempore belli adversus Saracenos*), found at the front of a thirteenth-century sacramentary currently in the archive of Burgos cathedral.⁴ The *Oratio* consists of a short antiphon and psalm, a sequence of seven versicles, and a principal prayer (or ‘collect’).⁵ The whole is bound together thematically as an appeal for divine protection against the Saracens, calling on God to “powerfully conquer the Muslim people” and to ensure that, “the barbaric ferocity having been trampled underfoot”, the armies of the king may return safely to their homes. This prayer does not, to the best my knowledge, appear in any other liturgical source in the Peninsula, and is one of very few liturgical texts from thirteenth-century Castile to explicitly refer to the context of warfare with the Islamic south.

Despite its importance, there is very little scholarship dedicated to the *Oratio*, and nowhere has it been comprehensively analysed. The few scholars who have mentioned it have relied entirely upon an early modern transcription of the text, and the accompanying antiquarian assumption that this prayer must belong to a much older liturgical tradition, the Old Hispanic Rite. And yet, as we shall see, close study of the *Oratio* reveals a complex set of textual and liturgical influences and sources that place this prayer clearly within the cultural landscape of the thirteenth century, bringing to light important parallels with the sorts of liturgical rites associated with crusade across the rest of Latin Europe.

3 For an overview: Carlos de Ayala Martínez and Martín Ríos Saloma, eds., *Fernando III: Tiempo de Cruzada* (Madrid, 2012); Francisco García Fitz, *Relaciones políticas y guerra: la experiencia castellano-leonesa frente al Islam, siglos XI–XIII* (Seville, 2002); Barton, “Islam and the West”; William Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia c.1095–c.1187* (Woodbridge, 2008); Damian Smith, “The Papacy, the Spanish Kingdoms and Las Navas de Tolosa,” *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia* 20 (2011): 157–178; and Daniel Baloup and Philippe Josserand, *Regards croisés sur la guerre sainte: Guerre, idéologie et religion dans l’espace méditerranéen latin (XI^e–XIII^e siècle)* (Toulouse, 2006).

4 Archivo de la catedral de Burgos [ACB], Cod. 23, f. 2.

5 For a full transcription and translation, see the Appendix at the end of this chapter.

1 The Manuscript, the *Antigüidades de España*, and the Old Hispanic Rite

Before turning to the text of the *Oratio*, let us first consider the manuscript in which it is found. The prayer is on the second folio of a liturgical book described by the codicologist José Janini as a *Liber Sacramentorum*, that is, a codex containing the parts of the liturgy to be said by the celebrant of the mass.⁶ Both Janini and, before him, Demetrio Mansilla, have dated this sacramentary to the thirteenth century.⁷ The codex contains text for the temporale (the ordinary calendar of the liturgical year) from the first Sunday of Advent to the 25th Sunday after Pentecost, and the sanctorale (the calendar of feasts, here from St Silvester on 31st December to St Thomas of Canterbury on 29th December), as well as a variety of miscellaneous liturgical forms, including some later additions. It is written using a neat early Gothic minuscule in a number of hands, and contains illuminated letters in red and blue ink, as well as widespread rubrication in red.

As is so often the case with liturgical sources, the precise date and provenance of the *Liber Sacramentorum* are difficult to ascertain with any certainty. That it has been associated from an early date with the Benedictine monastery of San Pedro de Cardeña, which lies in the diocese of Burgos, is evident. Marginal notes identifying it as property of the monastery can be found on folios 79v and 11r, in a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century hand. There are also two insertions from the same period that reveal the further influence of the monks: a mass for St Benedict has been added on folios 78–78, and on folio 2, within a mass for All Saints, the name of Benedict has been added to those of Peter and Paul as the principal saints to be invoked—a clear indication that the text was in the hands of Benedictine monks. Yet, by dint of these early clues pointing towards the adaptation of the codex for the monks of Cardeña, it is clear that the sacramentary was not *produced* there. And yet its provenance was nonetheless apparently local; in addition to the Roman calendar of saints, it also includes the feasts of a great many Hispanic saints.⁸ At the front of the codex and adjacent to our *Oratio* lies a mass in honour of San Millán, which

6 José Janini, *Manuscritos litúrgicos de las bibliotecas de España*, vol 1 (Burgos, 1980), pp. 53–54.

7 Demetrio Mansilla Reoyo ed., *Catálogo de los códices de la catedral de Burgos* (Madrid, 1952), pp. 99–100. This is one of many liturgical books that would greatly benefit from detailed codicological and palaeographical study.

8 See Janini, *Manuscritos litúrgicos*, p. 54; including Sts Domingo of Silos, Ildefonsus, Torquatus and friends, Pelagius, Fructosus, Augurius and Eulogius, Eulalia, Isidore, Justus and Rufina, Emilianus, Aslicus and Victorius, the feast of the Virgin on 18th December, the translation of St Isidore, and many more.

posits the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla, also in Burgos, as a possible place of origin, but this is hardly conclusive, and raises the same issues regarding the insertion of St Benedict (as San Millán was a Benedictine house). There are contextual grounds for considering Burgos cathedral to be a possible place of origin, as we shall see later, and many codicological similarities with documents produced in the cathedral in the 1230s, but again, this is hardly conclusive and the provenance of the codex remains unresolved.⁹

The *Liber Sacramentorum* itself is arranged rather peculiarly. The first folio of the sacramentary is a guard sheet, a much earlier and incomplete mass for St Stephen's day, apparently from the twelfth century. Folio 2 contains the *Oratio*, as well as a mass for All Saints, and on the verso, a mass for San Millán. Following this, several pages have been cut out of the sacramentary—at what date this was done is unknown. However, reference is made to these early folios further on. Where the feast of San Millán falls within the sanctorale, the text directs the reader to the front of the book to find the mass.¹⁰ The same is the case for the feasts of Saints Ildefonsus, Bricius, Acisclus and Victoria, each of which are accompanied by the rubric: “require in principio libri” (consult the front of the book), evidently referring to the missing folios.¹¹ This curious arrangement seems to suggest that the scribe of the sanctorale already had in his possession these folios that he intended to reuse at the front of the sacramentary. This may well have been for reasons no more profound than simply cost-efficient parchment usage. But it does complicate our attempts to securely date the *Oratio* from the perspective of manuscript evidence alone, as it appears to predate, if perhaps by not much, the rest of the sacramentary. However, the codex evidently existed as a whole before it was transferred to the monastery of Cardaña, since we find additions pertinent to that monastery on folio 2 as well as throughout the rest of the manuscript. In short, it is to textual analysis that we must now turn in order to achieve a better understanding of the date and context within which the *Oratio* is likely to have been produced.

On this front too, however, the *Oratio* has a complicated past. It came to the attention of the eighteenth-century Spanish antiquarian and monk at the monastery of Cardaña, Francisco Berganza, who transcribed the text in his vast compilation entitled *Antigüidades de España*, published in 1721.¹² Berganza provided no contextual information about the *Oratio*, nor any analysis of it, noting

9 Especially the *Kalendarium Antiquum* (ACB cod.27); see Sonia Serna Serna, *Los Obituarios de Burgos* (León, 2008), pp. 86–87.

