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Eleventh-Century Pilgrimage from Catalonia to Jerusalem: New Sources on the Foundations of the First Crusade

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Abstract

This article analyses an unusually large and generally ignored corpus of private charters: namely, testaments from eleventh-century Catalonia, some of them as yet unedited, that make reference to an upcoming or consummated pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The documents provide rare information about the testators' social, financial and spiritual circumstances. They not only open a window to the mindset of medieval men and women, but also enable us to discern changes of devotion over time. An analysis of the pilgrims' declared goals reveals the paramount importance of Christ's Sepulchre during the largest part of the eleventh century, whereas the town of Jerusalem gained momentum as an "attractor" already prior to the First Crusade. Similarly, a growth of penitential anxieties can be discerned in the second half of the century. The documents analysed in this article therefore substantiate the narrative sources generally used to study pre-crusade pilgrimage. They also demonstrate that Catalonia in the eleventh century was an area much more closely connected to Jerusalem and Palestine both by land and by sea than hitherto thought. Veneration of the holy sites was strengthened by the construction and dedication of churches and chapels, by the transfer of relics and other material and mnemonic devices. As a result, the call to the First Crusade did not go unheard in eastern Iberia.

The conquest of Jerusalem by an army of Christian warriors on 15 July 1099 and the subsequent establishment of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem marked a turning point in the history of pilgrimage: for the first time, Latin Christians ruled the city of David, and soon European settlers and merchants moved to Palestine in great numbers. This in turn facilitated communication between Latin Europe and the Levant and heightened connectivity across the Mediterranean, including Christian pilgrimage. The number of men and women who undertook the arduous journey across the sea or over land rose considerably, as many surveys have shown.¹

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¹ Reinhold Röhricht, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande* (Innsbruck, 1900; repr. Aalen, 1967); John Wilkinson, Joyce Hill and William F. Ryan, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099–1185* (London, 1988); Sabino De Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum, saec. XII–XIII: textus Latini cum versione Italica*, 4 vols. (Jerusalem, 1978–84); Pierre André Sigal, "Le pèlerinage de Terre

In contrast, it is much more difficult to grasp, analyse and quantify pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the period pre-dating the First Crusade.² There are several narrative sources that provide information about individuals and group voyages, the most famous of these concerning the pilgrimages undertaken by abbot Richard of Verdun (Abbot of Saint-Vanne) in 1027 and by Lietbert of Cambrai in 1054 and particularly the so-called “German pilgrimage” of 1064.³ But the narrative sources that relate these journeys are cultural artefacts that present a construct of what might or might not have occurred, providing theological refinement to the traveller’s motivations

sainte aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles,” in *Les Croisades. L’Orient et l’Occident d’Urbain II à Saint Louis 1096–1270*, ed. Monique Rey-Delqué (Milan, 1997), 168–75; Aryeh Grabois, *Le pèlerin occidental en Terre sainte au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1998), 38–45; Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford, 2005), 180–253.

² Ludovic Lalanne, “Des pèlerinages en terre sainte avant les croisades,” *Bibliothèque de l’Ecole des Chartes* 7 (1845): 1–31, at 12–23, 27–31; Reinhold Röhricht, “Die Pilgerfahrten nach dem Heiligen Lande vor den Kreuzzügen,” *Historisches Taschenbuch* 5/5 (1875): 321–96, at 345–55, 389–96; Edmond René Labande, “Recherches sur les pèlerins dans l’Europe des XIe et XIIe siècles,” *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 1 (1958): 159–69, 339–47; Steven Runciman, “The Pilgrimages to Palestine before 1095,” in Setton, *Crusades*, 1:68–80; John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster, 1977), 404, lists ten texts from the eleventh century; Bernard Stanley Bachrach, “The Pilgrimages of Fulk Nerra, Count of the Angevins, 987–1040,” in *Religion, Culture, and Society in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of Richard E. Sullivan*, ed. Thomas F. X. Noble and John J. Contreni (Kalamazoo, 1987), 205–29; Richard Allen Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes, 989–1034* (Cambridge, MA, 1995), 154–58; Grabois, “Le pèlerin occidental,” 35–38; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge, 1997), 28–33; John France, “Le rôle de Jérusalem dans la piété du XIe siècle,” in *Le partage du monde: échanges et colonisation dans la méditerranée médiévale*, ed. Michel Balard and Alain Ducellier (Paris, 1998), 151–62, at 154–57; Michael McCormick, “Les pèlerins occidentaux à Jérusalem, VIIIe–IXe siècles,” in *Voyages et voyageurs à Byzance et en occident du VIe au XIe siècle*, ed. Alain Dierkens and Jean-Marie Sansterre (Genève, 2000), 289–306; David Jacoby, “Bishop Gunther of Bamberg, Byzantium and Christian Pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the Eleventh Century,” in *Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie: Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur*, ed. Lars Martin Hoffmann and Anuscha Monchizadeh (Wiesbaden, 2005), 267–85; Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, 134–79; Matthew Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory: the Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks, and Jerusalem before the First Crusade* (Oxford, 2011), 79–93; Verena Türck, *Christliche Pilgerfahrten nach Jerusalem im früheren Mittelalter im Spiegel der Pilgerberichte* (Wiesbaden, 2011), 97–105.

³ *Vita Altmanni episcopi Pataviensis*, ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach, MGH SS 12 (Hanover, 1856), 226–43, at 230; *Annales Altahenses maiores*, ed. Wilhelm von Giesebrecht and Edmund L. B. von Oefele, MGH, SRG 4 (Hanover, 1891), 66–71; *Vita Lietberti episcopi Cameracensis. Auctore Rodulfo monacho Sepulcri Cameracensis*, ed. Adolf Hofmeister, MGH SS 30/2 (Hanover, 1934), 838–66; Werner Schröder, *Kleinere deutsche Gedichte des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts. Nach der Auswahl von Albert Waag* (Tübingen, 1972), 1:1–26; Ademar Cabannensis, *Chronicon* 3.47–48 and 3.65–67, ed. Pascal Bourgain, CCCM 129 (Turnhout, 1999), 166–68 and 184–87; Einar Joranson, “The Great German Pilgrimage of 1064–1065,” in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C. Munro*, ed. Louis J. Paetow (New York, 1928), 3–43; Hartmut Freytag, “Ezzos Gesang und die Jerusalemwallfahrt von 1064/65,” in *Auslandsbeziehungen unter den salischen Kaisern. Geistige Auseinandersetzung und Politik*, ed. Franz Staab (Speyer, 1994), 41–64 (with discussion 65–67); Ekkehart Rotter, “Mohammed in Bamberg: Die Wahrnehmung der muslimischen Welt im deutschen Reich des 11. Jahrhunderts,” in *Aufbruch ins zweite Jahrtausend. Innovation und Kontinuität in der Mitte des Mittelalters*, ed. Achim Hubel and Bernd Schneidmüller (Ostfildern, 2004), 283–344, at 314–20.

and giving clearly inflated figures of up to 12,000 participants in the case of the “German pilgrimage.”⁴

These chronicles and hagiographic texts need to be complemented by other, less literary material that might provide new insights into the lives, mind-frames and intentions of high medieval pilgrims. Private charters from the eleventh century often comply with these conditions better than narrative sources, because they provide individuals’ identities as well as their societal and economic background; they therefore offer relatively trustworthy information which can even serve for prosopographical studies. That being said, charters too present problems of their own.⁵ They were more often than not written by scribes and not by the issuer, so it is difficult to say whose voice we are hearing; these texts also follow rules and confinements – those of mediaeval diplomatics. The categories discernible in the charters are not necessarily those of modern scholarship, but those important to medieval men and women. However, private charters open a window to the mindsets of individual pilgrims and crusaders. At the same time these sources provide information about influences that operated on men’s minds and about wider trends of *mentalité*, because many documents written independently of each other are marked by similar language and ideas, thus providing evidence for the motivations behind pilgrimage in the eleventh century.

When it comes to the connection between pilgrimage and charter evidence, one type of charter stands out: medieval wills. These documents were drawn up under very concrete circumstances which are generally noted in their expositive clauses and *narrationes*, the most common of which was the testator’s ill health which led him or her to have a testament written. The second most frequent reason was an impending and long journey – a military expedition, a commercial trip or a pilgrimage – which necessarily brought about a certain danger to the traveller. Pilgrims’ wills therefore might provide valuable information about the motivations that lay behind the journey, even more so as they were usually penned before the traveller departed. They are therefore not contaminated by his or her later experience. Although inherently dispositive by nature, some wills would include a short expositive clause summarising the actor’s decision-making process and naming his or her motivations. Charters in general and wills in particular are therefore particularly useful sources for studying mediaeval intentionality, be it that of pilgrims or crusaders. As Marcus Bull fittingly formulated, charters “demonstrate how issues of motivation could be central to the production of the

⁴ Lietbert of Cambrai is said to have travelled with 3,000 companions, the German pilgrimage supposedly gathered 7,000 or even 12,000: *Vita Lietberti episcopi Cameracensis* 31, p. 854; *Annales Alahenses maiores*, 66. See Jacoby, “Bishop Gunther of Bamberg,” 274–75, 278–79.

⁵ Marcus Graham Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony 970–1130* (Oxford, 1993), 15–16, 179–91; Marcus Graham Bull, “The Diplomatic of the First Crusade,” in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, ed. Jonathan Phillips (Manchester, 1997), 35–54; Hugh Bernard Feiss and Corliss Konwiser Slack, eds., *Crusade Charters: 1138–1270* (Tempe, AZ, 2001), I–XVIII; Jean Flori, “Ideology and Motivations in the First Crusade,” in *Palgrave Advances in the Crusades*, ed. Helen Nicholson (New York: 2005), 15–36.

record at source.”⁶ This also holds true for the eleventh-century wills and related documents, such as notices concerning their execution or authentication charters.⁷

There are not many areas in Europe that can boast great numbers of eleventh-century charters, even fewer possess large quantities of testaments and fewer still hold many wills drawn up because of a journey to Jerusalem. On a comparative level, however, there is one region which is unusually fortunate in this respect: Catalonia. This small country in the north-east of the Iberian Peninsula is renowned for its exceptional quantity of original charter material from the ninth to twelfth centuries, including several thousand wills.⁸ Some of these documents were indeed composed on behalf of pilgrims – most of them before their departure for the Holy Land, some of them after the testator had died. This article is based on a survey of 90 private charters collected over a long period of time mainly by systematic inspection of source editions, sometimes also via findings in local archives. In numerical terms, this basis might not seem particularly large but it is, in fact, exceptional when compared with other regions or even realms such as England, France or Germany.⁹ It more than compensates for the very slim number of pertinent chronicles and travel accounts stemming from Catalonia.¹⁰

At first sight, the relationship between these sources and the crusades might seem distant at best, and not only for reasons of chronology. For, the Iberian peninsula in general and Catalonia in particular are areas traditionally believed to have had only minimal ties to crusading and to the Latin States of the Levant. It is assumed that ever since Pope Urban II wrote to the clergy and the barons of Catalonia in 1089 and 1096, forbidding them to travel to Jerusalem and requiring that they fight the Muslims in their own land instead,¹¹ Catalans had refrained from joining the crusades and focussed on the so-called “Reconquista.”¹² The fact that the Church

⁶ Marcus Graham Bull, “Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in Miracle Stories, c.1000–c.1200: Reflections on the Study of First Crusaders’ Motivations,” in *The Experience of Crusading 1: Western Approaches*, ed. Marcus Graham Bull and Norman Housley (Cambridge, 2003), 13–38, at 14.

⁷ On authentication charters see below, note 90.

⁸ Lawrence McCrank, “Documenting Reconquest and Reform: The Growth of Archives in the Medieval Crown of Aragon,” *The American Archivist* 56 (1993): 256–318; on medieval Catalan wills see Antoni M. Udina i Abelló, *La successió testada a la Catalunya altomedieval* (Barcelona, 1984) and the excellent, still unpublished dissertation by Nathaniel Lane Taylor, “The Will and Society in Medieval Catalonia and Languedoc, 800–1200” (PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1995).

⁹ See, for example, south-western France: Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response*, 208–17; Aragon: Julia Pavón Benito, “El testamento, un símbolo de la ‘peregrinatio’,” *Anuario de estudios medievales* 34 (2004): 31–50, at 38–41 (12 units); and the extensive list in Röhrich, “Die Pilgerfahrten nach dem Heiligen Lande vor den Kreuzzügen,” 389–96.

¹⁰ Antonio Homs Guzmán, “Relats de pelegrinatge a Terra Santa en llengua catalana: un camí de set segles,” *Analecta sacra Tarraconensia* 76 (2003): 5–44.

¹¹ On this, see below, at notes 84 and 86.

¹² Jean Richard, *Histoire des croisades* (Paris, 1996), 414: “... Espagne, peu touchée par les croisades, mais non étrangère au pèlerinage”; cf. Richard Fletcher, “Reconquest and Crusade in Spain c.1050–1150,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series, 37 (1986): 31–47, at 43: “In the light of this, we might look for incipient crusading consciousness in Spain from about the third decade of the twelfth century. And we are not disappointed.” On the term “Reconquista” and its career see also

repeatedly promised the combatants in Palestine and Iberia identical indulgences¹³ is said to have contributed to the seeming absence of Castilians, Leonese, Portuguese, Aragonese and Catalans in the Holy Land, and, indeed, until the ill-fated campaign led by James the Conqueror in 1269, large Iberian contingents did not take part in the crusades.¹⁴ Yet, a number of Iberian bishops participated in the Council of Clermont of November 1095,¹⁵ and, tellingly, several popes at the beginning of the twelfth century considered it necessary to repeat the prohibition against Iberians participating in the crusades.¹⁶

In fact, the call of Clermont did not go unheard in the Iberian Peninsula.¹⁷ The news of the Council and the pope's sermon crossed the Pyrenees together with the bishops who participated in the event. Others met the pope and experienced

Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia, 2002), 1–22; Nikolas Jaspert, "Reconquista. Interdependenzen und Tragfähigkeit eines wertekategorialen Deutungsmusters," in *Christlicher Norden – Muslimischer Süden. Ansprüche und Wirklichkeiten von Christen, Juden und Muslimen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter*, ed. Alexander Fidora and Matthias Tischler (Münster, 2011), 445–65.

¹³ Nikolas Jaspert, "Frühformen der geistlichen Ritterorden und die Kreuzzugsbewegung auf der Iberischen Halbinsel," in *Europa in der späten Salierzeit. Kolloquium zu Ehren von Werner Goetz*, ed. Klaus Herbers (Stuttgart, 2001), 91–117, at 102, 104–08.

¹⁴ Reinhold Röhrich, "Der Kreuzzug des König Jacob I. von Aragonien (1269)," *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Instituts für Geschichte* 11 (1890): 372–96; Ernest Marcos Hierro, *Die byzantinisch-katalanischen Beziehungen im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Chronik Jakobs I. von Katalonien-Aragon* (Munich, 1996); Carlos de Ayala Martínez, "Reflexiones en torno a la cruzada aragonesa de 1269," in *Dona Ferentes homenaje a F. Torrent*, ed. Jesús de la Villa (Madrid, 1994), 17–26; Ernest Marcos Hierro, "La croada a Terra Santa de 1269 i la política internacional de Jaume I," in *Jaume I: commemoració de viii centenari del naixement de Jaume I, vol. I*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer Mallol (Barcelona, 2011), 509–22.

¹⁵ Robert Somerville, "The Council of Clermont (1095) and Latin Christian Society," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 12 (1974): 55–90, at 64–65, 71–73.

¹⁶ Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response*, 108–10; Jaspert, "Frühformen der geistlichen Ritterorden," 104.