10 Folio 98v.

11 Janini, *Manuscritos litúrgicos*, p. 54.

12 Francisco de Berganza y Arce, *Antigüedades de España*, 2 vols (Madrid, 1719–1721), vol. II, p. 685.

only that: “we have also added into this section some other things, which we have taken out of the Ceremonial Antiguo of Cardeña, which was written in the thirteenth century”.¹³ This clearly matches our *Liber Sacramentorum* currently in Burgos (like many other medieval codices from Cardeña).¹⁴ However, perplexingly, Berganza included the *Oratio* within a collection of much earlier prayers, most of which were taken from the tenth-century *Liber Ordinum Episcopalis* from the monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos, and which pertain to the Old Hispanic Rite (that is, the rite widely celebrated in the Peninsula before the imposition of the Roman liturgy in 1080).¹⁵ His reasons for so doing remain elusive. There are of course prayers within the Old Hispanic Rite that are intended to be said in times of war—although none that explicitly mention war with Muslims—but none of these bear any structural, linguistic, or textual similarities to the *Oratio*, nor is there any evidence of any influence or common source.¹⁶ As already discussed, and as acknowledged by Berganza himself, the only manuscript evidence for this text comes from the thirteenth century. Roger Collins has commented on the widespread assumption by many premodern scholars that medieval liturgical texts were necessarily copies of a much older, Visigothic, liturgy, and this seems to have been the case with regard to the *Oratio*.¹⁷

It is, however, an assumption that has continued to overshadow scholarly approaches to the *Oratio*. Berganza's *Antigüidades* has been the sole means by which the text of the prayer has become known to later scholars, and the existence of the manuscript itself has remained entirely unknown.¹⁸ Perhaps

13 Ibid., p. 624.

14 Gonzalo Martínez Díez, *Colección documental del monasterio de San Pedro de Cardeña* (Burgos, 1998); see also Martínez Díez, “Códices no Visigóticos de San Pedro de Cardeña,” *Boletín de la Institución Fernán González* 78, no. 219 (1999): 255–276.

15 Berganza refers to this as the ‘Ritual Antiguo de Silos’. For a modern scholarly edition and analysis, see José Janini, *Liber Ordinum Episcopalis* (Burgos, 1991), and Roger Collins, “Continuity and Loss in Medieval Spanish Culture: The Evidence of MS Silos, Archivo Monástico 4,” in *Medieval Spain: Culture, Conflict, and Coexistence*, eds. Roger Collins and Anthony Goodman (Basingstoke, 2002), pp. 1–22. On the adoption of the Roman liturgy, see Rose Walker, *Views of Transition: Liturgy and Illumination in Medieval Spain* (London, 1998).

16 See Janini, *Liber Ordinum Episcopalis*, XLVIII ‘Incipit ordo quando rex cum exercitu ad prelium egreditur,’ and XLVIII ‘Oraciones de regressu regis,’ pp. 146–149, are the two that refer to the king going to war and thus are the closest parallels in term of theme, although neither make any reference to a Muslim enemy. There are also various masses ‘de tribulatis’ (pp. 259–267).

17 Collins, “Continuity and loss,” p. 8.

18 Notably, Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal, “El labaro primitivo de la reconquista. Cruces asturianas y cruces visigodas,” *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 136 (1955): 8–28, 14;

as a consequence, the categorisation of the *Oratio* as ‘Old Hispanic’ has gone unquestioned, as in the recent publication on Holy War in the early medieval Iberian Peninsula by Alexander Bronisch.¹⁹ Others have speculated that the liturgical text referred to by Berganza must simply be lost.²⁰

Another result of this exclusive reliance on Berganza has been the impossibility, for modern scholars, of distinguishing his additions and interpretations from the original text. Berganza entitled his transcription the ‘so-called mass of the Cross’, a title not found in the manuscript and yet one by which this prayer is generally referred to in modern scholarship. He also expanded the psalms and the antiphon, which, as is the norm, are in their shortest possible form in the manuscript; yet in doing so, he did not make clear which parts of the text were his own insertions, which, as we shall see below, has led to some confusion in the case of the antiphon. In what follows, I shall examine the *Oratio* on its own terms, and within the context of the original manuscript. As we shall see, close analysis reveals significant parallels with the liturgical and textual sources of the thirteenth century, aligning this prayer for war against the Saracens with the ongoing conflicts between Castile and al-Andalus in this century, and revealing important influences from the wider cultural and theological landscape of thirteenth-century Europe.

2 A Clamour against the Saracens

The antiphon of the *Oratio* opens with a text that would have been instantly recognisable to medieval clerics as an appeal to God in times of tribulation: *Deus qui conteris bella ab initio*, or “Lord God, you who destroy wars from the beginning ...” It is a passage from the Book of Judith 9: 10–11, and one used widely in medieval liturgies—and indeed other sources too—in the context of war.²¹ These opening words appear very commonly in the liturgies *In tempore belli*, or the various derivatives *pro invasiones* or *contra paganos* in the

Joseph O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade* (Philadelphia, 2003), pp. 186–7; and Alexander Bronisch, *Reconquista y guerra santa: la concepción de la guerra en la España cristiana desde los visigodos hasta comienzos del siglo XII* (Granada, 2006).

19 Bronisch, *Reconquista y guerra santa*, pp. 218–220.

20 Patrick Henriët, “L’idéologie de guerre sainte dans le haut Moyen-Âge hispanique,” *Francia* 29, no. 1 (2002): 171–220, 182–183.

21 Cecilia Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons: Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology* (Ithaca NY, 2017), pp. 29–64. Judith is one of the books widely drawn on to provide military imagery in the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*; see Simon Barton and Richard Fletcher, eds. and trans., *The World of El Cid: Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest* (Manchester, 2001).

Gregorian Sacramentary, and thus are found in early medieval sacramentaries across Latin Europe from the Carolingian period onwards.²² We also find the passage in the Gregorian *Missa pro rege*, specifically in defence of the king and his people against “visible and invisible enemies”, in Franco-Roman liturgical tradition from at least the ninth century.²³

The remainder of the antiphon glosses the Judith text, calling on God to “crush” the power of the enemy, that is, “those who wish evil on your servants”. As is very often the case, the liturgist did not write out his text in full, but rather supplied the minimum necessary to the celebrant, for whom the intended expansion would have been clear. Berganza suggested inserting the phrase ‘let your right hand shatter the enemies’, but, although it fits the general tenor of this prayer, his suggestion is not one for which there is any liturgical precedent, nor indeed any textual similarity in either the Old Hispanic Rite or any other early medieval liturgy that I have found.²⁴ A more ready solution can be found by comparing our text to other antiphons widely used in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Europe. The variant that we see here can be found frequently in Matins of the daily office, drawn from the common ‘De Judith’ used in September, and part of the liturgical period known as the Summer Histories.²⁵ This appears most frequently in French and German antiphonals from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in a slightly expanded form, as below:²⁶

- 22 *Le sacramentaire grégorien: Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, 3 vol ed. Jean Deshusses (Fribourg, 1971–1982), vol. II, 154 (p. 161), ‘Missa in tempore belli’, and idem 155 (p. 162). It also can be found in the Gelasian rite at the start of collects ‘in tempore belli’; see Amnon Linder, *Raising Arms: Liturgy in the Struggle to Liberate Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2003), p. 175 and 199.
- 23 *Le sacramentaire gregorien* II, 52 (p. 75); Deus qui conteris bella, et impugnatore in te sperantium potentia tuae defensionis expugnas, auxiliare quaesumus famulo tuo regi nostro, coniugi, et proli populoque sibi subiecto, pro quibus suppliciter misericordiam tuam imploramus, ut te parcente remissionem peccatorum percipiant, et cuncta sibi adversantia te adiuvante superare valeant. For more on the Misa pro rege in Castile, see Holt, “*Laudes regiae*: Liturgy and royal power in thirteenth-century Castile-León,” in *The Sword and the Cross: Castile-León in the era of Fernando III*, eds. E. Holt and T. Witcombe (Leiden, 2020), pp. 140–164.
- 24 Berganza’s suggestion reads ‘Allide vir[tutem] eor[um] et dextera tua *confringat inimicos*’.
- 25 R. Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonarium officii* (Roma, 1963–1979), no. 6492. On the Summer Histories, see Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, 41–43 and 113.
- 26 Eg, Marseille, Antiphonarium Massiliense (1190–1200), BNF, Département des Manuscrits. Latin 1090 f. 103v; Early twelfth-century St. Maur-des-Fossés, BNF, Département des Manuscrits. Latin 12044 f. 134r; Twelfth-century antiphoner, Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift—Bibliothek, 1012, f. 136.v; Antiphoner from Cambrai Cathedral c.1230 (Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, 38 (olim 40), fol 170v); Twelfth-century antiphoner from Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. 406 (3J 7), f. 175r; Worcester Cathedral, c.1230,

**Antiphon from Matins of
De Judith:**

Domine deus qui conteris bella ab initio eleva brachium tuum super gentes quae cogitant servis tuis mala et dextera tua glorificetur in nobis. Allide virtutem eorum in virtute tua cadat virtus eorum in iracundia tua.

Antiphon of the Oratio [*my suggested expansions*]:

Domine deus qui conteris bella ab initio [*eleva brachium tuum super gentes quae cogitant servis tuis mala.*]²⁷ Allide vir[*tutem*] eor[*um*] et dextera tua [*glorificetur in nobis*]

Significantly, this antiphon is also to be found in three Iberian manuscripts, two of which are direct contemporaries to the *Liber Sacramentorum*. The earliest of these is associated with the monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos, in the diocese of Burgos (and just fifty kilometres from Cardena), written in the late eleventh century.²⁸ The same antiphon appears in another text from Silos, an antiphonal dated to the thirteenth century, and thus contemporary to the writing of our *Oratio*.²⁹ It appears again in a thirteenth-century breviary from the Aragonese see of Huesca.³⁰ The identification of this antiphon within the tradition of Gregorian *in tempore belli* masses, and as being widespread in the liturgical texts of Latin Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, thus clearly points us away from the antiquarian understanding of this text as representing a much older Hispanic rite, and towards the initial indication

Worcester Cathedral Music Library F.160 (olim 1247) (facs), f. 178; Franciscan codex c.1260, Fribourg, Bibliothèque des Cordeliers, 2, f. 148v; Late twelfth-century Zwiefalten, Badische Landesbibliothek—Musikabteilung, Aug. LX, f. 201v; Twelfth-century antiphoner from St. Gall; Stiftsbibliothek, 388, (Cod. Sang. 388 f. 404); Tenth-century Hartker Antiphony from St. Gall (Cod. Sang. 391 f. 216.) For more, consult the Cantus Index (cantusindex.org).

- 27 I suggest the integration of the whole of this passage, as the 'eorum' of the response requires a subject.
- 28 British Library Add MS 30850; see the *MusicaHispanica* entry by Raquel Rojo Carrillo. Available at musicahispanica.eu/source/20199. Accessed March 3, 2023; Vivancos, "Antiphony", p. 278, who dates it to the eleventh century and comments that: "it follows the Roman monastic cursus which corresponds to the time when the Spanish liturgy had been replaced by the Franco-Roman".
- 29 Silos Biblioteca del monasterio, ms. 9, f. 126r; see the *MusicaHispanica* entry by Javier Santiago Ruiz and Pablo Cantalapiedra. Available at musicahispanica.eu/source/19722. Accessed March 3, 2023; Janini, *Manuscrito litúrgicos*, p. 254 and W. Whitehill and J. Pérez de Urbel, "Los manuscritos del Real Monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 95 (1929): 570–573.
- 30 Archivo de la catedral de Huesca, ms. 8, f. 120v; Available at musicahispanica.eu/source/20426?page=8. Accessed March 3, 2023.

that the *Oratio* may belong to a context more closely aligned with the period in which the manuscript was produced.

Berganza described this text as the 'so-called Mass of the Cross' (*missa dicitur de crucis*). Yet the manuscript does not designate our prayer as a mass at all; the rubric provided is simply *Oratio in tempore belli adversus Saracenos*. By way of contrast, there is a mass setting on the lower half of this same folio, namely for All Saints, which is rubricated as *Missa de omnibus sanctis*.³¹ The *Oratio*, however, is evidently not a mass setting, but a shorter sequence designed to be said in the course of a mass or office as needed. In this sense, it can more accurately be described as a 'clamour', that is, an urgent liturgical appeal to God at a time of crisis that could be said within any mass, and a form that was coming to be increasingly popular by the thirteenth century for use in times of war against Muslims in the context of crusade.

The direct confrontation with Islam that was precipitated by the crusading movement resulted in a dynamic period of adaptation and expansion of the ways in which the Church prayed about military engagement with Muslims across the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. From the time of the First Crusade in 1095, liturgy relating to war with non-Christians would undergo an important shift, focused on the theological imperative to conquer (and, after 1187, to reconquer) Jerusalem. Rituals also developed around taking the Cross and becoming *crucesignatus*, that is, vowing to go on crusade.³² Most important for our purposes, however, was the emergence of a liturgical 'clamour' for the Holy Land as a key weapon in the arsenal of medieval lay and clerical society.

Although originally a jurisdictional term, monks were deploying the term 'clamour' in a liturgical sense by the eleventh century, signifying a prayer sequence associated with the doing of penance in the face of tribulation.³³ By the late twelfth century, however, the practice of clamour had taken on quite a far more bellicose nature, and became inextricably linked to the call for triumph in war against Muslims and the deliverance of the Holy Land from the Islamic powers to which it had fallen. For both Cecilia Gaposchkin and Amnon

31 The three prayers provided for the mass for All Saints are the three standard prayers of the 'proper' that one would expect to see in a medieval sacramentary. The proper constitutes the collect (the principal prayer before the readings), the secret (an offertory prayer), and the postcommunion (the prayer said following communion); see C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, trans. W. Storey and N. Rasmussen (Washington DC, 1986).

32 Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, pp. 65–93.

33 Lester Little, *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France* (Ithaca NY, 1993), pp. 17–26.

Linder, the defeat of the crusaders at Hattin and the loss of Jerusalem in 1187 was a turning point, after which popes and leaders of crusade began exhorting the faithful to insert a Holy Land clamour into their daily prayers as an increasingly regular, and regularised, forms of liturgical entreaty for the recovery of Jerusalem.³⁴ Linder has identified these clamours as having a broadly tripartite structure: opening with an antiphon or psalm, followed by a series of versicles, and finally a collect, which was the most original part of the sequence.³⁵ They were prayers to be said daily, within the mass or office, and were to be said before the public as well as privately by clergy and religious. The English chronicler Roger of Hoveden described the new intercessory prayers stipulated in 1188 by Pope Clement III (1187–1191) as consisting of an antiphon, a psalm, several versicles, and a collect, with the latter calling on God to aid Christians at war with Muslims:³⁶ “Almighty and everlasting God (*Omnipotens sempiterne deus*), in whose hands are the power and rule of all kingdoms, in your mercy look upon the Christian armies, that the heathen who put trust in their own ferocity may be vanquished by the power of your right hand”.³⁷ By the turn of the thirteenth century, clamours with rubrics such as *Oratio pro terra iherosolimitana*, *Contra paganorum incursiones*, and *Pro terra sancta*, were appearing in sacramentaries across the Latin West.

Clamours for the Holy Land were not wholly absent from the northern Christian kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula, where, of course, the Andalusi south provided another, much more immediate, Islamic threat.³⁸ However, I know of no examples of this liturgical form from Castile, where the closest thing we have to such a text is our *Oratio*. There are many immediate points of similarity. The structure of the *Oratio* matches exactly that of the 1188 clamour, and more broadly, the tripartite nature that characterises the liturgical clamour. Like clamours to the Holy Land, the *Oratio* is a short, focused prayer sequence, and one that could be inserted into the mass easily. The majority of the Holy Land clamours analysed by Linder were inserted either into the

34 See Linder, *Raising Arms*, pp. 1–63 and Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, pp. 192–226.

35 Linder, *Raising Arms*, p. 3.

36 The antiphon was ‘Tua est potencia’, taken from the Summer Histories liturgy ‘De Machabaeis’. See Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, pp. 198–200.