¹⁷ Cf. on this issue: Martín Fernández de Navarrete, "Españoles en las Cruzadas," *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia* 5 (1817): 37–205, at 44–67; Josep Gudiol, "De peregrins i peregrinatges religiosos Catalans," *Analecta sacra Tarraconensia* 3 (1927): 93–119; Antonio Ubieto Arteta, "La participación navarro-aragonesa en la primera cruzada," *Príncipe de Viana* 28 (1947): 357–83; Angel Rodríguez González, "Galicia y los Santos Lugares en el medioevo," *Compostellanum* 2 (1957): 207–17; José Ignacio Fernández de Viana y Vieites, "Documentos sobre peregrinos gallegos a Jerusalén en la Edad Media," *Estudios Mindonienses* 7 (1991): 405–21; Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response*, 97–98; Nikolas Jaspert, *Stift und Stadt. Das Heiliggrabpriorat von Santa Anna und das Regularkanonikerstift Santa Eulàlia del Camp im mittelalterlichen Barcelona, 1145–1423* (Berlin, 1996), 69–79; Nikolas Jaspert, "Pro nobis, qui pro vobis oramus, orate: Die Kathedralskapitel von Compostela und Jerusalem in der ersten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts," in *Santiago, Roma, Jerusalem. III Congreso Internacional de Estudios Jacobeos*, ed. Paolo Caucci von Saucken (Santiago de Compostela, 1999), 187–212; Simon Barton, "From Tyrants to Soldiers of Christ: The Nobility of Twelfth-Century Léon-Castile and the Struggle against Islam," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 44 (2000): 28–48; Jaspert, "Frühformen der geistlichen Ritterorden und die Kreuzzugsbewegung"; Philippe Josserand, *Eglise et pouvoir dans la péninsule ibérique: les ordres militaires dans le royaume de Castille (1252–1369)* (Madrid, 2004), 583–609; Pierre-Vincent Claverie, "La dévotion envers les lieux saints dans la Catalogne médiévale," in *Chemins d'outre-mer. Études d'histoire sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard*, ed. Damien Coulon, Catherine Otten-Froux, Paule Pagès and Dominique Valérian (Paris, 2004), 127–37.

his calling to the crusade in the weeks following the council during Urban's trip to southern France. In the beginning of July 1096, the pope spent several days in Nîmes, where he both preached the cross and convened with at least eight high-ranking Iberian prelates: the archbishops of Toledo and Tarragona, the bishops of Girona, Elne and Burgos as well as the abbots of Cuxà, Banyoles and Ripoll.¹⁸ Furthermore, the papal legate and crusade preacher Amatus of Bordeaux can be identified in Aragon during this period.¹⁹ Trans-Pyrenean feudal or family ties such as those between Aquitaine and Aragon or Toulouse and Cerdanya must also be taken into account. Such is the case of William Jordan, count of Cerdanya, who fought in the company of his uncle and feudal overlord, Raymond of Toulouse, even leading the Provençal troops after the latter's death in 1105,²⁰ only to die shortly thereafter at the hands of an assassin. Or Gerard, count of Roussillon, who took part in the conquest of Jerusalem, returned home and once again set out to Palestine, where he too was murdered.²¹ Others took the cross, but never left the Iberian Peninsula: in 1100, King Peter I of Aragon became a *crucesignatus* shortly after his father-in-law, William of Aquitaine, set out for Jerusalem; although he ultimately stayed in his kingdom, some years later he tellingly gave the name of Júsliivol to an Aragonese village while campaigning against the Muslims of Saragossa – a reference to the battle-cry “God wills it” of the first crusaders (*Deus vult – Deus lo vol – Júsliivol*).²² Clearly some Christians fighting the Muslims on the Iberian

¹⁸ Alfons Becker, *Papst Urban II. (1088–1099): Der Papst, die griechische Christenheit und der Kreuzzug* (Stuttgart, 1988), 452–53.

¹⁹ Antonio Ubieto Arteta, *Colección diplomática de Pedro I de Aragón y Navarra* (Zaragoza, 1951), 251, doc. 30 (1097); Carlos Laliena Corbera, *La formación del estado feudal: Aragón y Navarra en la época de Pedro I* (Huesca, 1996), 308; Ludwig Vones, “Legation und Konzilien. Der päpstliche Legat Richard von Marseille und die konziliare Tätigkeit auf der Iberischen Halbinsel,” in *Das begrenzte Papsttum: Spielräume päpstlichen Handelns*, ed. Klaus Herbers, Fernando López Alsina and Frank Engel (Berlin, 2013), 213–36, at 233.

²⁰ Pierre Ponsich, “Les catalans et les croisades,” *Perpiniani Archivum* 1 (1995): 69–81, at 71–75; Joan Blasi Solsona, *Els oblidats comtes de Cerdanya (798–1117)* (Sant Vicenç de Castellet, 1999), 231–35; Claverie, “La dévotion envers les Lieux saints,” 129–130. The count was well remembered in Catalan historiography: *Gesta Comitum Barcinonensium: textos llatí i català*, ed. Louis Barrau Dihigo and Jaume Massó Torrents (Barcelona, 1925), 35, and *Gestes dels comtes de Barcelona i reis d'Aragó: text llatí i traducció = Gesta comitum Barchinone et regum Aragonie* 15.3, ed. Stefano Maria Cingolani and Robert Álvarez Masalias (Santa Coloma de Queralt, 2012), 92–93; *Les Gesta Comitum Barchinonensium (“versió primitiva”), la Brevis Historia i altres textos de Ripoll*, ed. Stefano Maria Cingolani (Valencia, 2012), 140–41; see the heading of William Jordan's will in the famous twelfth-century cartulary of the counts of Barcelona, the *Liber Feudorum Maior. Cartulario real que se conserva en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. Francisco Miquel Rosell, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1945), 2:207–08, doc. 694: *Ierosolimam adiit et ibi inimicos crucis Christi expugnando, subiugando et eorum terras destruendo ac nomen Christi ampliando*.

²¹ *Guítardus comes Rusconensibus redux ex peregrinatione Hierosolimitana interficitur*: Pierre de Marca, *Marca Hispanica sive limes hispanicus hoc est geographica et historica descriptio Cathalonie* (Paris, 1688), col. 484; Miquel Coll i Alentorn, “La llegenda de Girard de Rosselló i Catalunya,” *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 31 (1965/66): 73–81; Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 208.

²² Ubieto Arteta, “Colección diplomática de Pedro I de Aragón y Navarra,” 113–16, doc. 6; Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response*, 96; Laliena Corbera, “La formación del estado feudal,” 306–13;

Peninsula saw a parallelism between their activities and those of the crusaders in the Middle East. We also know that individuals from north-eastern Iberia partook in the migratory movement towards the Levant, as a survey of Röhrich's *regesta regni Hierosolymitani* suffices to show.²³ Individual Catalans made a career within the new religious orders founded in Palestine, for example within the military orders.²⁴ As Rudolf Hiestand showed some time ago, nearly 10 per cent of the lower clergy whose origins are known came to the East from the Iberian Peninsula.²⁵ A sizeable group of the residents of the *Magna Mahumeria* (al-Bira) and of Bethgibelin can be clearly identified as Iberian, and the majority of these can be associated to Catalan or Occitan territories.²⁶ In other cases, an Iberian origin is at least possible – but here, only new documentation from the settlers' home countries will help identify foreign crusaders, pilgrims and settlers.

Since 1985, when Giles Constable postulated in a programmatic article that the most promising way to advance historical research on medieval crusaders would be via searching private charters referring to the Latin East still kept in European

Carlos Laliena Corbera, "Encrucijadas ideológicas: conquista feudal, cruzada y reforma de la Iglesia en el siglo XI hispánico," in *La reforma gregoriana y su proyección en la cristiandad occidental. Siglos XI–XII (Actas de la XXXII Semana de Estudios Medievales de Estella, 18–22 de Julio de 2005)* (Pamplona, 2006), 289–333, at 329–31.

²³ Antroponymic references to *catalani* and *hispani* in the First Kingdom of Jerusalem: *RRH*, p. 58, doc. 229; p. 60, doc. 236; p. 68, doc. 267; p. 75, doc. 295; pp. 77–78, doc. 302; p. 98, doc. 372; pp. 119–20, doc. 457; pp. 140–41, doc. 527 and 529; p. 164, doc. 620; p. 170, doc. 642; p. 172, doc. 651. On the methodology and its problems see: Iris Shagrir, "The Medieval Evolution of By-naming: Notions from the Latin East," in *In laudem Hierosolymitani: Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar*, ed. Iris Shagrir, Ronnie Ellenblum and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Aldershot, 2007), 49–60; Iris Shagrir, "Bynames in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," in *Anthroponymie et migrations dans la chrétienté médiévale*, ed. Monique Bourin and Pascual Martínez Sopena (Madrid, 2010), 229–46.

²⁴ Jaspert, *Stift und Stadt*, 61–62; Anthony Luttrell, "Ermengol de Aspa, 'Provisor' of the Hospital: 1188," *Crusades* 4 (2005): 15–19; Nikolas Jaspert, "Transmediterrane Wechselwirkungen im 12. Jahrhundert. Der Ritterorden von Montjoie und der Templerorden," in *Die Ritterorden als Träger der Herrschaft: Territorien, Grundbesitz und Kirche*, ed. Roman Czaja and Jürgen Sarnowsky (Toruń, 2007), 257–78; Nikolas Jaspert, "The Election of Arnau de Torroja as Ninth Master of the Knights Templar (1180): An Enigmatic Decision Reconsidered," in *As ordens militares e as ordens de cavalaria entre o Occidente e o Oriente. Actas do V Encontro sobre Ordens Militares*, ed. Cristina Ferreira Fernandes (Palmela, 2009), 371–97.

²⁵ *RRH*, 77–78, doc. 302; Rudolf Hiestand, "Der lateinische Klerus der Kreuzfahrerstaaten: geographische Herkunft und politische Rolle," in *Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten als multikulturelle Gesellschaft*, ed. Hans Eberhard Mayer (Munich, 1997), 43–68, who underlines the difficulties involved in identifying the places of origin of Latin clerics; similarly Aryeh Graboïs, "Le monachisme latin dans le royaume de Jérusalem: impact politique et encadrement religieux," in *Naissance et fonctionnement des réseaux monastiques et canoniaux*, ed. Nicole Boutet (Saint-Etienne, 1991), 425–35.

²⁶ *Le cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, ed. Geneviève Bresc-Bautier (Paris, 1984), 237–40, doc. 117; *Cart Hosp*, 1:272–73, doc. 399; Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Die Kanzlei der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem* (Hanover, 1996), 1:379, 417, 683, 597–605; Ronnie Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1998), 73–80; Christiane Tischler, *Die Burgensens von Jerusalem im 12. Jahrhundert: eine Prosopographie über die nichtadligen Einwohner Jerusalems von 1120 bis 1187* (Frankfurt am Main, 2000), 322.

archives,²⁷ several historians – including Alan Macquarrie for Scotland, Christopher Tyerman for England, and Jonathan Riley-Smith and Marcus Bull for France – have accepted this challenge.²⁸ But until now very little attention has been paid to the Iberian peninsula, despite its exceptional archival holdings. Significantly, general overviews on pilgrimage before the crusades tend to overlook Iberia in general and Catalonia in particular. Only recently has the crusading tradition of the Catalan counts begun to receive in-depth academic treatment.²⁹ But a major study on the relations between north-eastern Iberia and Palestine at the time of the crusades is still a desideratum.³⁰ The present article, in contrast, will deal with the preceding period and thus attempt to delineate preconditions of crusading via a study of eleventh-century intentionality and motivations. This objective is not entirely new. In 1927, Josep Gudiol presented a groundbreaking article on “peregrins i peregrinatges religiosos catalans”³¹ which has subsequently formed the base for practically each and every survey in the field; while lately Vincent Claverie has synthesized recent articles and monographic studies such as those of Cebrià Baraut, Pierre Bonnassie, Pierre Ponsich and Michel Zimmermann³² in order to provide a new overview.³³ But, to date, only the shortest of these works has concentrated on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the eleventh century, which is usually only mentioned in passing.

The following analysis of Catalan wills mainly aims at clarifying three questions. A merely quantitative survey will determine the periods and areas in which pilgrimage to Jerusalem appears to have been particularly popular while also

²⁷ Giles Constable, “Medieval Charters as a Source for the History of the Crusades,” in *CS*, 73–89 (revised and updated in Giles Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (Farnham, 2008), 93–117). Cf. the methodological considerations by Bull, “The Diplomatic of the First Crusade.”

²⁸ Alan Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades, 1095–1560* (Edinburgh, 1997); Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*; Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response*; Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades: 1095–1588* (Chicago, 1988); Simon D. Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade, 1216–1307* (Oxford, 1988); Kathryn Hurlöck, *Britain, Ireland and the Crusades, c.1000–1300* (Basingstoke, 2013). Cf. the pertinent remarks by Bernard Hamilton: “As the surviving records of the Latin Kingdom are limited in number, the exploration of Western archives for crusader material is important for the future of crusading studies”; Bernard Hamilton, “The Crusader Kingdom and its Guardians,” *The International History Review* 21 (1999): 104–16, at 106.

²⁹ Apart from the titles in note 17, see also: Nikolas Jaspert, “Historiografía y legitimación carolingia – el Monasterio de Ripoll, el Pseudo-Turpín y los condes de Barcelona,” in *El Pseudo-Turpín. Lazo entre el culto Jacobeo y el culto de Carlomagno*, ed. Klaus Herbers (Santiago de Compostela, 2003), 297–316; William J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095–c.1187* (Woodbridge, 2008), 165–76; Nicholas Paul, *To Follow in their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 2013), 251–95.

³⁰ The author hopes to be able to finalize a comprehensive analysis in the not too distant future.

³¹ Gudiol, “De peregrins i peregrinatges religiosos Catalans;” however, some of Gudiol’s datings have proven to be erroneous.

³² Cebrià Baraut, “Pelegrins de Terra Santa de l’antic comtat d’Urgell,” in Cebrià Baraut, *Església i Bisbat d’Urgell: recull de treballs* (La Seu d’Urgell, 2003), 509–13; Pierre Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu du Xe à la fin du XIe siècle. Croissance et mutations d’une société*, 2 vols. (Toulouse, 1975–76), 336, 941; Ponsich, “Les catalans et les croisades”; Michael Zimmermann, *Lire et écrire en Catalogne (IXe–XIIIe siècle)*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 2003), 1200–04.

³³ Claverie, “La dévotion envers les lieux saints.”

looking into the testators' social and economic backgrounds. Second, it is worth noting that the pilgrims did not always describe their goal with the same words: a close reading of the documents will show which places seem to have exerted a particular attraction during certain periods. Third, the texts will be scrutinized from the general perspective of the history of the crusades: what do the charters tell us about the motivations and mindsets which modern medievalists have identified as fundamental for the crusading movement? The results achieved with the help of the testaments need to be substantiated by other types of sources; therefore, a fourth section of the article will attempt to position these very concrete findings in a more general setting within medieval Catalonia.

Places and Phases

Most of the 73 wills that form the core of this study and which are listed in the appendix below explicitly refer to an impending or consummated pilgrimage to Jerusalem. In other cases, the wording is not so clear. What is to be made of the words Geribert is said to have uttered in September 1043: *cupio pergere in servicio domini nostri Ihesu Christi et sancti Iacobi apostoli vel omnium sanctorum*?³⁴ or of William Miro's formulation in March 1077: *volo itinere ad Domino Deo et ad sancti Petri Roma et Sancti Pauli et aliorum sanctorum*?³⁵ Do such vague references to God and the service rendered to him hint at Jerusalem apart from the more explicitly mentioned Compostela and Rome? Some testators speak of the journey (*iter*) they are about to undertake without giving concrete information as to their goal. For example, this holds true for the will of the well-known crusader count William Ramon of Cerdanya from 7 October 1095.³⁶ In these cases, only additional documentation proves that the voyage was indeed a pilgrimage or a crusading expedition. Another such example is the will of bishop Eriball of Urgell from October 1040 written because the testator feared impending death: *Ego Heribaldus, gracia Dei episcopus licet indignus, timens ne mortis mihi contingat eventus, ordino de meis rebus*. Some documents issued a month later in Narbonne, however, show him on his way to Jerusalem, and later one learns that the pilgrimage was effectively consummated.³⁷

The wills moreover do not form a coherent corpus of documents. For example, they are unevenly distributed both geographically and chronologically. Most units originated from northern Catalonia, from the dioceses of Vic and Urgell; the major city of the area, Barcelona, and its diocese are also represented but not particularly

³⁴ Cebrià Baraut, "Els documents, dels anys 1035–1050, de l'Arxiu Capítular de la Seu d'Urgell," *Urgellia* 5 (1982): 7–158, at 98, doc. 568.

³⁵ *Diplomatari de l'Arxiu Capítular de la Catedral de Barcelona. Segle XI*, vol. 4, ed. Josep Baucells i Reig et al. (Lleida, 2006), 2038–41, doc. 1311.

³⁶ *Liber feudorum maior*, ed. Miquel Rosell, 2:204–07, doc. 694.

³⁷ See Appendix, no. 17.

prominent. This distribution can be explained only in part by the density and distribution of extant sources. Rather, some areas like the see of Urgell seem to have developed a certain tradition of Jerusalem pilgrimage. Indeed, a relatively high number of clergymen penned a testament because of their imminent pilgrimage to Palestine. Thirteen of the documents were issued by members of the secular clergy, two by monks. A particularly early document, a ruling of the cathedral chapter of Vic from 1005, refers to the canonical impediments such a long trip posed. It relates that Bishop Arnulf had voiced his desire to travel to Christ's Sepulchre, upon which the local clergy had to convene and decide on the matter, because bishops were not supposed to be absent from their see for longer than three weeks. But considering that it had become customary for bishops to travel to Rome, it was agreed that Bishop Arnulf might leave.³⁸ In subsequent decades, two more bishops are said to have travelled to Jerusalem.