37 “Omnipotens sempiterne deus, in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates et omnia iura regnorum, respice ad Christianorum benignus auxiliam [ad Christianum benigne exercitum], ut gentes quae in sua feritate confidunt potentiae tuae dextera comprimantur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum ...” See idem, p. 198 and Linder, *Raising Arms*, p. 11.

38 Gaposchkin has identified an Aragonese manuscript containing a clamour ‘Pro adversitate terre ierosolimam’; see *Invisible Weapons*, p. 291. There are also masses for Jerusalem from Catalonia.

front or the margins of medieval sacramentaries, reflecting the intended daily use of these prayers, and, in the cases where they were written into margins, encapsulating the moment when the exhortation to say such prayers reached the liturgist. As we have already discussed, the codicology of the Burgos *Liber Sacramentorum* is complicated, but nonetheless, we see the *Oratio* at the very front of the codex, in line with Linder's observations.

These comparisons become more convincing when we consider the textual development of the Holy Land clamour in relation to the *Oratio*. The exhortation of Pope Clement III to all Christians to raise a clamour to God in 1188, in response to the loss of Jerusalem, was expanded upon by his successors. By the mid-1190s, Cistercian liturgical books had started stipulating the recital of an *Oratio pro terra Ierosolimitana*, which consisted of Psalm 78, lamenting the defilement of Jerusalem, followed by the versicles *Exurgat Deus* ('Let God rise up') and *Salvum fac populum* ('Save O Lord your people'), and a collect.³⁹ Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) invigorated and universalised the clamour for the Holy Land. In 1202, he issued a universal call to prayer for the deliverance of Jerusalem, although the key text in this regard was not issued until somewhat later; namely Innocent's bull *Quia Maior* of 1213, an encyclical calling for the Fifth Crusade that stressed the importance of spiritual weapons—prayers and processions—in support of crusade and specified the clamour that should be raised to God within the mass every day.⁴⁰ Innocent's clamour revolved around Psalm 78, followed by the versicle, *Exurgat Deus* once again, and adding a collect of his own, which focused explicitly on the Holy Land.⁴¹ The call for crusade, and very likely the clamour itself, was reiterated at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Innocent also directed his liturgical fervour towards the wars with Islam in the Iberian Peninsula. As the Castilian king prepared for war with the Almohads in 1212, Innocent ordered major processions throughout Rome, at which the relics of the Passion were revealed, with huge crowds gathering to pray that the enemy might be vanquished.⁴²

39 Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, pp. 198–200 and 291; Linder, *Raising Arms*, pp. 8–11.

40 Thomas Smith, "How to craft a crusade call: Pope Innocent III and *Quia maior* (1213)," *Historical research* 92, no. 255 (2019): 2–23; Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, pp. 201–209; Linder, *Raising Arms*, pp. 37–41.

41 "God, You who arranges all with astonishing providence, we suppliantly beg You to restore to Christian worship that land, which Your own begotten son consecrated with His own blood, snatching it from the hands of the enemies of the cross, by mercifully directing the vows of the faithful pressing hard for its liberation, into the way of eternal salvation"; Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, p. 207.

42 This was the *Omnipotens sempiternus deus* prayer. See *ibid.*, p. 205 and Damian Smith, "The Papacy, the Spanish Kingdoms and Las Navas".

Clamour remained central to the crusading endeavour throughout the thirteenth century, and calls for clamour were repeated by Honorius III in 1217, who referred to the “invisible weapons” of the liturgy in advance of the Fifth Crusade, and again by Pope Innocent IV in 1245, in advance of King Louis IX’s crusade in 1248.⁴³ It was a form that allowed for flexibility and for expansion depending on circumstance. Psalm 78 remained the most common opening text, and one of the hallmarks of this genre, an explicit cry of lament at the sulling of Jerusalem: “they have entered your holy city, they have turned it into a place to sell fruit!”, although Linder has also identified others, such as Psalm 66, the call to the Lord to have mercy.⁴⁴ The collects used also varied, and were adapted to need. From the pontificate of Innocent III, the versicle *Exurgat Deus* had been associated with the Holy Land clamour, but more could be, and were, added. As we have seen, the Cistercian sacramentaries regularly inserted the *Salvum fac populum* versicle too in the 1190s. By the 1240s, an increasingly consistent selection of some six or seven versicles were most commonly recycled between Holy Land clamours.⁴⁵ In her comprehensive study of crusade liturgy, Cecilia Gaposchkin has traced the development of the Holy Land clamour from the 1180s until the end of the thirteenth century, and it is here that we find the clearest evidence of a connection with the *Oratio in tempore belli adversus Saracenos*:

The development of the Holy Land Clamour, c.1225–45 ⁴⁶	The <i>Oratio</i>
Antiphon/Psalm (usually Ps 78)	Antiphon
Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison. Kyrie eleison.	Psalm 66: Deus misereatur Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison. Kyrie eleison.
Pater Noster. Et ne nos ...	Pater noster. Et ne nos ...

43 Linder, *Raising Arms*, pp. 41–52; Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, pp. 219–222.

44 Linder, *Raising Arms*, pp. 54–56, 58–60, 62, 63 and 67.

45 Linder, *Raising Arms*, p. 49.

46 As identified by Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, Appendix 2 ‘Comparative Development of the Clamor’, columns 5, 7, 8 and 9.

The development of the Holy Land Clamour, c.1225–45 **The *Oratio***

Versicles:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Exurgat deus et dissipentur inimici eius, et fugiant qui oderunt eum a facie eius (Ps. 67:2) ⁴⁷ | 1. Exurgat deus et dissipentur inimici eius. Et fugiant qui oderunt eum (Ps. 67.2) |
| 2. Domine salvum fac regem et exaudi nos in die qua invocaverimus te (Ps. 19:10) | 2. Domine salvum fac regem R. Et exaudi nos in die qua invocaverimus te (Ps. 19:9) |
| 3. Salvum fac populum tuum domine, et benedic hereditati tuae. (cf. Ps. 27:9) | 3. Salvum fac populum tuum Domine. R Et benedic haereditati tuae (cf. Ps. 27: 9) |
| 4. Oremus pro afflictis et captivis et peregrinis christianis. Libera eos deus israhel. (cf. Ps. 24:22) | 4. Esto eis, Domine, turris fortitudinis a facie inimici in eis. (Ps. 60:4) |
| 5. Mitte eis domine auxilium de sancto et de syon tuere eos. (cf. Ps. 19:3) | 5. Mite eis auxilium de Sancto domine R. Et de Syon tuere eos (cf. Ps. 19:3) |
| 6. Esto eis domine turris fortitudinis a facie inimici. (cf. Ps. 60:4) | 6. Domine exaudi orationem meam, et clamor meus ad te veniet. (Ps. 101:2) |
| 7. Domine exaudi orationem meam. Et clamor meus ad te, veniet. (Ps. 101:2) | 7. Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo |
| 8. Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo. | |

Collect

47 Following the *Exurgat Deus*, Gaposchkin has noted that a manuscript from Chartres c.1225 inserts the verse: “Non nobis domine non nobis, sed nomini tuo” Ps. 113:9 (See Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, Appendix 2, column 5).

It is clear from this comparison that, in the *Oratio*, we find a Castilian prayer that echoes many of the features of the clamour for the Holy Land, the liturgical form that had become ubiquitous as a support for the crusading endeavour by the thirteenth century. And yet it is not a clamour to Jerusalem, but for conquest against the Muslims of al-Andalus. It is notable that the only versicle commonly employed in the Holy Land clamour to be missed out of the *Oratio* was the verse that beseeched God to protect the captive and the pilgrim; the latter being a common theme in crusading theology from its earliest stirrings. This was, naturally, a prayer that had far less resonance in a Castilian context, since no pilgrims headed to al-Andalus. It is also noteworthy that the *Oratio* includes the 'royal variant', the insertion of the *Salvum fac regem* verse, an exhortation that God should protect the king. Both Linder and Gaposchkin have noted this addition into the clamours being said in preparation for the Seventh Crusade, led by Louis IX of France, and it was common in French manuscripts from the 1240s.⁴⁸

Through these prayers, the earthly struggles of the congregation became bound up within an eschatological framework, and their enemies became God's own enemies, to be scattered and defeated by God, the 'tower of strength'. To us, they also make clear the place of the *Oratio* within the wider tradition of clamouring for the Holy Land, and the influence in Castile of the liturgical innovations associated with crusade, and used by prelates and liturgists across France, the Holy Roman Empire, and the rest of the Latin West. The *Oratio* reveals a repurposing of this liturgical form, directed towards the south of the Iberian Peninsula rather than Jerusalem.

It is important, at this juncture, to point out a further clue in the manuscript, indicating that these prayers belong in a thirteenth-century context. Adjacent to the *Oratio*, on the same folio, is a Mass for All Saints that takes up the second half of the page. This consists of the three standard mass prayers: a collect (*A cunctis nos*),⁴⁹ a secret (*Exaudi nos*),⁵⁰ and a postcommunion (*Mundet et muniat*).⁵¹ This mass text is widely known, and has long

48 Linder, *Raising Arms*, p. 44; Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, pp. 219–222.

49 "A cunctis nos, quaesumus, Domine, mentis et corporis deffende periculis, et intercedente gloriosa virgine Dei genetrice Maria: cum beatis apostolis tuis Pet[ro] Paulo [atque Benedicto] et omnibus sanctis, salutem nobis tribue benignus et pacem, ut destructuris adversitatibus et erroribus universis, Ecclesia tua secura tibi serviat libertate". [My transcription]

50 "Exaudi nos, domine deus noster, ut per huius sacramenti virtutem a cunctis nos mentis et corporis hostibus tuearis, gratiam tribuens in praesenti, et gloriam in futuro". [My transcription]

51 "Mundet et muniat quaesumus domine, d ... t sac ... nos ut intercedente beata virgine Dei genetrice Maria, cum apostolis tuis Petro et Paulo, [atque Benedicto] et omnibus

been associated with Pope Innocent III.⁵² Although the attribution of liturgical texts to a *cause célèbre* like Innocent must be treated with caution, there is substantial evidence to suggest that this mass sequence did in fact emerge in the early thirteenth century, and that it found its way into sacramentaries across Europe in the following decades. It has been identified by Stephen van Dijk as appearing within papal liturgical registers for the first time under the papacy of Innocent III, and from here, entering the early Franciscan liturgical tradition; the text is attributed to Innocent III in four thirteenth-century Franciscan missals.⁵³ Most importantly for our purposes, it also appears to have been inserted into two sacramentaries from Catalonia, from Santa Maria de Vilabertran and Sant Cugat, in the early- and mid-thirteenth century.⁵⁴ We see it elsewhere too, including in three liturgical texts connected to the Knights Templar from mid-thirteenth-century Acre.⁵⁵ The reoccurrence of this mass in the *Liber Sacramentorum*, and indeed, alongside the *Oratio*, thus lends further support to the notion that liturgical ideas propagated by the papacy and developing within the wider liturgical tradition in the thirteenth century were filtering into local practices in Castile, where the context of war with the Muslims to the south necessitated their redeployment in a new direction.

sanctis (a cunctis nos reddas et perversit) atibus expiatos, et adversitatibus expeditos".
[My transcription]

- 52 This mass setting continues to have a place in the liturgy of the Catholic Church today. Migne calls these prayers "three prayers on All Saints for the defence and tranquillity of the Church", *Patriologia Latina* 217, p. 918; Janini, *Manuscritos Litúrgicos*, p. 53.
- 53 Van Dijk, *The Ordinal of the Papal Court from Innocent III to Boniface VIII and Related Documents* (Fribourg, 1975), p. xxix (note 8), also pp. 152, 353, 183, 491, and 558. See also A. Welch, *Liturgy, Books and Franciscan Identity in Medieval Umbria* (Leiden, 2016), pp. 55–66.
- 54 For San Cugat: Joan Bellavista, "El santoral en el sacramentari de Sant Cugat del Valles Barcelona", *RCatT XXI*71 (1996): 117–200, 188; this sacramentary is dated to the late twelfth century with the addition of these prayers, rubricated "Innocentius papa terci composuit tempore concilii eiusdem". For Vilabertran: Miquel Gros I Pujol, "El sacramentari de Santa Maria de Vilabertran (Paris, BnF, lat. 1102)," *Miscellània litúrgica catalana* 19 (2011): 47–202, 49, 154 (supplement 1, written 1250–1275), and 163 (supplement 3, 15th century).
- 55 See Cristina Dondi, "The Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem (XII–XVI century): With Special Reference to the Practice of the Orders of the Temple and St John of Jerusalem," unpublished PhD Thesis (King's College London University, 2000), p. 280 (pre-dates 1228), p. 300 (a sacramentary from the late 1220s) and p. 326 (a missal from the 1260s). She also identifies the same mass sequence in a thirteenth-century Templar sacramentary from Modena (p. 348).

3 The 'gens Maurorum'

Let us now turn to the final part of the *Oratio*, the collect. This calls for the protection of the king and his armies and the total destruction of the Muslim enemy:

Lord Jesus Christ son of the living God, you who are both true God and man, look kindly on your servant our king and on his army, and accompany them always in protection. And grant that, by virtue of your name and of your most victorious Cross, they should powerfully conquer the Muslim people, who always disparage you. And concede that, the barbaric ferocity having been trampled underfoot, they may return to their homes with honour and joy.⁵⁶

As we have seen, the collect was generally the most original part of the clamour sequence, written with a particular context in mind. This appears to be the case here, and I have not been able to identify any direct textual models for this prayer. In invoking God's power to bless the king's armies in the face of the 'ferocity' (*feritate*) of the Muslims (referred to as a *gens*), it echoes thematically the *Omnipotens sempiterne deus*, the collect that accompanied the first clamours for the Holy Land in the 1180s and that was called upon by Innocent III in the preparations for war in Spain in 1212. This language was not new; one of the principal collects for the Gregorian Sacramentary masses *in tempore belli* likewise refer to 'crushing' (*compressa* or *depressa* compared to the *Oratio's calcata*) the 'ferocious peoples' (*gentium feritate*).⁵⁷ However, such broad parallels are of little assistance in pinpointing our *Oratio* any further.

Notably, the Muslim peoples are described as 'detracting from' or 'disparaging' God (*tibi ... detrahit*), a term originally taken from Psalm 108, where this same verb is used repeatedly with regard to those who, having disparaged God, will in turn be shamed by him.⁵⁸ Medieval theological tradition built on this term, associating it consistently with the Jewish people, who 'detracted from' God by denying the divinity of Christ, an interpretation presented in the

56 For the original text, see the Appendix.

57 *Le sacramentaire grégorien* II, 2537 and 2545, and *Corpus orationum* II, 1501: "Deus qui conteris bella et impugnatore in te sperantium potentia tuae defensionis expungnas, auxiliare famulis tuis, / [famulo tuo illi rege nostro] implorantibus misericordiam tuam, ut omnium gentium feritate compressa/[depressa], indefessa te gratiarum actione laudemus". [MS variant as recorded by Bruylants, *Oraisons du Missel Romain*, 317]. See also Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonalium Officii*, no. 2338.