Here, however, a differentiation in terms of chronology is pertinent: there is a marked predominance of clerical pilgrimage in the first half of the eleventh century, after which the ratio clearly declines in favour of laymen. These lay testators belonged to clearly identifiable societal groups – there are no references to poor pilgrims. But then again, the societal range reaches from counts to free farmers. The objects these testators bequeathed as well as their titles permit positioning them quite reliably. Six counts announced their departure to Jerusalem or are known to have gone there – Ermengol of Urgell, William of Besalú, William Ramon of Cerdanya, Berenguer Ramon II of Barcelona, Girard of Roselló, Hugh II of Empuries and Wiliam Jordan of Cerdanya.³⁹ Three viscounts appear as testators: William of Urgell, William of Castellnou and Ramon of Cerdanya. Several castellans or holders of castles can be identified,⁴⁰ but seldom are these arms-bearers explicitly referred to as *militēs*, although horses are among the objects donated⁴¹ and certain wills contain references to hauberks (*alsbergi*) or swords (*spate*).⁴² Most travellers, however, were holders of manors (*mansi*), *allodia* or fiefs.⁴³ Their possessions are usually not named in detail, generally only certain plots of land – *mansi*, *vineas*, *ferraginales* and so on – or houses are mentioned. Few testators were as explicit as Athanolf, who provides an extensive list of his mobile possessions: *et de meos caballos et de meas equas et de meos boves et de meos asinos et de meos oues et de meos porcōs et de mea vexella et de mea laboracione de pane et uino et de*

³⁸ See Appendix, no. 7.

³⁹ Appendix, nos. 15 (1038), 23 (1055), 65 (1094), 67 (1096), 71 (1097), 84 (1101), 91 (1102).

⁴⁰ Appendix, nos. 25 (1061), 33 (1073), 46 (1087), 65 (1096), 72 (1097), 74 (1086), 77 (1099), 82 (1101).

⁴¹ Appendix, nos. 45 (1087), 70 (1096) and 89 (1102).

⁴² Appendix, nos. 12 (1037), 22 (1053) and 80 (1100).

⁴³ Appendix, nos. 12 (1037), 27 (107), 35 (1081), 37 (1083), 38 (1084), 39 (1085), 44 (1087), 45 (1087), 46 (1087), 50 (1089), 51 (1089), 52 (1090), 56 (1091), 61 (1092), 63 (1094), 64 (1094), 69 (1096), 74 (1097), 87 (1102), 88 (1102), 89 (1102).

*meos draps et de meos asberzeps et de meas espates, tercia parte pro anima mea.*⁴⁴ On these rare occasions, objects are mentioned, but not often enough to provide a coherent picture of these pilgrims' lives and wealth. These men were part of social and legal networks which in turn had their effect upon pilgrimage or could even impede it: in 1063, Viscount Udaldar Bernard of Barcelona had to swear to count Ramon that he would neither pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre nor to Rome or Compostela without the count's and countess' permission.⁴⁵

The quantity and nature of the testators' bequests provide insight into their economic and social status. Dispositions concerning land ownership abound, but there are also a high number of monetary donations, some of them in gold due to the influx of precious metals to Christian Iberia from al-Andalus as a form of tribute (*parias*).⁴⁶ Another implication of the specific frontier situation between Christian Catalonia and Muslim territories are the slaves that are mentioned in two wills,⁴⁷ while references to horses and armour are clear indications of a testator's affiliation to a military or knightly milieu.⁴⁸ Such dispositions also give insight into the testators' mental maps: they let us fathom the geographical radius which these Catalans perceived. How far were the donations extended, were distant churches favoured? Generally, the legatees are limited to the regional setting, but some exceptional testators' donations reflect their wider horizon, perhaps due to personal travels or pilgrimages: Viscountess Sancia of Urgell's will of 1017 not only contains gifts to Saint Peter in Rome and the Holy Sepulchre, but also to the sanctuary at Monte Gargano,⁴⁹ while Arnau Mir de Tost favoured Jerusalem, Rome and Cluny in 1072.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ *Col·lecció diplomàtica de la seu de Girona (817–1100)*, ed. Ramon Martí (Barcelona, 1997), 421–24, doc. 403.

⁴⁵ *Et convenit iam dictus Udaldardus iam dictis comiti et comitisse ut non vadat ad Sanctum Sepulcrum neque ad Romam neque ad Sanctum Iacobum sine licencia iam dictis comiti et comitisse: Liber feudorum maior*, ed. Miquel Rosell, 1:358–60, doc. 337; José Enrique Ruiz Doménech, *Quan els vescomtes de Barcelona eren. Història, crònica i documents d'una família dels segles X, XI i XII* (Barcelona, 2006), 412, doc. 127.

⁴⁶ Hilda Grassotti, "Para la historia del botín y de las parias en León y Castilla," *Cuadernos de historia de España* 39/40 (1964): 43–132; Anna Maria Balaguer, "'Parias' and myth of the 'Mancus'," in *Problems of Medieval Coinage in the Iberian Area*, vol. 3, ed. Mário Gomes Marques and David Michael Metcalf (Santarém, 1988), 499–545; Anna Maria Balaguer, *Del mancús a la dobla. Oro i paries d'Hispania* (Barcelona, 1993).

⁴⁷ 1089: *Concedo a Ruzrig, meo baptizato, modiatam unam vinea ...: Cartulario de "Sant Cugat" del Vallès*, ed. José Rius, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1945–47), 2:396–97, doc. 733; 1096: *Ermisendi, mee baptizate*: Ramon Ordeig i Mata, *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Vic. Segle XI, fascicle 4* (Vic, 2007), 924–25, doc. 1642; 1102: *Ermessendis, baptizata mea*: Ramon Chesé Lapeña, *Col·lecció diplomàtica de Sant Pere d'Àger fins 1198*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 2011), 452, doc. 186.

⁴⁸ See notes 41 and 42.

⁴⁹ Cebrià Baraut, "Els documents, dels anys 1010–1035, de l'Arxiu Capitular de la Seu d'Urgell," *Urgellia* 4 (1981): 7–186, at 58–61, docs. 347 and 348. Cf. Paul Oldfield, "The Iberian Imprint on Medieval Southern Italy," *History: The Journal of the Historical Association* 93 (2008): 312–27.

⁵⁰ Appendix, no. 18.

The rise in the number of lay pilgrims to Jerusalem coincides with a general numerical increase of wills, which is only partly due to the expansion of documentary practice in the course of the eleventh century. A statistical survey of the testaments' chronological distribution shows some marked peaks, notably at the end of the 1030s and particularly in the 1080s and 1090s. During the six decades between 970 and 1030 there are five extant wills mentioning pilgrimages to Jerusalem, while the 1030s alone provide six further units. Thus, the wills corroborate with concrete data the famous words of Radolf Glaber, according to which the number of Jerusalem pilgrims increased considerably at the beginning of the eleventh century (he speaks of a *multitudo innumerabilis*).⁵¹ But the documents also show that this change neither occurred at the beginning of the century, nor was it triggered immediately by the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1009 under Caliph al-Hakim;⁵² rather, they seem to support the recent dating of the reconstruction of the Holy Sepulchre church proposed by Martin Biddle, according to whom the new building was accomplished under Emperor Romanos III (1028–34) and not later under Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–55).⁵³ In subsequent decades, the survey shows a steady trickle of pilgrims, who do not seem to have formed major groups such as the mass pilgrimage reported in the narrative sources. The results contradict the assumption that the defining trait of Jerusalem pilgrimage in the eleventh century was the fact that groups of élites began to travel together.⁵⁴

Jerusalem therefore was only one distant point of reference within the mental maps of some affluent men and women in eleventh-century Catalonia. It competed with other centres as a destination of long-distance travel. Some wills mention pilgrimages to Santiago, Rome, the regional centre of the Virgin of Le Puy and (to a lesser degree) Saint Foy de Conques.⁵⁵ In fact, until the beginning of the eleventh century Rome was a more popular destination than Jerusalem for Catalans, as the best documented cases of Vic and Barcelona show, whilst Santiago enjoyed

⁵¹ Radulfus Glaber, *Historiae. Rodulfi Glabri Historiarvm libri qvinqve = The Five Books of the Histories* 4.6.18, ed. John France (Oxford, 1989), 198–200.

⁵² Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, 134–39; Daniel F. Callahan, "Al-Hakim, Charlemagne and the Destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem in the Writings of Ademar of Chabannes," in *The Legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages: Power, Faith, and Crusade*, ed. Matthew Gabriele and Jace Stuckey (New York, 2008), 41–58; *Konflikt und Bewältigung: die Zerstörung der Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem im Jahre 1009*, ed. Thomas Pratsch (Berlin, 2011).

⁵³ Robert Ousterhout, "Rebuilding the Temple: Constantine Monomachus and the Holy Sepulchre," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 48 (1989): 66–78; Martin Biddle, *Das Grab Christi. Neutestamentliche Quellen, historische und archäologische Forschungen, überraschende Erkenntnisse* (Gießen, 1998), 93–104; Martin Biddle, *Die Grabeskirche in Jerusalem* (Stuttgart, 2000), 46; Jacoby, "Bishop Gunther of Bamberg," 269–73 (on the chronology); Jonathan Shepard, "Holy land, Lost Lands, 'Realpolitik': Imperial Byzantine Thinking about Syria and Palestine in the Later 10th and 11th Centuries," *Al-Qantara* 33 (2012): 505–45, particularly 530–35.

⁵⁴ Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory*, 92.

⁵⁵ Antoni Bach Riu, "Pelegrins als grans santuaris medieval," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 48 (2002): 547–62, at 559–62; Pierre Ponsich, "Roussillonais, cerdans et catalans du haut moyen-âge sur les routes des grands pèlerinages," *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 31 (2000): 85–96.

similar popularity to Jerusalem until the First Crusade.⁵⁶ Then, however, the newly conquered town clearly acquired pre-eminence. It is quite telling that, when the anonymous author of a twelfth-century Catalan formulary assembled a sample of testaments to show how to draw up wills for pilgrims, the three examples he chose were all testaments for pilgrims to Jerusalem.⁵⁷ Such changes in devotion require more detailed analysis.

Changing Attraction – Changing Attractors

In many studies on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages, authors describe the pilgrims' goal in rather general terms, often referring indiscriminately to Palestine, Jerusalem or the Holy Places. But precisely which spaces or objects exerted an attraction upon the believers, which *attractoria* or "attractors" of the Holy Land need to be differentiated? A glimpse at pilgrim and crusader sources – chronicles and sermons, charters and wills – shows that one can in fact determine three such attractors: first the Holy Land, second the city of Jerusalem; third Christ's Sepulchre. But it is equally important to take fluctuations and diachronic changes into consideration, for during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the influence of these "attractors" was not consistent. If one understands space not as a "container" in which events or interactions take place, but rather as a social or cultural construction or as an "embodied space" in which human beings form space through their activities, then one must necessarily also take changes in the cultural construction of spaces and places into account. How did the testators describe their objective? Which are the points of attraction that they mentioned? Can one track the construction of cultural space with the help of wills? How did changes in the spatial construction of eleventh-century Jerusalem, for example the aforementioned rebuilding of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, affect Holy Land pilgrimage?

In the few private documents that date from the end of the tenth century and the first decades of the eleventh,⁵⁸ the journey's destination is usually given as "Jerusalem": around the year 972 we hear of Ervigius who "went on a pilgrimage

⁵⁶ Eduard Junyent i Subirà, *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Vic: segles IX–X*, 3 vols. (Vic, 1980); Udina i Abelló, *La successió testada a la Catalunya altomedieval*; *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Barcelona 1: Documents dels anys 844–1000*, ed. Angel Fabrega i Grau (Barcelona, 1995); *Els pergamins de l'Arxiu Comtal de Barcelona de Ramon Borrell a Ramon Berenguer I*, ed. Gaspar Feliú, Josep Maria Salrach Marès and Maria Josepa Arnall Juan et al., 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1999); *Diplomatari de l'Arxiu Capitular de Barcelona. Segle XI*, ed. Josep Baucells i Reig et al., 5 vols. (Barcelona, 2006).

⁵⁷ Ferran Valls Taberner, "Un formulari jurídic del segle XII," *Anuario de historia del derecho español* 3 (1926): 508–17, at 513–14, docs. 10–12.

⁵⁸ A supposedly particularly early pilgrim's will is dated 24-IV-832: Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. 1619, fol. 34r; cf. Zimmermann, *Lire et écrire en Catalogne*, 1200. But it has only come down to us as a later copy, and the wording strongly suggests it was redacted in the twelfth century: *Ego Guillelmus Petri pro redemptione peccaminum meorum peregrare cupiens ad limina Jerosolomitana et venerabilia loca domini redemptoris nostri Jhesu Christi videre [...]. VIII kalendas maii regnante Ludovico rege francigena gente VIII^{mo} X^{mo} anno.*

to the town of Jerusalem and died there.”⁵⁹ Similarly, in 989 a priest named Vives *pergit ad Iherusalem*.⁶⁰ It is no coincidence that the female name *Ierosolima* appears in Catalan documentation in the tenth century.⁶¹ However, with the growth of pilgrimage in the eleventh century, the references change. Now the pilgrims’ predominant objective becomes Christ’s Sepulchre. The priest Centull of Manresa already spoke of his pilgrimage to “Christ’s Sepulchre and the tombs of the blessed apostles” in 1002 (*iter peregrinationis sanctum Domini sepulcrorum ac beatorum apostolorum*),⁶² and from the 1030s onwards, practically every single testator indicated that his or her objective was to visit the *sanctum sepulcrum*. Sometimes the formula chosen was a succinct *cupio pergere ad sanctum sepulcrum*, as Sendredus Agalberti expressed it in 1041.⁶³ More often testators or their scribes stressed the service to Christ such a pilgrimage entailed. In 1037, the priest Seniofred used a formula much repeated in later wills: “I want to go in service of the Lord Jesus Christ and his Holy Sepulchre.”⁶⁴ For the greater part of the eleventh century, Christ’s Sepulchre was the main attractor for Latin pilgrims, as even the Persian poet and theologian Nāṣir-i Khusraw was bewildered to notice in 1047.⁶⁵ Christ’s Sepulchre remained an extremely important attractor throughout the eleventh and into the twelfth century.

However, a certain shift can be discerned prior to the First Crusade: Some decades before the end of the century, Jerusalem once again returns to the forefront and is repeatedly referred to as the pilgrim’s or crusader’s goal. In July 1083, Pere Bonardell named Jerusalem as his goal and not the sepulchre: *Ego Petrus Bonardelli, volens pergere Jherusalem*,⁶⁶ whereas two years later Arnal de Malloles mentioned both places together: “For Love of God and to save my soul and that of my relatives I will go to Jerusalem to the sepulchre of God’s son”⁶⁷ – a combination repeated with variations in subsequent documents.⁶⁸ Many other testators of the

⁵⁹ *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Barcelona*, ed. Fabrega i Grau, 300–02, doc. 102.

⁶⁰ *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Barcelona*, ed. Fabrega i Grau, 394–95, doc. 187.

⁶¹ Lidia Becker, *Hispano-romanisches Namenbuch: Untersuchung der Personennamen vorrömischer, griechischer und lateinisch-romanischer Etymologie auf der Iberischen Halbinsel im Mittelalter (6.–12. Jahrhundert)* (Tübingen, 2009), 589. Similar findings for France: Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 33.

⁶² Cebríà Baraut, “Els documents, dels anys 1093–1100, de l’Arxiu Capitular de la Seu d’Urgell,” *Urgellia* 8 (1986): 7–149, at 137–40, doc. 25.

⁶³ *Diplomatari de l’Arxiu Capitular de Barcelona. Segle XI*, ed. Baucells i Reig, 2:1028–29, doc. 591.

⁶⁴ *Cupio pergere in servicio domini nostri Ihesu Xristi et eius gloriosissimi sepulcri*: Baraut, “Els documents, dels anys 1093–1100,” 137–40, doc. 25; similarly: Baraut, “Els documents, dels anys 1035–1050,” 78–80, doc. 544.

⁶⁵ *Nāṣir-e Khosraw’s Book of Travels (Safarnāma)*, trans. Wheeler M. Thackston (Albany, NY, 1986), 37–38; see Jacoby, “Bishop Gunther of Bamberg,” 273.

⁶⁶ *Col·lecció diplomàtica de la seu de Girona*, ed. Martí, 402, doc. 384.

⁶⁷ Perpignan, Archives Pyr. Orientales, 12 J 24, doc. 147: *propter amorem Dei et remedium anime mee seu omnium parentorum meorum ibi jherosolimam ad sepulcrum filii Dei*.

⁶⁸ Appendix, nos. 39 (1085), 50 (1089), 69 (1096), 77 (1099).