58 Ps 108:4, 108:20, 108:29.

works of Augustine.⁵⁹ From here, it can be found widely in subsequent medieval exegetical tradition, such as the works of the twelfth-century theologian Peter Lombard, and the thirteenth-century Franciscan chronicler Salimbene, where, again, the Psalm and the terminology of ‘*detrudere Christi*’ was explicitly bound up with Judaism and the denial of Christ’s role in the Godhead.⁶⁰ It is significant, therefore, though perhaps not surprising, that we should see the same term re-used here in the *Oratio*, as an accusation against Muslims, since the defence of Christ’s divinity was precisely at the core of much of the anti-Islamic polemic written in the Peninsula during these centuries.⁶¹

Indeed, the closest textual parallel to this collect comes not from another liturgical source, but from a narrative one, the *Chronica latina regum Castellae*, written in the late 1230s, and attributed to Juan bishop of Osma, chancellor of the Castilian court and bishop of Burgos from 1240.⁶² When describing the battle with the Almohads at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212, the chronicler narrates how the king of Castile was avenged against the Muslims of al-Andalus “by the power of our Lord Jesus Christ and of the most victorious Cross, which the aforesaid king of Morocco had blasphemed with polluted mouth” (*per uirtutem Domini nostri Iesu Christi et uictoriosissime Crucis, in quam blasphemauerat ore poluto rex supradictus Marroquitanus*).⁶³ The sentiment and language are both echoed very closely in the exhortation of our collect from the *Oratio*: “Lord Jesus Christ ... grant that, by the power of your name and of your most victorious Cross, they should powerfully conquer the Muslim people, who always detract from you” (*Domine Jesu Christe ... presta ut per uirtutem nominis tui et uictoriosissime crucis tue gentem maurorum que tibi semper detrahit potenter expugnent.*) We see this rhetoric repeated further on, where the chronicler describes the conquest of Córdoba in 1236, and the consecration of the city’s

59 Augustine, *Sermones ad populum*, 43; idem, *Enarrationes in psalmos*, 40.

60 Peter Lombard, *Commentarium in psalmos*, 108:19; Salimbene, *Cronica*, p. 71.

61 See Thomas Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs, c. 1050–1200* (Leiden, 1994).

62 Henceforth *Chronica Latina*. The Latin edition used here is: *Crónica latina de los reyes de Castilla*, ed. Luís Charlo Brea (Cádiz, 1984). On the identification of Juan as its author, see Derek Lomax, “The authorship of the *Chronique latine des rois de Castille*,” *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 40 (1963): 205–211; Peter Linehan, “Don Juan de Soria, Unas apostillas,” in *Fernando III y su tiempo (1201–1252): VIII Congreso de Estudios Medievales* (Avila, 2003), pp. 375–394; and Bernard F. Reilly, “The *Chronica Latina Regum Castellae*: Historical Composition at the Court of Fernando III of Castile, 1217–1252,” *Viator* 41, no. 1 (2010): 141–154.

63 *Chronica Latina*: ch. 23; “si quid labis uel opprobii contraxerat rex gloriosus et regnum eius in bello de Alarcos, purgandum erat per uirtutem Domini nostri Iesu Christi et uictoriosissime Crucis, in quam blasphemauerat ore poluto rex supradictus Marroquitanus”.

mosque as a cathedral. Once again, the blasphemy of Islam and the “filthiness of Muhammadan superstition” is crushed “by the power of our Lord Jesus Christ and his most Victorious Cross” (*per uirtutem Domini nostri Iesu Christi et uictoriosissime Crucis*).⁶⁴

It is by turning to narrative sources that we can also gain some insight into another eye-catching element of the collect; the term used to refer to the object of this prayer, the *gens Maurorum* or ‘Muslim peoples’ themselves. Nowhere in the crusading liturgies do we find any parallel to this language.⁶⁵ The clamours for the Holy Land describe the Muslim enemy as *gentes* (‘peoples’ or ‘nations’, sometimes translated as ‘heathens’),⁶⁶ *gentes incredulitates* (‘unbelieving peoples’), *pagani* (‘pagans’), *infidelis* (‘the unfaithful’), and most straightforwardly, from an eschatological perspective, *inimici crucis* (‘enemies of the Cross’). There are many masses ‘Against Pagans’, but as Gaposchkin has pointed out, the ‘pagan’ could be more or less any enemy; Carolingian sacramentaries used the term against the Saxon invaders, whereas early English liturgies referred to the Danes by the same.⁶⁷ Similar can be said for the Old Hispanic Rite: the liturgy for the king going to war asks God to defend him simply against ‘enemies’ (*hostes* and *inimici*).⁶⁸ None of these terms, mostly drawn from the language of the Old Testament, specify that the enemy is a Muslim. ‘Saracen’ is a more specific term, and one that was very widely used in medieval discourse, where it is generally recognised as referring more clearly to Muslims.⁶⁹ This too is a term found commonly in the crusading liturgies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as a way of referring to the Muslim enemy, including by Innocent III, who, in 1212, referred to “the so-called Saracens” in the Iberian Peninsula.⁷⁰

The *gens Maurorum*, the Muslim nation or people, on the other hand, is a term entirely unprecedented in a liturgical context, and one that does not

64 Ibid., ch. 50: “Archiepiscopus uero Toletanus et episcopus Palentinus et alii uiri religiosi, qui cum episcopis erant, mezquitam Maurorum omni spurcicia mahometice susperstitionis per uirtutem Domini nostri Iesu Christi et uictoriosissime Crucis eius purgatam dedicauerunt ecclesiam Domino Iesu Christo”.

65 Patrick Henriet has noted this too; idem, “La guerra contra el Islam: ¿Una guerra santa, pero según qué criterios?” in *El mundo de los conquistadores*, ed. Martín F. Ríos Saloma (Mexico City, 2015), pp. 287–306, 324. Much later, in the sixteenth century, we find clamours against Turks: ‘Turcer ... Machometi secte vane’ (Linder, *Raising Arms*, p. 196).

66 Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, p. 197.

67 Ibid., pp. 48–49.

68 Janini, *Liber Ordinum Episcopalis*, no. 48.

69 On this important term, see John Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York, 2002).

70 ‘Sarracenos dicitur’; Demetrio Mansilla, *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III (965–1216)* (Rome, 1955), p. 503.

have its roots in the language of the Old Testament. It should, perhaps, come as no surprise that a liturgist writing in thirteenth-century Iberia, where Christian and Muslim polities had lived in immediate proximity for some six centuries, should choose this term. By the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Christian chroniclers were showing more interest in and awareness of the identities of their Andalusí neighbours than before. Simon Barton revealed a surprisingly detailed understanding of Almoravid government and policy in the mid-twelfth century *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, and by the thirteenth century, a greater diversity of terms was being used to depict political and ethnic differences among Andalusí Muslims.⁷¹ Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada of Toledo took this to its furthest extent in the 1240s, when he wrote his *Historia Arabum*, which was to be the first history of peninsular Islam written by a non-Muslim.

In the *Chronicle of 754*, an eighth-century Christian text written in the Peninsula under Muslim rule, references to the *gens Maurorum* had a specific ethnographical significance, differentiating between two Muslim groups to identify the Berbers in contrast with the ruling Arabs.⁷² By the twelfth century, however, the term *maurus* can be found very widely, and appears to have lost its original, ethnic, significance. Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's *De Rebus Hispanie*, for example, routinely refers to the inhabitants of al-Andalus as *mauri*, indicating Muslims of all backgrounds, as do the authors of the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, the *Chronica Latina*, and the *Primera Crónica General*, written at the end of the thirteenth century.⁷³ Yet, widespread though the term is, its coupling with the noun *gens*, a recognition of the existence of a 'people' or 'nation' of the Muslims, is more unusual.⁷⁴ I have found the term in just one of these sources; that is, once again, in the *Chronica Latina*, and more specifically, in the same chapter cited above, the description of the conquest of Córdoba in 1236. Here, it is used in explicit contrast to the people of Christ: "after the sudden evacuation of the Muslim people (*gens Maurorum*), [Córdoba] had to be

71 Barton, "Islam and the West". See H el ene Sirantoine, "What's in a Word? Naming 'Muslims' in Medieval Christian Iberia", in *Making the Medieval Relevant: How Medieval Studies Contribute to Improving Our Understanding of the Present*, eds. Chris Jones et al. (Boston, 2019), pp. 225–238; and Teresa Witcombe, "The Qur'an and the 'Laws of Muhammad' in medieval Christian eyes", in *The Iberian Qur'an: From the Middle Ages to Modern Times*, eds. M. Garc a-Arenal and G. Wieggers (Berlin, Boston, 2022), pp. 49–67.