1080s and 1090s indicated Jerusalem as their sole destination.⁶⁹ The importance conveyed upon the town as the military expedition's goal is reflected in the wording of other wills, most prominently that of Bernard William on 5 August 1097: *Bernardus Guillelmus cupiens ire in servicium Dei ad expugnandam iherosolimam et ad liberationem sancti sepulcri*.⁷⁰ The ambivalent relationship towards Jerusalem which had characterized Christianity in its beginnings now experienced a notable improvement.⁷¹

Certainly, the First Crusade too was still strongly marked by devotion to Christ's Sepulchre⁷² and many testators still named the sepulchre as their goal, but its predominance was not as absolute as it had been in previous decades. One can discern a subtle shift of interest, as attention extended from the places of Christ's death to include those of his earthly activities. In 1068 the wording of Isarn's will still focused on Christ's crucifixion, death and burial: *sanus et salvus, desiderio accensus et adire et videre in Iherusalem loca sancta ubi dominus noster Ihesu Kristus fuit crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus*.⁷³ But in subsequent decades, the town of Jerusalem as the place where Christ had disputed with the moneychangers and where the apostolic community had convened, gathered momentum.⁷⁴ The establishment of Latin states in the Levant further increased the points of contact

⁶⁹ Appendix, nos. 51 (1089), 58 (1091), 62 (1093), 64 (1094), 66 (1096), 72 (1097), 73 (1097), 74 (1097), 78 (1095–1109), 79 (1100), 80 (1100), 81 (1100), 82 (1101), 85 (1102), 94 (1102).

⁷⁰ Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, pergamins 9950; summary: Josep M. Marquès i Planagumà, *Escriptures de Santa Maria de Vilabertran (968–1300)* (Figueres, 1995), 96–97, doc. 236.

⁷¹ Sibylle Mähl, "Jerusalem in mittelalterlicher Sicht," *Die Welt als Geschichte* 22 (1962): 11–26; Norbert Brox, "Das 'irdische Jerusalem' in der altchristlichen Theologie," *Kairos* 28 (1986): 152–73; *The Centrality of Jerusalem: Historical Perspectives*, ed. Marcel Poorthuis (Kampen, 1996); Joshua Prawer, "Jerusalem in the Christian Perspective of the Early Middle Ages," in *The History of Jerusalem I: The Early Muslim Period, 638–1099*, ed. Joshua Prawer and Haggai Ben-Shammai (Jerusalem, 1996), 249–82; France, "Le rôle de Jérusalem dans la piété du XI^e siècle," 159–61; *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, ed. Lee I. Levine (New York, 1999); *The Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History*, ed. Robert N. Swanson (Woodbridge, 2000), particularly Colin Morris, "Memorials of the Holy Places and Blessings from the East: Devotion to Jerusalem before the Crusades," *ibid.*, 90–109; *L'idea di Gerusalemme nella spiritualità cristiana del Medioevo: atti del Convegno internazionale*, ed. Walter Brandmüller (Città del Vaticano, 2003); Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, 1–90, 180–218; Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099–1187)* (Aldershot, 2005), 109–40; Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony, *Encountering the Sacred: The Debate on Christian Pilgrimage in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 2005).

⁷² Bernard McGinn, "Iter Sancti Sepulchri: The Piety of the First Crusaders," in *Essays on Medieval Civilization*, ed. Bede K. Lackner and Kenneth R. Phillip (Austin, TX, 1978), 33–71; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, 1986), 108; Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City*, 11–19.

⁷³ Cebrià Baraut, "Els documents, dels anys 1051–1075, de l'Arxiu Capítular de la Seu d'Urgell," *Urgellia* 6 (1983): 7–243, at 176–78, doc. 816.

⁷⁴ Alphonse Dupront, "La spiritualité des croisés et de pèlerins d'après les sources de la première croisade," in *Pellegrinaggi e culto dei santi in Europa fino alla I Crociata* (Todi, 1963), 451–83; McGinn, "Iter Sancti Sepulchri: The Piety of the First Crusaders"; Nikolas Jaspert, "'Wo seine Füße einst standen' (Ubi steterunt pedes eius). Jerusalemsehnsucht und andere Motivationen mittelalterlicher Kreuzfahrer," in *Die Kreuzzüge*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Kotzur, Brigitte Klein and Winfried Wihelmy (Mainz, 2004), 173–85; Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City*, 66–90.

between the Middle East and Latin Europe and thus between the physical town of Jerusalem and Catalonia. Now, not only pilgrims travelled: settlers moved to the conquered territories, merchants founded commercial bases and traded regularly between the coasts of the Mediterranean, warriors travelled to the East, aristocrats and ecclesiastics made a career here. All this contributed to making Jerusalem a much more concrete reality in the collective consciousness of the Latin Christians.⁷⁵

Pilgrimage and Crusades

Even this succinct overview of the documentary corpus's most prominent traits shows that Catalan wills of the eleventh century can provide unusually concrete data concerning high mediaeval pilgrimage and the precursors of the crusading movement. Traditionally, historiography has often drawn on letters and chronicles from the first half of the twelfth century in order to determine what moved men and women to join the expeditions to the East. Some of the elements singled out quite rightly can also be identified in pilgrims' wills of the eleventh century. In fact, one can even determine when they became prominent. As we have seen, the testaments reveal that the attraction that Jerusalem exerted changed in character some decades before the First Crusade, becoming very much a hallmark of the expedition of 1096–99. But the wills show other changes, too.

For example, from the middle of the eleventh century we come across documents that make reference to the concept of personal penance, often in relation to the sepulchre. This corroborates research conducted by Marcus Bull, Jonathan Riley-Smith and others who have underlined the penitential character of crusading.⁷⁶ As early as 1002, the priest Centull of Manresa had named his sins as a reason for undertaking his pilgrimage, but this document is still an exception.⁷⁷ It was only after the middle of the century that this motivation is voiced more frequently. Mir Isarn, castellan of Aguilar and Gurb wrote in 1061: "I want to pilgrimage to

⁷⁵ Norman J. Housley, "Jerusalem and the Development of the Crusade Idea, 1099–1128," in *The Horns of Hattin: Proceedings of the 2nd Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Jerusalem and Haifa 2–6 July 1987)*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar (Jerusalem, 1992), 27–40; Bernard Hamilton, "The Impact of Crusader Jerusalem on Western Christendom," *The Catholic Historical Review* 80 (1994): 695–713; Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City*, 109–40; Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, 64–67, 76–81; Nikolas Jaspert, "Das Heilige Grab, das Heilige Kreuz, Jerusalem und das Heilig Land. Wirkung, Wandel und Vermittler hochmittelalterlicher Attraktoren," in *Konflikt und Bewältigung. Die Zerstörung der Grabeskirche in Jerusalem im Jahre 1009*, ed. Thomas Pratsch (Berlin, 2011), 67–95, at 84–85.

⁷⁶ Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response*, 171–79; Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 40–52; Sarah Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance, 900–1050* (Woodbridge, 2001), 9–23; Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, 16–18.

⁷⁷ Udina i Abelló, *La successió testada a la Catalunya altomedieval*, 209–10, doc. 57: *nunc cepi in horis et in momentis de miseratione Dei quod est misericors in peccatis hominum et cognoscentem me honestum vinculis conpunctus spiratione Dei cepi cogitare iter peregrinationis Sanctum Domini sepulcrorum et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et aliorum sanctorum.*

the Holy Sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ for the remedy of my soul,”⁷⁸ while later testators express quite explicitly that they wanted to pray at the sepulchre because they feared death (and subsequent punishment in afterlife). At the same time we encounter more explicit references to men’s dread of what awaited them as a consequence of their actions, for example in the last will of Gisclamundus from 1086: “with the help of God I will pilgrimage to the Lord’s sepulchre, and I fear my death and the punishments of hell.”⁷⁹ Knightly piety and the rise of penitential anxiety thus show through in several charters; in contrast, references to the sacralization of knighthood are not to be found.

At least in the last years of the eleventh century, such fears were intensified by sermons, or so it seems when one reads the last will by Mir Compan, issued in 1090.⁸⁰ Mir promised to undertake a pilgrimage to Jerusalem with his entire family, that is, his wife Eliardis and his children William and Adalaidis. It seems that the decision had been triggered by sermons and admonitions he had heard (*Audientes predicacione et monita sanctorum*) urging him to cleanse his sins (*cognoscentes nos peccati macula honustos, compuncti de superna celorum pietate, supplicantes Dei misericordia ut pius et misericors sit Dominus in peccatis nostris*). Fearing divine punishment and in the hope of reaching the pleasures of Paradise (*timore divino compuncti, cupimus pervenire ad promissa paradisi gaudia*), Mir and his family had decided to undertake a pilgrimage to Christ’s Sepulchre in Jerusalem in service of Jesus so that God might be benignant on the Day of Judgement (*pergeremus in servicio domini nostri Ihesu Christi usque ad eiusdem sepulchrum urbem Iherosolime, ut Deus propicius sit nobis in diem iudicii*).

Four years later, in 1094, Bernard Ramon’s will contains the first citation of the call to take up one’s cross and follow Christ expressed in Mathew 16,24: *Praecepta dominica est, sicut Evangelista refert in Evangelio: “Si quis vult post me venire, abneget semetipsum et tollat crucem suam, et sequatur me.”*⁸¹ This citation – a “clear expression of the theme of the imitation of Christ that runs through early crusading spirituality” that was to become prominent in subsequent years⁸² – can here already be found immediately prior to the call of Clermont. The testator

⁷⁸ Baraut, “Els documents, dels anys 1051–1075,” 107–08, doc. 736: *Volo pergere ad Sancti Sepulcri domini nostri Ihesu Xristi propter remedium anime mee*.

⁷⁹ Cebrià Baraut, “Els documents, dels anys 1076–1092, de l’Arxiu Capitular de la Seu d’Urgell,” *Urgellia* 7 (1984): 7–218, at 141, doc. 1024. Two years later in the will of Guillem Domenec: *cupio pergere in servitio Dei omnipotentis vel ad eius sepulchrum et pavesco penas inferni et desidero videre regnum Dei, et propter hoc facio istum testamentum ...: Cartoral, dit de Carlemany, del bisbe de Girona (s. IX–XIV)*, ed. Josep Maria Marquès i Planagumà (Barcelona, 1993), 295–97, doc. 162.

⁸⁰ Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, pergamins, doc. 3210; see: Joaquim Miret y Sans, “Los nòms personals y geogràfics de la encontrada d’Organyà en los segles Xè y XIè,” *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 8 (1915/16): 414–44, 522–46, at 536–37, doc. 139 (dated 1091), digitalized at http://www.arxiuadg.org/documents-i-textos.php?lleng=cat_ (cf Appendix, no. 59).

⁸¹ Alexandre Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1909), 9, doc. 33. See Appendix, no. 64.

⁸² Constable, “Medieval Charters as a Source for the History of the Crusades,” quotation at 111; see also Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 62–63; Ernst-Dieter Hehl, “Kreuzzug-Pilgerfahrt-Imitatio

claims to feel obligated to heed this command (*obediturus apostolica praecepta*) and therefore decided to leave. Mir Compan's and Bernard Ramon's wills are a telling reflection of a heightened awareness of sinfulness as a consequence of the reform movement within the western church, but also of the influence that public preaching and Christo-mimetic piety exerted both on pilgrimage and on crusading at the turn of the eleventh century.

When dealing with the development of the crusading idea, one of the cardinal and much cited documents is a famous letter that Pope Urban II sent to Catalan noblemen and ecclesiastics in 1089 urging them to remain at home and strive for the restoration of the see of Tarragona, then situated in the no-man's-land between Christian- and Muslim-ruled territories.⁸³ The pope's objective was to dissuade those who wanted to pilgrimage to Jerusalem, or other parts of the world, driven by penitence and devotion: *Eis autem, qui vel in Hierusalem, vel in partes alias poenitentiae spiritu vel devotionis ituri sunt, suademus totam illam vie et sumptus operam restitutioni ecclesiae Tarraconensis impendere.*⁸⁴ A similar letter was sent to northern Catalan counts and knights at around the same time (according to Kehr in the year 1089–91, but more probably in 1096⁸⁵): *Si quis ergo vestrum in Asiam ire deliberavit, hic devotionis suae desiderium consummare. Neque enim virtutis est alibi a saracenis christianos eruere, alibi christianos saracenorum tyrannidi oppressionique exponere.*⁸⁶ Until now, we did not know how pertinent his warning was. But the list of wills in the Appendix shows that the number of pilgrims who set out for Jerusalem from northern Catalonia does indeed appear to have surged precisely in the 1080s. The pope was therefore reacting to a very concrete development which he might well have been aware of due to the close ecclesiastical

Christi," in *Pilger und Wallfahrtsstätten in Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, ed. Michael Matheus (Stuttgart, 1999), 35–51; Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, 62, 82–83.

⁸³ On Tarragona at the time see: Lawrence J. McCrank, "Restoration and Reconquest in Medieval Catalonia: The Church Principality of Tarragona, 971–1177," 2 vols. (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Virginia, 1974); Lawrence J. McCrank, "La restauración eclesiástica y reconquista en la Cataluña del siglo XI: Ramón Berenguer I y la sede de Tarragona," *Analecta sacra tarraconensia. Revista de historia y ciencias eclesiásticas* 49/50 (1976–77): 5–39; Francisco Javier Faci Lacasta, "Algunas observaciones sobre la restauración de Tarragona," in *Miscel·lània en homenatge Agustí Altisent* (Tarragona, 1991), 469–85; Francisco Javier Faci Lacasta, "La restauración de Tarragona y la Primera Cruzada," in *Dialéctica histórica y compromiso social: homenaje a Domingo Plácido*, ed. César Formis et al., 3 vols. (Zaragoza, 2010), 2:1193–1216, at 1204–10.

⁸⁴ Marca, *Marca Hispanica sive limes hispanicus*, cols. 1184–85, doc. 303; PL, 151:302–03, doc. 20; Demetrio Mansilla Reoyo, *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III (965–1216)* (Roma, 1955), 46–47, doc. 29; Ordeig i Mata, *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Vic. Segle XI, fascicle 4*, 838, doc. 1554.

⁸⁵ McCrank, "Restoration and Reconquest in Medieval Catalonia," 1:264–66.

⁸⁶ Paul F. Kehr, *Papsturkunden in Spanien. Vorarbeiten zur Hispania Pontificia I: Katalanien, I-II*. (Göttingen, 1926), 287–88, doc. 23; Ordeig i Mata, *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Vic. Segle XI, fascicle 4*, 869, doc. 1581. On the ecclesiastical backdrop to these documents see: Ludwig Vones, "Kardinal Rainer von San Clemente als päpstlicher Legat in Katalonien und Südwestfrankreich. Politische und diplomatische Aspekte," in *Aspects diplomatiques des voyages pontificaux*, ed. Bernard Barbiche and Rolf Große (Paris, 2009), 203–18.

ties between Catalonia and Rome⁸⁷ – and the routes that Catalan pilgrims chose for their journey to the East.

According to the Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela writing in the 1160s, ships carrying pilgrims to Jerusalem left the harbour of Barcelona;⁸⁸ but this does not mean that the same holds true for the eleventh century, for Catalonia only rose to naval power in the twelfth century. The route that the testators planned to follow on their way to Jerusalem is generally not mentioned in the testaments.⁸⁹ There is however one type of will which sometimes provides information in this respect. The so-called *testament sacramental*, a Visigothic survival peculiar to the east of the Iberian Peninsula, was an authentication charter written post-mortem based on a sworn report by two to seven (usually two to three) eyewitnesses before ecclesiastical and lay authorities.⁹⁰ These witnesses would gather no later than six months after the testator's passing away, take an oath on a particularly prestigious altar, and dictate the last will of the deceased who had not had the opportunity to have a formal document written by a notary or scribe before his or her death. This authentication act was memorialised in a charter.⁹¹ Sometimes such *testaments*

⁸⁷ Paul F. Kehr, *Das Papsttum und das katalanische Prinzipat bis zur Vereinigung mit Aragon* (Berlin, 1926); Odilo Engels, *Schutzgedanke und Landesherrschaft im östlichen Pyrenäenraum, 9.–13. Jahrhundert* (Münster, 1970); Johannes Fried, *Der päpstliche Schutz für Laienfürsten. Die politische Geschichte des päpstlichen Schutzprivilegs für Laien, 11.–13. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg, 1980); Thomas Deswarte, "Rome et la spécificité catalane. La papauté et ses relations avec la Catalogne et Narbonne (850–1030)," *Revue historique* 294 (1995): 3–43; Ludwig Vones, "Das Papsttum und die Konstituierung einer katalanischen 'Vorsprungslandschaft' im Grenzraum von Gallia und Hispania," in *Roma y la península Ibérica en la Alta Edad Media: la construcción des espacios, normas y redes de relación = Rom und die Iberische Halbinsel im Hochmittelalter: die Konstruktion von Räumen, Normen und Netzwerken*, ed. Santiago Domínguez Sánchez and Klaus Herbers (Göttingen, 2009), 157–72.

⁸⁸ *The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, Vol. 1: Text and Translation*, ed. A. Asher (London, 1840), 31–32; Gudiol, "De peregrinis i peregrinatges religiosos Catalans," 100; Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu du Xe à la fin du XIe siècle*, 840–41; Antoni Capmany y de Montpalau, *Memorias históricas sobre la marina, comercio y artes de la antigua ciudad de Barcelona*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1779–92; repr. Barcelona, 1961–63), 1:211–16, 234–55; Tadeusz Lewicki, "Les voies maritimes de la Méditerranée dans le haut Moyen Age d'après les sources arabes," in *La navigazione mediterranea nell'alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 1978), 439–71, at 462–63; David Jacoby, "Benjamin of Tudela and his 'Book of Travels'," in *Venezia, incrocio di culture: Percezioni di viaggiatori europei e non europei a confronto*, ed. Klaus Herbers and Felicitas Schmieder (Roma, 2008), 135–64 (with discussion on the dating and later changes to the text).

⁸⁹ On the question of the route chosen by eleventh-century pilgrims and the methodological problems, see: Françoise Micheau, "Les itinéraires maritimes et continentaux des pèlerinages vers Jérusalem," in *Occident et orient au Xe siècle: actes du IXe congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public* (Paris, 1979), 79–104; Jacoby, "Bishop Gunther of Bamberg," 279–84.

⁹⁰ Antonio Maria Udina Abelló, "Testament sacramental," in *Documents jurídics de la història de Catalunya*, ed. Agustí M. Bassols i Parés and Iago de Balanzó i Solà (Barcelona, 1992), 43–50; Taylor, "The Will and Society in Medieval Catalonia," 50–85; Antonio Maria Udina Abelló, "La adveración sacramental del testamento en la Cataluña altomedieval," *Medievalia* 13 (1996): 51–64.

⁹¹ The procedure is described in one of the wills in the survey, that of Ramon Seniofred d'Avinyó in 1046: *Per auctoritatem legis Gothicis ubi dicit "Moriens in itinere aut in expedicione publica si ingenues secum non habet, uolumptatem suam propriam seruis insinuet corum fides corem iudicem probare debebunt et sic uolumptas ipsius habeat firmitatem," nos prescripti testes qui prescriptam uolumptatem*

sacramentals provide information concerning the place where the testator fell ill or died, thus providing a glimpse of pilgrimage routes in the eleventh-century Mediterranean.⁹² We know that the Christianization of Hungary facilitated travel by land to Palestine through the Balkans.⁹³ But in the Catalan case, an itinerary via Italy and the combination of land and sea routes seems to have been preferred. Several *testaments sacramentals* reveal that maritime routes via Apulia were used, possibly linking up with the ancient Via Egnatia and then following the old imperial highway to the East.⁹⁴ But none of the wills explicitly mentions Constantinople, although contacts existed between Byzantium and Barcelona in the eleventh century.⁹⁵ The pilgrims' routes arguably passed from southern Italy to the Levant via the Aegean, possibly on board Venetian or Amalfitan vessels.⁹⁶ The wording of some wills hints at sailing as a means of transport,⁹⁷ in other cases we are given quite specific information: the will of Isarn, *custos* of the cathedral of Urgell, for example, relates that the testator passed away on Cyprus in March 1068,⁹⁸ and Bernhard actually died aboard a ship in 1091: *in via qua veniebat per mare in*

iramus recte scimus quod prescriptus Reimundus qui prescriptam uolumptatem hordinauit, postea uixit tribus diebus et sic migravit de hoc seculo in mense augustus iste primus transhacto: Jesus Alturo i Perucho, L'arxiu antic de Santa Anna de Barcelona del 942 al 1200 (Aproximació històrica – lingüística), 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1985), 1:56, doc. 52.

⁹² "Testaments sacramentals" have the additional advantage that they name the testator's companions and eyewitnesses, thus providing names of other pilgrims. Cf. Appendix, nos. 27–29

⁹³ Radulfus Glaber, *Historiae. Rodulfi Glabri Historiarum libri quinque* III.2, 96–97; Lalanne, "Des pèlerinages en terre sainte avant les croisades," 9–10; Micheau, "Les itinéraires maritimes"; Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 36; Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, 140–41.

⁹⁴ This route is also attested by other eleventh-century Jerusalem pilgrims: Micheau, "Les itinéraires maritimes," 85–86; Jacoby, "Bishop Gunther of Bamberg," 279. See the land donations near Bagnara in Sicily to clerical Jerusalem pilgrims in 1085: *Documenti latini e greci del conte Ruggero I di Calabria e Sicilia*, ed. Julia Becker (Roma, 2013), 60–63, doc. 9.

⁹⁵ Stephen P. Bensch, "Early Catalan Contacts with Byzantium," in *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of Robert I. Burns S.J.*, ed. Paul E. Chevedden and Larry J. Simon (Leiden, 1995), 133–60; Krijnie Nelly Ciggaar, *Western Travellers to Constantinople. The West and Byzantium, 962–1204: Cultural and Political Relations* (Leiden, 1996), 299–303.

⁹⁶ David Jacoby, "The Economic Impact of Christian Pilgrimage on the Holy Land, Eighth–Sixteenth Century – A Long-Term Overview," in *Religione e istituzioni religiose nell'economia europea: 1000–1800*, ed. Francesco Ammannati (Florence, 2012), 697–712, at 700–01. David Jacoby, "Venetian Commercial Expansion in the Eastern Mediterranean, 8th–11th centuries," in *Byzantine Trade, 4th–12th Centuries: The Archaeology of Local, Regional and International Exchange*, ed. Marlia Mundell Mango (Farnham, 2009), 371–91, at 376–88.

⁹⁷ *quando predictus Raimundus peregrinavit in terras marinibus partibus ad Sanctum Sepulcrum: Antoni Llorens, "Els documents dels segles X i XI de l'arxiu capitular de Solsona," Urgellia 11 (1992–93): 301–486, at 376–77, doc. 78; ivit in transmarinis partibus ad sepulcrum Domini: Ordeig i Mata, *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Vic. Segle XI, fascicle 4*, 714–15, doc. 1423; volo ire ultra mare ad sanctum Sepulcrum Domini causa orationis: Ramon Ordeig i Mata, *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Vic. Segle XI, fascicle 3* (Vic, 2005), 595–96, doc. 1297.*

⁹⁸ *Deinde item illus quod desiderabat libens et devotus arripuit et post spacia integri anni ac dimidio socii qui cum eo tenerunt viam illam in Iherusalem reversi sunt ad nos, qui renunciaverunt nobis pro certo obisse illum in quadam insulam maris que vocatur Ciprum in mense marcio ebdomada tertia, feria quarta, anno VIII et dimidio regante Philippo: Baraut, "Els documents, dels anys 1051–1075," 176–78, doc. 816.*

navi vitam finivit.⁹⁹ Probably, some pilgrims took the land route to Italy where they embarked on a vessel. At least, this is the impression given by the wills of Riculf, Bishop Eribau of Urgell, Sendred and Bonfill, who died en route in *Bon Rebast* close to Rome, in Pomposa, Benevento and Fondi respectively.¹⁰⁰ Other testators stated quite explicitly that they intended to travel to Italy.¹⁰¹ Whichever route was chosen, pilgrimage to Jerusalem was a dangerous undertaking. Nineteen of the wills are *testaments sacramentals*, written because the pilgrim passed away during the journey. In other cases one can follow the travellers' activities after their return home. Some of them were profoundly affected by their experience and bestowed donations upon institutions in the East, such as Seniofred, a priest from Urgell, who left for Jerusalem in 1037 and made a testamentary donation to the *sanctum sepulcrum* in 1044.¹⁰² But generally, such a direct connection between pilgrimages and subsequent endowments cannot be traced.

What do we learn about female pilgrims? The earliest trustworthy references about Catalan women undertaking the journey to Jerusalem – Mir Compan's wife and daughter – dates from 1090; there is however some probability that Ermessendis (of Carcassonne), wife of count Ramon Borrell of Barcelona went on pilgrimage in 1047.¹⁰³ Several wills from the tenth and eleventh centuries were written on behalf of women who undertook pilgrimages to Rome, Compostela or Le Puy.¹⁰⁴ In other cases, the wills refer to wives left behind by pilgrims and testators. In August 1096, Pere Ramon ordered his spouse to wait seven years for his return from Jerusalem (or receive trustworthy news of his demise) before entering a new relationship and definitely forbade *nefandam turpidem cum aliquo viro*.¹⁰⁵ Other provisions concern the testator's possessions during his absence. We encounter sales and leases of several castles effectuated by arms-bearers before they departed, and other documents include detailed rulings about how many years the executors of the will had to wait before they were to implement the testamentary

⁹⁹ Baraut, "Els documents, dels anys 1076–1092," 206–08, doc. 1089.

¹⁰⁰ Appendix, nos. 16 (1039), 17 (1040), 20 (1050), 24 (1060).

¹⁰¹ Centullo from Manresa in 1002: *cepi cogitare iter peregrinationis Sanctum Domini sepulcrorum et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et aliorum sanctorum*: Udina i Abelló, *La successió testada a la Catalunya altomedieval*, 209–10, doc. 57.

¹⁰² Baraut, "Els documents, dels anys 1093–1100," 137–40, doc. 25; similarly: Baraut, "Els documents, dels anys 1035–1050," 78–80, doc. 544; Baraut, "Els documents, dels anys 1035–1050," 102–04, doc. 574. On comparable cases in France: Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 32–33.

¹⁰³ At least she was part of a group that testified to having heard the last will that Ramon Seniofred d'Avinyó dictated in Piacenza when he fell ill on his way back from Jerusalem: Alturo i Perucho, *L'arxiu antic de Santa Anna de Barcelona*, 1:56–57, doc. 52.

¹⁰⁴ *Cartulario de "Sant Cugat" del Vallés*, ed. Rius, 2:321, doc. 656; *Col·lecció diplomàtica de Sant Pere de Casserres*, vol. 1, ed. Irene Llop Jordana (Lleida, 2009), 217, doc. 197; Zimmermann, *Lire et écrire en Catalogne*, 1200–04: Ingelrada (981); Mello, *femina* (1002); Richildis (1010); Ermessendis (1057); Richell (1067).

¹⁰⁵ Ordeig i Mata, *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Vic. Segle XI, fascicle 4*, 924–25, doc. 1642. See also Guillem in 1094: *teneat Ermessende, uxore mea, in uita sua, si virum nec seniore non apprehenderit, in tale conventu, ut bene nutriat filios meos, et donet uirum ad filia mea iam dicta inter mobile et alodium*: Chesé Lapeña, *Col·lecció diplomàtica de Sant Pere d'Àger*, 1:415–18, doc. 157.

clauses.¹⁰⁶ Further analysis is still necessary in order to reconstruct the networks between Catalan churches and laymen that both fostered pilgrimage and facilitated crusading, but in certain cases, Benedictine monasteries such as Santa Maria de Gerri or Sant Llorenç de Bagà can be discerned as such vectors.¹⁰⁷

Those left behind needed protection. A particularly intriguing ruling that first appears in 1081 and is repeatedly found in Catalan wills during the first decades of the twelfth century stipulates that the testator's close relatives such as his wife and children be put under the custody (*baiulia*) of the Holy Sepulchre which would therefore have acted as the testator's "bailiff" during his absence. The dorso of Ramon Sunyer's will of 1081 reads: *Haec omnia relincho in baiulia Domini nostri Jesu Christi et Sancte Marie et Sancti Sepulcri*,¹⁰⁸ while a certain William, husband to Beatrix, stipulates in 1086: *Mulier mea et filio meo sit in baglia domino deo et sepulcrum eius*.¹⁰⁹ Obviously, the Holy Sepulchre would not have acted on behalf of its wards, particularly as the patriarchate, the church and the chapter of Jerusalem were in the hands of the Greek clergy until the Latin conquest of the town. The ruling rather puts the defenceless under a particular legal status of tutelage, urging others to act on their behalf as a form of service to Christ's Sepulchre.

For the greatest part of the eleventh century, pilgrims to Jerusalem did not embark on a military campaign, and there are no references to inter-religious strife in the wills despite the unquestionable intensification of religious antagonism that marked the second half of the century on the Iberian Peninsula.¹¹⁰ This only changed with Pope Urban's call in 1095, but allegedly not in the case of Iberians in general,

¹⁰⁶ In 1096, Mir Gombald de Entenza sold the castle of Canals or Canales to the bishop of Roda for 1,500 Mancusi, in order to travel to Jerusalem: Appendix, no. 66. Cf. also: *de ipsa festa de sanctum Michaele ad duos annos, si non sum reversus in terra Paliarensis, sine nullo dubio donetis potestate ad Sancta Maria de Gerr de ipsum castrum de Rochafort aud qui per ea ad sua fide vobis quesierit, sicut michi iurastis et hic scriptum est*: appendix, no. 77; *Et in hora qua Deo annuente reversus fuero recuperem omnem fevum el alodium meum integriter ...*: appendix, no. 68; *si rediero et restituro, liceat mihi praedictum alodium sub conditione avi mei ac mei patris recuperare*: appendix, no. 81.

¹⁰⁷ See Appendix, nos. 42 (1086), 43 (1086), 72 (1097), 77 (1099). On the heuristic potential of identifying such networks, see Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response*, 250–81.

¹⁰⁸ Appendix, no. 35.

¹⁰⁹ Appendix, no. 43; and in 1087: *et dimitto ipso filio meo praescripto cum ipsam suam honorem in bajulia Domini nostri Ihesu Christi et de fratre meo nomine Berenguer et de meos homines*: appendix, no. 45. Shortly after the conquest of Jerusalem: ... *filios meos et filias et honorem meum dimitto in potestatem et defensionem dei et sancti sepulcri et beate Marie et beati Iacobi et beati Petri ...*: Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, doc. 9904 (11-III-1102), summary: Marquès i Planagumà, *Escriptures de Santa Maria de Vilabertran*, doc. 269, and 1112: *ob delictorum meorum remissionem et celestis Ierusalem amorem, desidero visitare gloriosum redemptoris nostri sepulcrum ... in baiulia quoque et defensione Domini Redemptoris nostri Iesuchristi propter cuius amorem sepulcrum eius visitare desidero et hominum meorum dimitto uxorem meam et filiam meam et filios meos omnem meum honorem*: *Cartulario de "Sant Cugat" del Vallés*, ed. Rius, 3:22–25, doc. 821; Gudiol, "De peregrins i peregrinatges religiosos catalans," 95 (erroneously dated 998).

¹¹⁰ Jean Flori, "Réforme – reconquête – croisade. L'idée de reconquête dans la correspondance pontificale d'Alexandre II à Urbain II," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 40 (1997): 317–35; Carlos Laliena Corbera, "Guerra santa y conquista feudal en el noroeste de la Península a mediados del siglo XI: Barbasatro, 1064," in *Cristianos y Musulmanes en la Península Ibérica: la guerra, la frontera y la*

who – despite vague references to *hispani* by Ekkehard of Aura and Sigebert of Gembloux¹¹¹ – were supposedly among the absentees of the First Crusade.¹¹² However, there are several hints or even explicit references as to Catalans who indeed participated in the expedition. For example, the typical “marriage of pilgrimage and military terminology”¹¹³ can also be observed in Catalonia, where the journey is referred to as an *expeditio* in 1102 and the Christian army (*exercitus*) is explicitly mentioned twice.¹¹⁴ Such documents seem to confirm and amplify Pope Urban’s crusading rhetoric,¹¹⁵ most strikingly in Bernard William’s will of 5 August 1097 – “[to] go in service of God in order to conquer Jerusalem and liberate the Holy Sepulchre,”¹¹⁶ an echo of the decree of Clermont to “go to Jerusalem to liberate the church of God.” Other elements of Urban’s call did not find their way into the wording of Catalan wills. “Frankishness” for example is not explicitly mentioned,¹¹⁷ neither are there clear references to violence as an act of mercy or charity.¹¹⁸ Arguably, the meeting of several Catalan prelates with Pope Urban in Nîmes in July 1096¹¹⁹ bolstered recruitment south of the Pyrenees, but we find no references to individual recruiting agents.

Organizational aspects of crusading, on the other hand, can be discerned. Notably, it is only from 1096 on that we encounter the abovementioned provisions concerning sales and pledges of castles or rulings on the amount of years one should wait for the pilgrim’s – or warrior’s – return.¹²⁰ The seven years stipulated by Pere Ramon – and, more so, the ten years Mir Ermengol foresaw¹²¹ – might well be due to the particular demands a military expedition posed and also hint at the arms-bearers’ hopes of making a career for themselves in the East. The wording

convivencia: XI Congreso de Estudios Medievales, ed. Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada (Ávila, 2009), 187–218.