72 H el ene Sirantoine, "What's in a Word?", p. 230. For the *Chronicle of 754*, see the study and translation of Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain*, 2nd ed. (Liverpool, 2011).

73 Sirantoine, "What's in a Word?"

74 On 'gens', see Bartlett, Robert, "Medieval and Modern Concepts of Race and Ethnicity," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31, no. 1 (2001): 39–56.

populated by new inhabitants, followers of Christ (*novis habitatoribus, Christi cultoribus*).⁷⁵ The chronicler also refers to the “land of the Muslims”, such as his description of the elderly Alfonso VIII setting out to besiege Baeza and hoping to die “in time of war in the land of the Muslims”.⁷⁶

There are other similarities too between the collect of the *Oratio* and the language of the *Chronica Latina*. At least three times, the chronicler mentions the Muslims being “forcefully expelled” (*potenter ... expugnantes*), and the king’s armies “returning to their homes with honour”.⁷⁷ However, I do not wish to overemphasise the significance of these concurrences. There may be a direct link between the chronicler and the writing of the *Oratio*; Juan of Osma was present at several of the conquests he describes, and was the prelate who consecrated the mosque of Córdoba after the city’s conquest. He also owned land in these conquered territories, referred to in his will as the “frontier” (*frontaria*).⁷⁸ But perhaps more important is the fact that these two texts appear to be products of the same cultural milieu. If prayers such as the *Oratio* were being said routinely in support of the wars of Fernando III, it would be wholly expected to find the same rhetoric in the descriptions of these events by those who were there, and who would themselves have been raising the “invisible weapons” of the liturgy on behalf of these conquests. Rather than allowing us to identify a precise provenance for the *Oratio*, the language of the collect more securely points us, once again, towards the cultural and linguistic context of the thirteenth century, and the ways in which the Castilian Church under Fernando III perceived of and wrote about the Muslims of al-Andalus.

4 Conclusions: Praying for Conquest in Castile

As I hope has been made clear in the course of this chapter, the *Oratio in tempore belli adversus Saracenos* should be considered to be a thirteen-century prayer, and one that reflects the sorts of liturgy performed by the Castilian clergy during the turbulent years of conflict with the Islamic south of the Peninsula during this period. The *Oratio* is very clearly a ‘clamour’, and one that was influenced, structurally and textually, by the liturgies associated with

75 *Chronica Latina*, ch. 74.

76 *Chronica Latina*, ch. 26; *habens propositum firmissimum finire uitam suam in terra Maurorum tempore guerre.*

77 For example, see ch. 25: *reuersi sunt ad propria cum uictoria et honore.*

78 In his will of 1246, Bishop Juan leaves “*possessiones meas quas habeo in Frontaria, scilicet, in Corduba et in terminis suis, in Ubeda et Baecia et in terminis suis, et in Campo de Alarcos.*” ACB, Vol 25, f. 351.

crusade, and specifically the clamours for the Holy Land, that were said across the rest of Latin Europe in the thirteenth century. Yet here, the liturgical rhetoric was re-purposed and re-directed for use within the context of Castilian conquest of al-Andalus.

That this should be so comes as little surprise when we consider the nature of the Castilian Church in the thirteenth century, and particularly, the sorts of prelates that staffed it—and that would have been responsible for commissioning new liturgical texts. Although the bishops of Fernando III have a reputation for eschewing all instructions from the papal curia, this is not always justified, and there is no doubt that an unprecedentedly large proportion of Iberian prelates, 27 in total, attended the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. It was at this council that Pope Innocent III called for crusade, almost certainly accompanied by a clamour.⁷⁹ From Castile, the prelates of Toledo, Burgos, Ávila, Cuenca, Osma, and Segovia attended, each with clerical entourages.⁸⁰ The papal call was repeated in 1228, on the visit of the papal legate John of Abbeville, to Castile.⁸¹ It is highly likely, as such, that the majority of the bishops serving in Castile in the aftermath of both of these events had themselves heard the papal exhortation to clamour.

Indeed, two of these prelates, Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo and Bishop Maurice of Burgos, were themselves designated *crucesignatus* in 1225, in a bull from Pope Honorius III that explicitly bestowed the spiritual benefits accrued by crusaders to Jerusalem upon those fighting the Almohads in the Iberian Peninsula.⁸² In letters dated to September of that year, the pope exhorted Rodrigo and Maurice to preach the “business” of crusade throughout Castile,

79 Antonio Garcia y Garcia, “Legislación de los concilios y sínodos del Reino Leonés,” in *El reino de León en la alta edad media, II: Ordenamiento jurídico del reino* (León, 1992), pp. 105–114, 97.

80 S. Kuttner and A. Garcia y Garcia, “A New Eyewitness Account of the Fourth Lateran Council,” *Traditio* 20 (1964): 115–178. It is likely that the bishops of Palencia and Plasencia were also present, or at least represented.

81 See Peter Linehan, “A papal legation and its aftermath,” in Peter Linehan, *Historical Memory and Clerical Activity in Medieval Spain and Portugal* (Farnham, 2012), pp. 236–256; and Garcia y Garcia, “Legislación de los concilios,” 105–114.

82 Demetrio Mansilla Reoyo, ed., *La documentación pontificia de Honorio III (1216–1227)* (Rome, 1965), doc. 575: “unde universis per Ispanias constitutes, qui crucis assumpto signaculo cause huiusmodi duxerint, insistendum, eamdem concedimus indulgentiam, que cruce signatis terre sancte subsidio insistentibus in generali concilio est concessa, quorum etiam personas cum omnibus bonis suis post crucem assumptam, sub protectione recipimus apostolice sedis et nostra ... cruce signatus regni Castille vos proprios deputavimus protectores”.

and called on King Fernando III to support them in this endeavour.⁸³ The two prelates appear to have cooperated, and to have spread this call to crusade at least as far as Ávila.⁸⁴ Unfortunately, Honorius's letters make no reference to any particular liturgy that should accompany this preaching campaign, and there is no way of knowing whether any sort of clamour was intended to support this endeavour—although, as we have seen, calls for crusading activity were routinely associated with liturgical clamours elsewhere.

Moreover, we do not have to see papal commands as the only vectors for the movement of liturgical ideas into Castile. The higher clergy of Castile were cosmopolitan men, well-travelled and often well-connected with the wider European Church. The ways in which his French and German peers prayed for crusade cannot have gone unnoticed by Bishop Maurice of Burgos, who passed through France twice in 1219, at the height of the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221), on his mission to collect Beatrice Hohenstaufen, future Queen of Castile. In almost every cathedral and church he passed as he journeyed between the Pyrenees and the imperial court in Suabia, Maurice would undoubtedly have heard the clamour for the Holy Land being prayed daily, and so would his clerical travelling companions, namely, the abbot of San Pedro de Arlanza, the abbot of Ríoseco, the prior of the Hospital of Burgos, and the master of the military order of Santiago.⁸⁵ Whether these prelates brought this liturgical practice back with them to Castile must of course remain no more than speculation, although it is not irrelevant to point out that they *did* return with new ideas about French Gothic architecture, as seen in the founding of the Gothic cathedral of Burgos two years later, the earliest such building in Castile, constructed by masons recruited from France.⁸⁶

There are many more examples of such opportunities for the movement of liturgical ideas during the first half of the thirteenth century. One was the arrival in Castile of John of Brienne, the displaced king of Jerusalem, in 1224, in

83 Mansilla Reoyo, *La documentación Pontificia*, doc 576; “Venerabiles fratres nostros Toletanum archiepiscopum et Burgensem episcopum deputavimus protectores, quibus etiam per litteras nostras iniunximus, ut indulgentiam huiusmodi, qua fideles ad promotionem eiusdem negotii animentur, publice debeant nuntiare”.