¹¹¹ Ekkehard von Aura, *Ekkehardi abbatis Uraugiensis Hierosolymita*, in *RHC Oc*, 5:1–40, at 16, 37; Sigebert von Gembloux, *Chronica*, ed. Ludwig Konrad Bethmann, MGH SS 6 (Hanover, 1844), 300–374, at 367.

¹¹² See e.g. Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response*, 98: “The Spanish response to the First Crusade does not seem to have been considerable.” Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, 122, argues against such scepticism.

¹¹³ Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 67.

¹¹⁴ See Appendix, nos. 80 (1100), 88 (1102), 94 (1102).

¹¹⁵ H. E. J. Cowdrey, “Pope Urban’s II Preaching of the First Crusade,” *History* 55 (1970): 177–88, at 181–83; Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, MA, 1991), 1–33; Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 63–68.

¹¹⁶ See note 70.

¹¹⁷ On the notion of “Frankishness” in the crusade movement, see: Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response*, 6–8; Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 65; Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory*, 139–57.

¹¹⁸ Similar findings in the French case: Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 66.

¹¹⁹ See note 18.

¹²⁰ Cf. note 106 and the rulings in William Jordan’s will, appendix, no. 91 (1102). For comparative provisions in France: Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response*, 268–74; Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 115–18.

¹²¹ Ordeig i Mata, *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Vic. Segle XI, fascicle 4*, 924–25, doc. 1642; Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Monacals, fons de Sant Benet des Bages, doc. 378 = Appendix, nos. 70 and 73 (1096).

of Pere Udaldar's will, in turn, seems to echo indulgences extended in the wake of the expedition, for the pilgrim hoped to attain celestial glory during his journey: *ego Petrus Valardi timens penas inferni et desiderans gloriam paradisi dum irem Iherusalem rogavi ...*¹²² Bernhard seems to have belonged to a later contingent which left after the second wave of the First Crusade set out. Other Catalans appear to have participated in the third wave – or set off on their own accord at this time – for we come across several wills in the first two years of the twelfth century which were undoubtedly written on behalf of early crusaders. These documents express the testator's wish to join the *exercitus Domini Sabaoth* – “the Army of the Lord Sabaoth,” that is the army of the Israelites or the Army of God in the Jewish Bible. These were the words used in 1100 to describe the journey that Ramon Bonuç had undertaken in 1097 (*in exercitu Domini Salbaoth Iherusalem tendere cupiens*),¹²³ and the same wording was applied to Azalaida's participation in 1102.¹²⁴ The expression recalls Guibert of Nogent's rendering of pope Urban II's call at Clermont:

If what the Lord says—namely, “Salvation is from the Jews,” accords with the truth, and it is true that the Lord has left us *Sabaoth* as seed, that we may not become like Sodom and Gomorrah, and our seed is Christ, in whom is the salvation and benediction of all peoples, then, indeed, the very land and city in which He dwelt and suffered is, by witnesses of the Scriptures, holy.¹²⁵

Later, Orderic Vitalis expressly used the simile of Sabaoth's army to describe the crusaders.¹²⁶ The references to Sabaoth contained in Catalan wills are not only final proof of the fact that the appeal to participate in the expedition indeed crossed the Pyrenees, but also provide evidence that there, too, the first crusaders saw themselves as new Israelites embarking on an expedition directly undertaken on behalf of God himself.

¹²² Ignasi Puig i Ferreté, *El monestir de Santa Maria de Gerri (segles XI–XV): Col·lecció diplomàtica*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1991), 2:56–57, doc. 81 = Appendix, no. 72 (1097).

¹²³ *Diplomatari de l'Arxiu Capitular de Barcelona. Segle XI*, ed. Baucells i Reig, 5:2584, doc. 1668 = Appendix, no. 80 (1097).

¹²⁴ Ruiz Doméneç, *Quan els vescomtes de Barcelona eren*, 451–52, doc. 157 = Appendix, no. 94 (1102).

¹²⁵ *Si enim verum constat quod a Domino dicitur, quia videlicet “salus ex Judaeis est,” et Dominum Sabaoth semen nobis reliquisse constat, ne sicut Sodoma simus et Gomorrae similes fiamus, et semen nostrum Christus est, in quo salus et omnium gentium benedictio est: ipsa terra et civitas in qua habitavit et passus est, Scripturarum testimonio sancta vocatur:* GN 2.4, pp. 111–12.

¹²⁶ *In autumno postquam gentiles summo Rege Sabaoth praeliante prostrati sunt, egregii proceres cum suis commilitonibus redire decreuerunt, et amicis atque consortibus ualedicentes reciprocam callem inierunt:* Ordericus Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis* IX and X.12, ed. Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford, 1975), 5:270.

Additional Findings

The results obtained through the analysis of Catalan wills are backed by other regional sources of the most diverse hue. Church consecrations, for example, corroborate the change identified at the beginning of the eleventh century: buildings dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre had been erected before, but their number was limited, and furthermore they were hardly ever constructed as replicas of the authentic *sepulcrum Domini*. Recent studies conducted on a comparative, European level have shown that from the beginning of the eleventh century there was an increase of the number of buildings that bore the name of the Sepulchre and/or made architectural references to the Jerusalemite church.¹²⁷

In Catalonia, too, chapels were dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre from the 1020s onwards. In fact, no less than eleven churches and chapels received this designation, starting with the castle and rural chapels of Castellnou in Roussillon in 1021,¹²⁸ Renoall in 1029¹²⁹ and Urgell in 1045,¹³⁰ to La Tallada near Olèrdola in 1058¹³¹ and Palera before 1075,¹³² to Amposta in 1097.¹³³ La Tallada was even

¹²⁷ Richard Krautheimer, "Introduction to an Iconography of Medieval Architecture," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 1–33; Damiano Neri, *Il S. Sepolcro riprodotto in Occidente* (Jerusalem, 1971); Matthias Untermann, *Der Zentralbau im Mittelalter. Form – Funktion – Verbreitung* (Darmstadt, 1989); Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, "Partir, prier, donner: les églises fondées en souvenir du pèlerinage en Terre Sainte (Xe–XIe siècles)," in *Il cammino di Gerusalemme*, ed. Maria Stella Calò Mariani (Bari, 2002), 565–80; Claire Péquignot, "Vraies ou fausses imitations de l'Anastasis de Jérusalem aux XIe et XIIe siècles," in *Les pèlerinages à travers l'art et la société à l'époque préromane et romane* (Codalet, 2000), 119–33; Morris, "Memorials of the Holy Places," 100–103; Paolo Piva, "Die 'Kopien' der Grabeskirche im romanischen Abendland. Überlegungen zu einer problematischen Beziehung," in *Die Zeit der Kreuzzüge: Geschichte und Kunst*, ed. Roberto Cassanelli (Stuttgart, 2000), 97–117; Nikolas Jaspert, "Vergegenwärtigungen Jerusalems in Architektur und Reliquienkult," in *Jerusalem im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter: Konflikte und Konfliktbewältigung – Vorstellungen und Vergegenwärtigungen*, ed. Dieter Bauer, Klaus Herbers and Nikolas Jaspert (Frankfurt am Main, 2001), 219–70; Wilfried Ehbrecht, "Überall ist Jerusalem," in *Die Stadt als Kommunikationsraum: Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte vom Mittelalter bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Helmut Bräuer and Elke Schlenkrich (Leipzig, 2001), 129–85; Antonio Cadei, "Gli Ordini di Terrasanta e il culto per la Vera Croce e il Sepolcro di Cristo in Europa nel XII secolo," *Arte Medievale* NS 1 (2002): 51–70; Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, 90–133; Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, "La dévotion au Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem en Occident: imitations, invocation, donations," *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 38 (2007): 95–106.

¹²⁸ Marca, *Marca Hispanica sive limes hispanicus*, col. 1028, doc. 191; *Liber feudorum maior*, ed. Miquel Rosell, 2:6–10, doc. 497.

¹²⁹ Ramon Ordeig i Mata, *Les dotalies de les esglésies de Catalunya (segles IX–XII)*, vol. 2/1: *Introducció. Documents 121–276 (segle XI)* (Vic, 1996), 52–53, doc. 149.

¹³⁰ *Cartulario de "Sant Cugat" del Vallès*, ed. Rius, 2:246–49, doc. 582.

¹³¹ Alturo i Perucho, *L'arxiu antic de Santa Anna de Barcelona*, 2:78–80, doc. 70. Xavier Barral i Alfet, *Les pintures murals romàniques d'Olèrdola, Calafell, Marmellar i Matadars: estudi sobre la pintura mural del segle XI a Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1980), 13–46; Jaspert, *Stift und Stadt*, 406–10.

¹³² *La Garrotxa*, ed. Jordi Vigué (Barcelona, 1990), 231; Francisco Monsalvatje y Fossas, *Ridaura* (Olot, 1892), 38–41; 185–88, doc. 6.

¹³³ Pere Català i Roca, *Els castells catalans*, vol. 4 (Barcelona, 1993), 592. The consecration act of the church of Sant Esteve in Oliús (1079) states that its lower altar was dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre: Cebrià Baraut, "Les actes de consagracions d'esglésies del bisbat d'Urgell (segles IX–XII)," *Urgellia* 1 (1978): 11–182, at 148–50, doc. 70.

erected as a round church in imitation of the Jerusalemite *anastasis*. Passing to the cathedral churches, it is worth underlining that already in the eleventh century Christ's Sepulchre was venerated in one form or the other – be it in a material, a performative or a symbolic way – in every single one of the five Catalan cathedrals. By 1045 the see of Urgell housed an altar founded and built in honour of the Holy Sepulchre by the priest Miro Vives;¹³⁴ further altars were erected in the cathedrals of Girona before 1035,¹³⁵ Vic before 1051¹³⁶ and Barcelona before 1067.¹³⁷ The sees of Elna and Vic practised other forms of venerating the Sepulchre: when Bishop Berenguer of Elne returned home from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, probably in 1028, he is said to have ordered the construction of a new cathedral church according to the measurements of the Jerusalemite church of the Holy Sepulchre.¹³⁸ Finally, in Vic, liturgical dramatic plays of the *visitatio sancti Sepulchri* were enacted between the high altar and the choir of the cathedral in the eleventh century – the oldest such plays in eastern Iberia.¹³⁹ Catalonia in the eleventh century was indeed a focal point of European devotion to Jerusalem and to Christ's Sepulchre.

¹³⁴ *Cartulario de "Sant Cugat" del Vallés*, ed. Rius, 2:247–48, doc. 582; Baraut, "Els documents, dels anys 1010–1035," 110, doc. 581; Baraut, "Els documents, dels anys 1051–1075," 55, doc. 670; Francesc Carreras Candi, "La devoción al Santo Sepulcro," *La Dinastía* s.n. (30-III-1899): 1–3. On the founder see Baraut, "Els documents, dels anys 1051–1075," 76, doc. 696 (19-X-1057): *Et ipsos presbiteros qui cantent misas super altario sancti Sepulchri in ipsa sede, totus dies dicant misa pro anima mea vel per avunculo meo Miro Viven sacer qui ipsa ecclesia Sancti Sepulchri edificavit*. The same document contains ample donations (also of liturgical objects) to the *sanctum sepulchrum* of Urgell. At first sight it is not quite clear if the *ecclesia* and the altar were in fact different edifices, for a later document uses both terms indiscriminately: *ecclesie Dei genetricis Marie Sedis intra quam consistunt altaria sacrata, scilicet Sancti Sepulchri Sanctique Justi et alia ... dono domino Deo santeque sue ecclesie Sancti Sepulchri et Sancti Justi ...*: Baraut, "Els documents, dels anys 1076–1092," 60, doc. 927; but a donation from 1092 clearly speaks of *ecclesia Sancti Sepulchri, que est fundata prope ecclesie Sancte Dei genetricis Marie Sedis Urgellensis*: Baraut, "Els documents, dels anys 1076–1092," 215, doc. 1095.

¹³⁵ Castello d'Empúries, Arxiu Municipal de Castelló d'Empúries, Fons Comtat d'Empúries, "testament sacramental" of Adaló (23-IV-1035): *In primis ad domum sancti Sepulchri iussit donare ipso supo manso ubi Adroarijus ... habitabat ... et ipso manso ubi Levegellis habitat ... et ipso mulino ...*

¹³⁶ Baraut, "Els documents, dels anys 1051–1075," 27, doc. 642. Probably already by 1044: *ibid.*, 103, doc. 574.

¹³⁷ 1067 at the Cathedral of Barcelona: Joseph Mas, *Notes històriques del Bisbat de Barcelona 10: Rùbrica dels "Libri Antiquitatum" de la Seu de Barcelona. Segona part* (Barcelona, 1914), 73, doc. 845; cf. *El Barcelonès. El Baix Llobregat. El Maresme*, ed. Jordi Vigué (Barcelona, 1992), 38; *Diplomatari de l'Arxiu Capítular de Barcelona. Segle XI*, ed. Baucells i Reig, 4:2081, doc. 1336.

¹³⁸ *Pervenit ad dictum Dominum Berengarium episcopum quod causa peregrinationis et devotionis accederet ad sanctam Hierusalem civitatem, ad quam ivit. Et visitata Ecclesia civitatis praedictae, quam satis aptam vidit et idoneam, sumpsit in pergameno et descripsit, pinxit seu pingi et describi fecit formam dictae Ecclesiae tam in forma latitudinis quam longitudinis et sub eadem forma, cum revenit, aedificavit seu aedificari et fundari fecit cum consensu sui capituli in villa superiori Elnensi Ecclesiam cathedralem ...*: Marca, *Marca Hispanica sive limes hispanicus*, 1148–49, doc. 272.

¹³⁹ Francesc Massip, "Panorama des iberischen Theaters des Mittelalters: Katalonien-Aragon und Kastilien," *Zeitschrift für Katalanistik* 5 (1992): 9–39, at 10. See in general: Joerg O. Fichte, "The 'visitatio sepulchri' as Actualization of Dramatic Impulses in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 77 (1976): 211–26; Dunbar H. Ogden, "The Visitatio Sepulchri. Public Enactment and Hidden Rite," in *The Dramatic Tradition of the Middle Ages*, ed. Clifford Davidson (New

Proof to this is also the great interest shown for things Jerusalemite at the important Benedictine monastery of Ripoll, an institution closely tied to the ruling house of Barcelona. This interest is expressed by the very detailed depictions of the Holy Sites in the Ripoll Bible and by the fact that Bede's "De Locis Sanctis" was copied and illustrated twice in the monastery's scriptorium.¹⁴⁰ Not far from Ripoll, the famous Creation Tapestry of Girona was fashioned in 1097, in the wake of the First Crusade and arguably even as an echo to the call – for, this impressive embroidery contains an extraordinary depiction of the Holy Land in a cycle dedicated to the Legend of the True Cross.¹⁴¹

Veneration to Jerusalem was also expressed by donations to the *sanctum sepulchrum*, sometimes included in wills, sometimes handed down in private donation charters. As early as 1016, Christ's Sepulchre had received testamentary donations from Sancia, viscountess of Urgell.¹⁴² Between 1085 and 1108, the Church of Palera in northern Catalonia was bequeathed to the Holy Sepulchre.¹⁴³ Other gifts were not quite as sumptuous: in 1044, the abovementioned Seniofred, a cathedral priest from Urgell who had gone on pilgrimage to Jerusalem seven years earlier,¹⁴⁴ made a donation of wine and grain to the Sanctum Sepulchrum.¹⁴⁵ The deacon Ramon of Urgell bequeathed a vineyard one year later.¹⁴⁶ Several testators bestowed sums of gold: Countess Ermessendis of Barcelona gave the substantial amount of 100 gold *mançusi* in her will in 1057;¹⁴⁷ so did Arnau Mir de Tost in 1072;¹⁴⁸ William from Urgell eight ounces of gold in 1064;¹⁴⁹ Isarn Bernard one

York, 2005), 28–35; Iris Shagrir, "The Visitatio Sepulchri at the Latin Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem," *Al-Masaq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* 22 (2010): 57–77.

¹⁴⁰ Maria Eugenia Ibarburu Asurmendi, "De locis sanctis de Beda," in *El Ripollès*, ed. Jordi Vigué (Barcelona, 1987), 315–18; Manuel Castiñeiras González, "Le Nouveau Testament de la Bible de Ripoll et les traditions anciennes de l'icôgraphie chrétienne," *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 40 (2009): 145–63, particularly 160–61, figs. 19, 20, 21.

¹⁴¹ Manuel Castiñeiras González, *The Creation Tapestry* (Girona, 2011), 70–76, 84, 89, 92.

¹⁴² Joaquin Miret y Sans, *Investigación histórica sobre el vizcondado de Castellbó* (Barcelona, 1900), 346–47, doc. 3; Baraut, "Els documents, dels anys 1010–1035," 58–61, docs. 347 and 348: *Ad sanctum Sepulchrum noscha I auri*.

¹⁴³ *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de La Grasse, vol. 1: 779–1119*, ed. Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier (Paris, 1996), 240–41, doc. 180 (donation by Arnau Gausfred); see also: Monsalvatje y Fossas, *Ridaura*, 41.

¹⁴⁴ Baraut, "Els documents, dels anys 1093–1100," 137–40, doc. 25; similarly: Baraut, "Els documents, dels anys 1035–1050," 78–80, doc. 544.

¹⁴⁵ Baraut, "Els documents, dels anys 1035–1050," 102–04, doc. 574: *ad ipso Sancto Sepulcro et ad Sancto Justo et ad Sancto Georgio quinal de vi et semodio I de forment*.

¹⁴⁶ Baraut, "Els documents, dels anys 1035–1050," 118, doc. 588.

¹⁴⁷ Próspero de Bofarull y Mascaró, *Los Condes de Barcelona vindicados, y cronologia y genealogia de los Reyes de España considerados como soberanos independientes de su marca* (Barcelona, 1836), 2:54; *Liber feudorum maior*, ed. Miquel Rosell, 2:522, doc. 490; Llop Jordana, *Col·lecció diplomàtica de Sant Pere de Casserres*, 217–20, doc. 197: *et Sancto Sepulcro quod est in Hierusalem dimito centum mancosos* (at 219).

¹⁴⁸ *Col·lecció diplomàtica de Sant Pere d'Àger*, ed. Chesé Lapeña, 1:343–51 (at 347), doc. 99.

¹⁴⁹ Baraut, "Els documents, dels anys 1051–1075," 125, doc. 755.

ounce in 1070;¹⁵⁰ Brocard, William's son, bequeathed his horse and sword to the sepulchre together with a significant sum of money,¹⁵¹ and Berenguer Isarn left it two ounces of gold,¹⁵² both in 1093; four years later an arms-bearer called Ramon bequeathed four ounces of gold.¹⁵³

We do not know how these donations reached their destinations; probably they were transported by other pilgrims. Perhaps the patriarchs of Jerusalem even made the effort to access them via local procurators. The Greek patriarchs are known to have bestowed the task of administering their European possessions upon local Latin monasteries, such as Moissac for southern France.¹⁵⁴ It remains unclear if the same procedure was followed on the other side of the Pyrenees, but Sant Sepulcre de Palera became a proprietary church of the patriarchs of Jerusalem at some time before 1108 (at which point it was transferred from the latter to the Benedictine monastery of La Grasse).¹⁵⁵ Such losses, but even more the growing number of donations to the Holy Sepulchre after the First Crusade, made the patriarchs and the chapter decide to administer their possessions overseas directly. In the second decade of the twelfth century, and thus simultaneously with the Hospitallers,¹⁵⁶ the patriarch of Jerusalem and his chapter sent their first representatives to Catalonia,¹⁵⁷ who succeeded in building up a network of houses that later became one of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre's strongholds in Europe.

Finally, veneration of Jerusalem and the cult of Christ's Sepulchre in the Latin West also became manifest by the transfer of relics across the Mediterranean, representing another form of Mediterranean connectivity.¹⁵⁸ Together with relics

¹⁵⁰ Llorens, "Els documents dels segles X i XI de l'arxiu capitular de Solsona," 449, doc. 167.

¹⁵¹ Nuria Grau Quiroga, *Roda de Isábena en los siglos X–XIII: la documentación episcopal y del cabildo catedralicio* (Zaragoza, 2010), 350, doc. 74 (5-I-1093): *Et ipsum meum cavallo quod ego prestavi ad Gerallus Poncio vicescomes remaneat ad Sanctum Sepulcrum et ipsa mea spata quod habet Guilielmo Petro de Satagon si iam potet recuperare filio meo Berengario Brucardi quale ora iam recuperaverii donet inde XX uncias ad Sanctum Sepulcrum*. Also in the end of the eleventh century, Arnau Godafred bequeathed his horse to the Holy Sepulchre: Puig i Ferreté, *El monestir de Santa Maria de Gerri*, 55, doc. 75 (exact date unknown).

¹⁵² Miret y Sans, *Investigación histórica sobre el vizcondado de Castellbó*, 359–61, doc. 7.

¹⁵³ Bach Riu, "Pelegrins als grans santuaris medieval," 554–55.

¹⁵⁴ Aleksander Gieysztor, "The Genesis of the Crusades: The Encyclical of Sergius IV (1009–1012)," *Medievalia et humanistica* 6 (1950): 3–34, at 24–26, note 102; Axel Müssigbrod, *Die Abtei Moissac 1050–1150: zu einem Zentrum cluniacensischen Mönchtums in Südwestfrankreich* (Munich, 1988), 150–52, 224–25, 302.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. note 143. On devotion to Jerusalem in La Grasse, cf: Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, "Les imitations du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem (IXe–XVe siècles): archéologie d'une dévotion," *Revue d'histoire de la spiritualité* 40 (1974): 319–24, at 331.

¹⁵⁶ *Cartulario de "Sant Cugat" del Vallés*, ed Rius, 3:19, doc. 817 (26-IV-1112), donation *ad ospitalitate Sancti Sepulcri*. See Anthony Luttrell, "The Earliest Templars," in *Autour*, 193–203.

¹⁵⁷ Jaspert, *Stift und Stadt*, 79–94.

¹⁵⁸ Anatole Frolov, *La relique de la Vraie Croix: recherches sur le développement d'un culte* (Paris, 1961); Anatole Frolov, *Les reliquaires de la Vraie Croix* (Paris, 1965); Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187* (Cambridge, 1995); Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 31–33; Jaspert, "Vergegenwärtigungen Jerusalems in Architektur und Reliquienkult," 245–70; Anna Benvenuti, "Le legende d'Oultremare: relique, traslazioni, culti e devozioni della Terrasanta," in *Il cammino*

of the Passion and souvenirs of the Holy Land such as water from the Jordan, relics of the Sepulchre and of the “True Cross” transferred Jerusalem and the Holy Places visibly and tangibly to the West, including to the Iberian Peninsula. Here too, the First Crusade led to a marked intensification of mobility in the twelfth century. However, the preceding century also provides some, albeit rare, references. According to a *sermo in dedicatione ecclesiae Sanctae Mariae Rivipollensis*, pieces of the True Cross and the Holy Sepulchre were laid under the altar when the new church of Ripoll was consecrated in 1032,¹⁵⁹ just as in Saint Miquel de Cuxà,¹⁶⁰ and some time between 1068 and 1095, Ramon Arnall, son of Clementia, swore fealty to count William of Cerdanya for the castle of So on a relic of the “True Cross” in the church of Santa Maria de Cernellà.¹⁶¹ Nevertheless, by comparison to other regions in Europe and even in the Iberian Peninsula, Catalonia in the eleventh century did not create a collective memory around such translocated objects of devotion. In Asturias, for example, in 1075 Alfonso VI supposedly discovered a chest with precious Jerusalemite relics which had miraculously been transported there from Palestine and which subsequently stood in high esteem in his realm.¹⁶²

In 1068, Arsenda had her testament written in which she bequeathed the proceeds of the sale of her golden diadem (*ornamentum meum de caput que est de auro*) to the Holy Sepulchre.¹⁶³ Arsenda was wife to Arnau Mir de Tost, one of the most fascinating figures of the eleventh century in eastern Iberia. Similarly to the famous Cid Campeador, Arnau succeeded in acquiring extensive lands by his constant combats against neighbouring Muslim territories in the Pyrenees. As we have seen, Arnau’s will too, contained a substantial donation of 100 gold *mancusi* to the Holy Sepulchre.¹⁶⁴ The backdrop for these bequests has long remained unknown;

di Gerusalemme, ed. Maria Stella Calò Mariani (Bari, 2002), 529–46; Sofia Di Sciascio, “Reliquie e reliquiari dai Luoghi Santi in Puglia: prodotti crociati ed imitazioni locali,” *ibid.*, 327–42; Nikolas Jaspert, “The True Cross of Jerusalem in the Latin West: Mediterranean Connections and Institutional Agency,” in *Visual Constructions of Jerusalem*, ed. Bianca Kuehnel, Galit Noga-Banai and Hanna Vorholt (Turnhout, 2015), 207–21.

¹⁵⁹ Jaime Villanueva, *Viaje literario a las iglesias de España*, vol. 8 (Madrid, 1807), 211–12: *Sunt et ibi de sepulcro Domini porciones inmissae, fidelium laboriosa et indeficienti fide ad nos usque delatae. Quod venerabile sepulcrum omni adoratu cultuque dignissimum, quantā divinitus praeferat sanctitatis, non est humanae facultatis effari. De cuius veneranda gloria prophetarum oraculis multo ante praedictum est, quod et ex nostri Salvatoris triduo in illo quiescentis sacratissimo corpore indicibiliter consecratum est: quod sanctorum angelorum postmodum frequentibus excubiis illustratum est: quod totius saeculi veneratione et frequentia quoad mundus maneat celebrandum est.*

¹⁶⁰ Marca, *Marca Hispanica sive limes hispanicus*, col. 1075, doc. 222.

¹⁶¹ *Liber feudorum maior*, ed. Miquel Rosell, 2:145–46, doc. 638.

¹⁶² Charles Kohler, “Translation de reliques, de Jérusalem à Oviedo, VIIe–IXe siècle,” *ROL* 5 (1897): 1–21; Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, 95–97, with similar examples from France, Italy and Germany.

¹⁶³ *Col·lecció diplomàtica de Sant Pere d’Àger*, ed. Chesé Lapeña, 1:326, doc. 87: *Ornamentum meum de caput que est de auro precipio uendere et ipsum pretium dare ad sepulcrum domini mei Ihesu Christi.*

¹⁶⁴ Miret y Sans, *Investigación histórica sobre el vizcondado de Castellbó*, 350–58, doc. 6, at 354: *aliis centum mancusi similiter in valente quos dimito ad Sepulcrum Domini.*

however, recently the opening of a small *lipsanoteca* in the village church of Santa Maria de la Torreta (Berguedà) revealed that, in fact, Arnau Mir de Tost undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.¹⁶⁵ The casket contains a small parchment note which relates that the relics – earth from the Sepulchre, wax ignited by the supposedly miraculous “Easter fire” and frankincense – were brought back to Catalonia by the Pyrenean warrior.¹⁶⁶ Arnau was highly interested in relics of the Holy Land, for, in 1040, bishop Oliba of Vic sent him fragments of the “True Cross” and Christ’s Sepulchre which he had gained from the church of Lodi in Italy for the church of Saint Martí in Tost.¹⁶⁷ Arnau Mir de Tost was not a crusader *avant la lettre*, but rather a frontier warlord. However, this warrior of the religious frontier seems to have cultivated a relation to the Holy Places in Palestine similar to the one which was to induce his co-religionists to action a generation later.

Conclusion

This survey of an unusually large corpus of eleventh-century private charters not only corroborates, but also extends our knowledge concerning the veneration of Jerusalem in general and of Christ’s Sepulchre in particular during the High Middle Ages. The very nature of these documents enables a more direct approach to Jerusalem pilgrimage and Jerusalem pilgrims than that provided by narrative sources because we receive valuable information about the testator’s social, economic and spiritual contexts. These sources, therefore, substantiate more general narrative sources on pilgrimage in the eleventh century.

Moreover, eleventh-century Catalan wills add to our knowledge concerning the development of elements which ultimately laid the ground for the crusading movement. Mostly situated in the field of spirituality and mentality, such long-term foundations of the crusades are particularly important to explain the success of this phenomenon in a particular time and place. Thus, a survey over the period of a century permits identification of the growth of penitential anxieties in the second half of the eleventh century, while an analysis of the pilgrims’ stated goals has revealed the growing importance of the town of Jerusalem vis-à-vis Christ’s Sepulchre. Therefore, the source material analysed here provides further insight into the mind-frame of medieval men and women that led to the crusades.

¹⁶⁵ Appendix, no. 18.

¹⁶⁶ The donation must have been made at some time between 1042 and 1068; see Joaquim Calderer, “Trobada, a l’església de Santa Maria de la Torreta, d’una lipsanoteca i dos pergamins,” *Urgellia* 12 (1994): 565–96, at 569; Manuel Castiñeiras González, “El Baldaquí de Tost: una obra mestra de la pintura sobre taula,” in *El cel pintat. El Baldaquí de Tost*, ed. Manuel Castiñeiras González (Vic, 2008), 33–54, esp. 37–38 and illustration *ibid.*, p. 78.

¹⁶⁷ Ordeig i Mata, *Les dotalies de les esglésies de Catalunya*, 95, doc. A; Eduard Junyent i Subirà, *Diplomatari i escrits de l’abat i bisbe Oliba*, ed. Anscari M. Mundó (Barcelona, 1992), 338–40, doc. 22; Francesc Fité i Llevot and Eduard González i Montardit, *Arnau Mir de Tost: un senyor de frontera al segle XI* (Lleida, 2010), 126–27.

Most importantly, the documentation shows that Catalonia in the eleventh century was an area much more closely connected to Jerusalem and Palestine both by land and by sea than hitherto thought. On the one hand, pilgrimage to Palestine was embedded within communicative networks that began connecting Catalonia to other areas within the Mediterranean; on the other hand, the journeys themselves contributed to enhancing such connectivity. Long-distance communication with the Levant both reflected and enabled the construction of a very particular cultural space – devotion to the Holy Land. This veneration was further strengthened by the construction and dedication of churches and chapels, the transfer of relics as well as by other material and mnemonic devices. Consequently, the call to the First Crusade did not fall on deaf ears in Catalonia, even though the very specific political and military situation in the Pyrenean counties ultimately impeded substantial participation in the expedition. During the twelfth century the multiple trans-Mediterranean ties between eastern Iberia and the Levant were to continue.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁸ Cf. the study announced in note 30.

Appendix: Catalan Pilgrims and Crusaders to Jerusalem (950–1102)¹

1. 955 Laufred / Jaufred, abbot of Besalú and founder of Camprodón, leaves on pilgrimage [to Jerusalem?] but never returns.²
2. 972-I-23 (TS, 971) *Erovigi[us], qui fuit in peregrinatione usque in civitate Iherusalem et ibi migravit ab seculo ... Et cum hec om[ni]a ordi[n]avit in sua bona voluntate derelinqui matrem, fratres, sorores [... peregrina]tione per multas regiones usque comp[levit suum d]esiderium, et peruenit ad Iherusalem, et ib[i] migravit d[e] hoc seculo II nonas decembris [4-XII-971]. Et pos[t h]ec uenientes socios qui cum eo fuer[unt] ... de condam Erovigii, id est, Albaro, Uuisa[... 7/8 pres]biter et Suniefredo, unde sumus ...³*
3. 972-I-23 (971) *Alvar; Uuisa [...] presbiter et Seniofred* (ibidem).
4. 990–993 Guarin / Garí de Lézat, abbot of Cuxà, travels to Jerusalem in 978⁴ and embarks on a second trip in 990, possibly with count Gislebert of Roussillon; he stays in Jerusalem for three years.⁵ On his return, he receives a donation on behalf of the Latin monasteries in Jerusalem from marquis Hugh of Tuscany and his wife Judith.⁶
5. 989-III (TS), Vives, priest from Barcelona, *qui pergit ad Iherusalem*.⁷
6. 1002 Centullo / Centull, priest from Manresa: *nunc cepi in horis et in momentis de miseratione Dei quod est misericors in peccatis hominum et cognoscentem me honestum vinculis compunctus spiratione Dei cepi cogitare iter peregrinationis Sanctum Domini sepulcrorum et beatorum apostolorum Petri*

¹ TS = Testament Sacramental. Archival references are only given if there is no printed edition of the full text. In this appendix, names are given in Catalan and Latin forms.

² *Catalunya Carolingia 5: Els comtats de Girona, Besalú, Empúries i Peralada*, ed. Ramon Ordeig i Mata (Barcelona, 2003), 317, doc. 351 (29-VI-962) only states: *elegit propter vite aeternae premium peregrinationis subire exilium ... cum iam septem et eos amplius annos prestolascet adventum suprataxati abbat[is]*. Later authors add Jerusalem: Ernesto Zaragoza Pascual, *Abaciologi benedicti de la Tarraconense* (Barcelona, 2002), 111; Homs Guzmán, “Relats de pelegrinatge a Terra Santa,” 13.

³ *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Barcelona*, ed. Fabrega i Grau, 300–02, doc. 102.

⁴ *Ionannis diaconis Chronicon venetum et Gradense*, ed. Georg H. Pertz, MGH SS 7 (Hannover, 1846), 1–47, at 26: *ea occasione quo Hierosolimam ire vellet*.