84 Teresa Witcombe, “Between Paris and Al-Andalus: Bishop Maurice of Burgos c.1208–1238 and his world,” unpublished PhD thesis (University of Exeter, 2019), ch. 2.

85 *De Rebus Hispaniae*, IX.10, ed., Juan Fernández Valverde (Turnhout, 1987). The *Chronica Latina*, ch. 40, adds ‘Garsiam Gonzalui, quondam magistrum ordinis Vclensis, hoc est, milicie Sancti Iacobi’.

86 Specifically, the masons who built the earliest parts of Burgos cathedral in the 1220s and 1230s appear to have been from Bourges. See T. Witcombe, “Building Heaven on Earth: Bishop Maurice and the *novam fabricam* of Burgos cathedral,” *Bulletin for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies* 42, no. 1 (2017): 46–60, 49–50.

the aftermath of the failure of the Fifth Crusade. He married Berenguela, sister of Fernando III, in May 1224, in a ceremony at Burgos cathedral performed by Archbishop Rodrigo. Any relationship between the presence in Castile of “the king of the earthly Jerusalem”, as he was referred to in a charter recording the event, and Fernando III’s declaration of war on the Almohads just a few months later, has yet to be established, but in any case, it seems beyond doubt that John would have his own clerics travelling with him.⁸⁷ His appearance in Burgos in these critical months would surely have been an occasion on which the clamour to the Holy Land may have become known to Castilian liturgists. Another such opportunity, towards the end of Fernando’s reign, was the appointment of Juan de Medina de Pomar, former archdeacon at Burgos and student at the University of Paris, as archbishop of Toledo in 1248—the year in which Seville was conquered by the Castilians. This was also the year in which Louis IX of France embarked on the Seventh Crusade, with the backing of Pope Innocent IV, who, as we have seen, reiterated a call for clamour to the Holy Land for the occasion. Archbishop Juan was well-known to both the French king and the pope, with the latter describing him as “our chaplain” (*capellanus noster*).⁸⁸ On the occasion of Juan’s promotion to the archiepiscopate, Louis IX despatched to him a selection of relics from the Sainte Chapelle in Paris, including a fragment of the Holy Cross and one of the spines of the Crown of Thorns, both crusading relics *par excellence*.⁸⁹ Even though, once again, we have no explicit mention of the liturgy, there is little doubt that the entourage of French clerics that must have accompanied these relics would have been familiar with the Holy Land clamour, and would most likely have been performing it daily themselves in preparation for the Seventh Crusade led by their king.

However the clamour for the Holy Land reached the ears of the liturgist who drew up the *Oratio in tempore belli adversus Saracenos*, there can be little doubt that it did so, and that this prayer represents a recycling within a Castilian context of a liturgical form that was in far wider use in thirteenth-century Europe. Whether they knew it or not, those who prayed the *Oratio* were echoing congregants across the rest of Europe who prayed for divine assistance in crusade—although in the case of the *Oratio*, the goal was not the retaking of Jerusalem but the crushing of the “Muslim people” in the south of the Iberian Peninsula. Whether this was a prayer written in anticipation of the reopening of war with the Almohads in the 1220s, or later on, around the time of the

87 ACB v. 35, f. 34; “Johanem Regem terrestris Iherosolimitane”.

88 R. González Ruiz, *Hombres y libros de Toledo 1080–1300* (Madrid, 1997), p. 207.

89 *Ibid.*, pp. 207–208.

conquest of Seville in 1248, or indeed, even after this event (since Fernando's son, Alfonso X, nurtured his own, unsuccessful ambitions to conquer Muslim lands), must remain an open question for now.⁹⁰ Detailed inspection of the *Liber Sacramentorum* may go further in clarifying this point, as will a wider identification of the prayers contained in the many other unstudied liturgical codices from this period. Nonetheless, once understood within its thirteenth-century context, the *Oratio* provides us with an important insight into the liturgy of the Castilian Church in this turbulent period, and the ways in which its members prayed for war against the Muslims of al-Andalus.

Appendix

Oratio in tempore belli adverssus⁹¹ Sarracenos
(ACB cod. 23 f.2r).

Domine deus qui conteris bella ab
inicio [*eleva brachium tuum super*
gentes quae cogitant servis tuis mala]
A. Allide vir [*tutem*] eor[um] et dex-
tera tua [*glorificetur in nobis*]

Lord God, you who destroy wars
from the beginning, raise your arm
against the peoples who wish evil on
your servants; crush their force and
let your right hand be glorified in us.

Ps. Deus misereatur nostris.

Ps. God have mercy on us.

Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie
eleison
Pater noster. Et ne nos ...

Kyrie Eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie
Eleison
Our Father.

Exurgat deus *et disipentur inimici*
eius. Et fugiant qui oderunt eum (Ps.
67:2)

Let God rise up, and may His ene-
mies be scattered; and let those that
hate Him flee

90 For Alfonso's crusading ambitions, see Peter Linehan, "Quedam de quibus dubitans: On Preaching the Crusade in Alfonso X's Castile," *Historia Instituciones Documentos* 27 (2000): 129–154.

91 There is some controversy about the transcription of this word. To me, 'adverssus' is very clear. Janini thought 'ad usum' correct, whilst Mansilla rather inexplicably made this word out to be 'contra', as did Berganza.

<p>Domine salvum fac regem R. <i>Et exaudi nos in die qua invocaverimus te.</i> (Ps. 19:9)</p>	<p>Lord, save the king; and hear us on the day that we shall call to thee</p>
<p>Salvum fac populum tuum Domine. R <i>Et benedic haereditati tuae</i> (cf. Ps. 27: 9)</p>	<p>Save, O Lord, thy people; and bless thy inheritance</p>
<p><i>Esto eis, Domine, turris fortitudinis a facie inimici in eis.</i> (Ps. 60:4)</p>	<p>Be unto them, Lord, a tower of strength; against the face of the enemy</p>
<p>Mite eis <i>auxilium de Sancto domine</i> R. <i>Et de Syon tuere eos</i> (cf. Ps. 19:3)</p>	<p>Send them help from the holy place Lord; and defend them out of Zion</p>
<p>Domine exaudi <i>orationem meam, et clamor meus ad te veniat.</i> (Ps. 101.2)</p>	<p>Lord, hear my prayer and let my cry come to thee</p>
<p>Dominus vobiscum R. <i>et cum spiritu tuo.</i></p>	<p>The Lord be with you; and with your spirit.</p>
<p>Domine Jesu Christe fili dei vivi qui vere deus es et homo. Respice propicius super famulum tuum regem nostrum, et super exercitum eius et eos perpetuo comitare presidio. Et presta ut per virtutem nominis tui et victoriosissime crucis tue gentem maurorum que tibi⁹² semper detrahit potenter expugnent. Et concede ut feritate barbarica calcata cum honore et gaudio ad propria revertantur. Qui vivis et regnas cum domine pater. In ...</p>	<p>Lord Jesus Christ son of the living God, you who are both true God and man, look kindly on your servant our king and on his army, and accompany them always in protection. And grant that, by the power of your name and of your most victorious Cross, they should powerfully conquer the Muslim people, who always disparage you. And concede that, the barbaric ferocity having been trampled underfoot, they may return to their homes with honour and joy. Who lives and reigns with the Lord Father ...</p>

92 This word is partially obscured. To me, it looks most like 'tibi'. Berganza thought it to be 'ubique', whereas Janini suggests 'vim'.

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