⁵ *Vita sancti Romualdi* 15, PL, 144:968–69; Ramon d’ Abadal i de Vinyals, “Com neix i com creix un gran monestir pirinenc abans de l’any mil: Eixalada-Cuixà,” *Analecta Montserratensia* 8 (1954–55): 125–337, at 231–32; Ramon d’ Abadal i de Vinyals, *Com Catalunya s’obrí al món mil anys enrera* (Barcelona, 1960), 52; Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, 97–98.

⁶ Paul Riant, “La donation de Hugues, marquis de Toscane, au Saint-Sépulchre et les établissements latins de Jérusalem au Xe siècle,” *Memoires de l’Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 31/2 (1884): 151–95, with edition at 160–62. See also the circular, probably written by Gerbert of Aurillac in 984, urging Christians to help the Church of Jerusalem, possibly on behalf of abbot Garí: *Die Briefsammlung Gerberts von Reims*, ed. Fritz Weigle, MGH Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit 2 (Berlin, 1966), 50–52, doc. 28; Abadal i de Vinyals, “Com neix i com creix un gran monestir,” 225.

⁷ *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Barcelona*, ed. Fabrega i Grau, 394–95, doc. 187.

- et Pauli et aliorum sanctorum pro consortium eorum ut fierent propiciatores pro peccatis meis.*⁸
7. 1005-III-8 Arnulf / Arnau, bishop of Vic, is given permission to pilgrimage to Jerusalem: *Intimamus etiam vestre sagacitati hunc pontificem Ausonensem nomine Arnulfum, nostre diocesi natum, renatum in Christo, confirmatum, tonsuratum, gradatim ordinatum meisque manibus episcopum factum et in prefatam sedem intronizatum. Agnovimus namque illius voluntatem peregre [!] ac sepulcrum Dominicum invisere atque trans pontum transmeare. Convocavimus una pontifices omnes nostre diocese et afati sumus de hoc quid agendum sit. Scimus namque quod sacri proibent kannones ut episcopos nequaquam absens sit amplius ebdomadibus tribus a sede propria, set mos inolevit in sancta Aecclesia ut pontifices pergerent usque ad sanctorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum limina invisenda, ac per hoc petivit nobis ut ei transitum, relicto in loco suo visitatorem sue aecclesie qui eam visited [sic] ac regat usque dum ipse, Domino annuente, redire mereatur, concedamus. Nos quoque adquevimus petitionibus eius et sciatis quia nostra est voluntas licencia atque consensio.*⁹
8. 1021-X-21 *Vivas / Vives, ac si indignus sacer ... anno incarnationis domini nostri Ihesu Xpisti XXI^o post milesimo sic pergit Vivas sacer in servicium domini nostri Ihesu Xpisti et eius sepulcri.*¹⁰
9. 1023 (before) Pepinus Bernardus / Pepí Bernat donates church of Sant Pere de Vellanega after his return from a pilgrimage: *spacia temporum inspiravit Deus omnipotens in corde meo quatinus in Iherusalem a [...] Domini visere sepulcrum. Et quia Deus michi magnam fecit misericordiam et concessit me in patriam redire sanum et incolumem, tactus dolore cordis, sponōndi emendare ac restaurare nominatum Sancti Petri monasterium.*¹¹
10. 1027-V-16 Synod of Toluges (Roussillon) presided by Oliba in absence of Berenguer (of Gurb), bishop of Elne, “who at that time was a pilgrim overseas”: *convenit Oliba pontifex Ausonensis, ad vicem Berengarii Helenensi episcopi, tunc temporis in transmarinis partibus peregrini.*¹² 1069: Berenguer: *pervenit*

⁸ Udina i Abelló, *La successió testada a la Catalunya altomedieval*, 209–10, doc. 57; Joan Salvador i Montoriol, “El Monestir de Sant Benet de Bages. Fons documental, identificació, edició i estudi,” 4 vols. (unpublished PhD dissertation, Universitat de Lleida, 2012), 3:763–66, doc. 551.

⁹ Ramon Ordeig i Mata, *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Vic. Segle XI, fascicle I* (Vic, 2000), 35–37, doc. 690; Jaime Villanueva, *Viaje literario a las iglesias de España*, 32 vols. (Madrid, 1803–52), 5:282–85, doc. 21.

¹⁰ Baraut, “Els documents, dels anys 1010–1035,” 80–81, doc. 370.

¹¹ Cebrià Baraut, “Diplomatari del monestir de Sant Sadurn de Tavèrnoles, segles IX–XIII,” *Urgellia* 12 (1994): 7–414, 571–90, at 172–73, doc. 102.

¹² Mansi, *Concilia* 19:483; Junyent i Subirà, *Diplomatari i escrits de l'abat i bisbe Oliba*, ed. Anscari M. Mundó, 144–46, doc. 92; cf. Pierre Ponsich, “Oliba et la Trêve de Dieu,” *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 3 (1972): 31–42, at 37; *El Rosselló*, ed. Jordi Vigué (Barcelona, 1993), 420;

- devotio ad dictum dominum Berengarium episcopum quod ex causa peregrinationis et devotionis accederet ad sanctam Hierusalem civitate, ad quam ivit.*¹³
11. 1031-I-15 Land donation by executors of Hug Llobet's will; *quia comendavit nobis Hugo, nomine Lobet, suam elemosinam, quando [pergit ad] Sanctum Sepulcrum.*¹⁴
12. 1037-I-10 (TS) Ramon, *quando predictus Raimundus peregrinavit in terras marinibus partibus ad Sanctum Sepulcrum.*¹⁵
13. 1037-II-13 (TS) /1136 Guillemus, Viscount of Urgell: ... *nos supra scripti testes sumus et bene in veritate sapemus et oculis nostris vidimus et aures audivimus et de presente eramus ad eadem hora quando volebat pergere predictus Guillelmus ad limina Sancti Sepulcri et iussit ... [possibly the testator never left, for] ... cum hec omnia ordinavit atque precepit postea sua bona voluntas mutata non fuit, nos scientes, set simul cum bono animo migravit ex hoc seculo iii. kalendas setembris.*¹⁶
14. 1037-X-20 Seniofred, sacristan (*sacer sacricustos*) at the cathedral of Urgell: *Cupio pergere in servicio domini nostri Ihesu Xristi et eius gloriosissimi sepulcri.*¹⁷ TS 27-I-1042, *oculis nostris vidimus et aures audivimus ad eadem hora quando Seniofredus sacricustos pergit ad sepulchrum Domini ...* had deceased in October (1041).¹⁸
15. 1038 Death of Count Ermengol II of Urgell on pilgrimage to Jerusalem: *Sub temporibus vero istius fuerunt Comes in Urgelli comitatu; Ermengaudus, qui dictus fuit peregrinus, eo quia peregrinus Hierosolymis obiit anno Domini MXXXVIII; et vixit in Comitatu annis XXVIII: et successit eius Ermengaudus filius eius.*¹⁹
16. 1039-VIII-20 (TS) Sendred (Adalbert), married to Doda: *quando suprascriptus condam Sendredus fecit suum testamentum, antequam pergeret in ipso itinere, ubi perrexit, et ubi obit, id est, antequam pervenisset ad sanctum Sepulcrum, ubi pergebat sano corpore et integra mente, sic comendavit vel iniunxit omnem suum avere ... Et postea sic habuit in ipso itinere ubi pergebat ad sanctum Sepulcrum. Et non fuit illi licitum usque*

Ponsich, "Roussillonais, cerdans et Catalans," 86. Not dated 1047, as postulated by Martin Bouquet and Léopold Delisle in *RHGF*, 11:514.

¹³ Marca, *Marca Hispanica sive limes hispanicus*, col. 1148, doc. 272, probably Berenguer (1019–30) who was in *transmaribus partibus* in 1027.

¹⁴ *Cartulario de "Sant Cugat" del Vallés*, ed Rius, 2:168–69, doc. 516.

¹⁵ Llorens, "Els documents dels segles X i XI de l'arxiu capitular de Solsona," 376–77, doc. 78.

¹⁶ Baraut, "Els documents, dels anys 1035–1050," 38–39, doc. 499.

¹⁷ Baraut, "Els documents, dels anys 1093–1100," 137–40, doc. 25; similarly: Baraut, "Els documents, dels anys 1035–1050," 78–80, doc. 544.

¹⁸ Baraut, "Els documents, dels anys 1035–1050," 78–80, doc. 544.

¹⁹ *Gesta Comitum Barcinonensium*, ed. Barrau Dihigo and Massó Torrents, 33. Cf. *Les Gesta Comitum Barchinonensium* ("versió primitiva"), ed. Cingolani, 142: *Ermengaudus vero Cordubensi successit Ermengaudus qui Iherosolimis peregrinus obiit, M^ooXXX^oVII^o, cum nondum capta esset a Francis civitas Iherusalem.*

- ad sepulcrum Domini perambulare, sed obiit de hoc seculo in ipso itinere apud Beneventum. Et nos supra scripti testes in veritate scivimus quod mortuus erat per ipsos qui cum eo ambulaverunt et postmodum sunt reversi V idus augusti per vigilia Sancti Laurenti.*²⁰ 1041-I (TS): *Sendredi Agalberti [Adalbert] ... quando pergere cupiebat Sancti Sepulcri.*²¹
17. 1040-X-22 Eribau / Eriball, bishop of Urgell: *Ego Heribaldus, gracia Dei episcopus licet indignus, timens ne mortis mihi contingat eventus, ordino de meis rebus.*²² On 9 November 1040 in Narbonne: *Ego Ariballus sancte et venerabilis ecclesie Urgellitane que sita est et dicata in nomine et honore sancte Dei genetricis Marie, Deo favente episcopus, pergere prefectus aut dubium quin ad sepulcrum domini nostri Ihesu Xristi, cum essem Narbone ...*²³ January 1041: *ibat in servitio domini nostri Ihesu Christi et sancti Sepulcri, sive fidelis eiusdem domini, ubi ire cupiebat* – died in Pomposa in Italy.²⁴
18. 1042–1068 Arnau Mir de Tost: *Hoc sit notum tam presentibus quam futuris quia hec sunt reliquie, quas adduxit vir nobilissimus Arnallus de Tost de Sancti Sepulcri. Terra autem, qui hic est, fuit de sepulcrum Domini, ubi ille iacuit et unde resurrexit. Cera vero est de ipsum cereum qui fuit inluminatus in lumine quod iam Deus misit ad suam resurreccionem in lampadam de iam dicto sepulcro Domini. Timiana etiam est de ipsa unde cremavit in supra dicto locho. Et hec totum dederunt supradictus Arnallus et dilectissima Arsendis, coniux eius, ad Sancta Maria, cuius baselica est fundata in Pegaroles, ut Deus omnipotens sit eis propici[us] hic et in futuro. Amen.*²⁵
19. 1046-I-25 (TS) / 1145 Ramon Seniofred d'Avinyó: *... quod nos prescripti testes vidimus et audivimus et presentes ibi eramus eo die et ora quando prescripti Reimundus Seniofredi Avinionensi, qui fuit condam, hordinavit sue ultime voluntatis per suis tantummodo verbis iacente in egritudine in civitate Pladentia [Piacenza] revertentem de Sancti Sepulcri Domini Nostri Ihesu Christi suo sensu et memoria integra retinens coram Ermessendem comitissam et Guilielmum Dalmachium et Eneam Mironem et Pedronem Guilielmum et Dalmachiam Geribertum et Mironem Guilelmum et Berengarium Orucium et Bonefilii Samarelli et Guilielmi Sendredi; ... postea vixit tribus diebus*

²⁰ *Diplomatari de l'Arxiu Capítular de Barcelona. Segle XI*, ed. Baucells i Reig, 3:2620–22, doc. 1695; Zimmermann, *Lire et écrire en Catalogne*, 1203, with erroneous dating (1068).

²¹ *Diplomatari de l'Arxiu Capítular de Barcelona. Segle XI*, ed. Baucells i Reig, 2:1028–29, doc. 591.

²² Baraut, “Els documents, dels anys 1035–1050,” 64–66, doc. 527.

²³ Baraut, “Els documents, dels anys 1035–1050,” 66–67, doc. 529.

²⁴ Villanueva, *Viaje literario a las iglesias de España*, 10:326–333, at 332, doc. 34.

²⁵ Calderer, “Troballa, a l'església de Santa Maria de la Torreta,” 568. See also: Baraut, “Pelegrins de Terra Santa de l'antic comtat d'Urgell,” 512; Francesc Fitó Llevot, “Arnau Mir de Tost i el culte a les relíquies: un exponent pirinenc en la promoció dels santuaris,” *Urgellia* 16 (2006/07): 511–49, at 536–38.

- et sic migravit de hoc seculo in mense augustus iste primus transhacto.*²⁶
20. 1046-I-25 (TS) / 1145 Ermessendis (of Carcassonne), wife of Count Ramón Borrell of Barcelona; *Guillelmus Dalmacius* / Guillem Dalmau; *Eneas Mironis* / Eneas Miró; Petronus Guillelmus / Petró Guillem; *Dalmachia Geribertum* / Dalmaciu Gerbert; *Mirone Guillem* / Miro Guillem; *Berengarius Orucius* / Berengeur Oruç; *Bonefilius Samarelli* / Bonfill Samarel; *Guillelmus Sendredi* / Guillem Sendred – possible members of a pilgrimage group (ibidem).
21. 1050-VII-4 (TS) / 1049 Bonfilius / Bonfill, *levita* from Barcelona: *postea peregre [!] profectus est ad sepulcrum Domini, et inde rediens in reversione mortuus est in civitate Fundi XV kalendas marcii, anno XVIII regni Henrici regis [1049-II-15].*²⁷
22. 1053-XII-31 (before) Petrus Vivanus / Pere Vivà, married to Gila / Gisla: *iacens in lectula meo in gravissima egritudine... quando reversus fui de Sancti Sepulcri.*²⁸ Also 1054-II-17: *fuit de Sancto Sepulcro.*²⁹
23. 1055-VIII Guillelmus, Count of Besalú: *ego jam dictus Guillelmus comes, gratia ea, scilicet Dei, ob honorem eiusque gloriosissimi sepulcri, quod cupio adire...* ³⁰
24. 1060-XII-12 Riculf Eldemari, canon at Cathedral of Vic: *Ego Riculphus, sacerdos acsi indignus, volo pergere ad Sanctum Sepulcrum Domini et ideo fatio [!] hoc testamentum ...*³¹ According to TS from 1062-XII-24: *Et postquam hoc ordinavit sicut diximus, dum ad Sanctum Sepulcrum Domini ambulabat, limina prius sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli visitavit, deinde apud Sanctum Genesium de Bono Rebast diu stetit, et inde proficissens in infirmitate cecidit et in ipso itinere ab hoc seculo discessit.*³²
25. 1061-XII-21 Mir [Isarn], holder of the castle of Aguilar and Gurb: *Ego Mir sum sanus et memoria plena, volo pergere ad Sancti Sepulcri domini nostri Ihesu Xristi propter remedium anime mee, et iussit testamentum meum scribere.*³³
26. 1066-X-14 Bonucius / Bonuç, priest and canon at cathedral of Vic: *Ego Bonucius, sacerdos et canonicus Sancti Petri, quia propter timorem vicine mortis volo ire ultra mare ad Sepulcrum Domini causa orationis, ideo facio hunc libellum testationis ...*³⁴

²⁶ Alturo i Perucho, *L'arxiu antic de Santa Anna de Barcelona*, 1:56, doc. 52.

²⁷ *Els pergamins de l'Arxiu Comtal de Barcelona*, 2:738–40, doc. 364.

²⁸ *Els pergamins de l'Arxiu Comtal de Barcelona*, 2:813–15, doc. 428.

²⁹ *Diplomatari de l'Arxiu Capitular de Barcelona. Segle XI*, ed. Baucells i Reig, 3:1376–80, doc.

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³⁰ Villanueva, *Viaje literario a las iglesias de España*, 15:249–50, doc. 22; Marca, *Marca Hispanica sive limes hispanicus*, col. 1105, doc. 243 (quotation following P. de Marca).

³¹ Ordeig i Mata, *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Vic. Segle XI, fascicle 3*, 522–23, doc. 1212.

³² Ordeig i Mata, *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Vic. Segle XI, fascicle 3*, 539–40, doc. 1229.

³³ Baraut, “Els documents, dels anys 1051–1075,” 107–08, doc. 736.

³⁴ Ordeig i Mata, *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Vic. Segle XI, fascicle 3*, 595–96, doc. 1297.

27. 1067-XI-27 (TS) Bonfilius Donucius / Bonfill Donuç, dies in Antioch on way back from Jerusalem: *Et volens pergere ad sepulcrum Domini manumissores rerum suarum et helemosinarios instituit Nos autem Dagbertus presbiter atque Bonucius laicus huius rei testes sumus quia predictus Bonfilius nobis videntibus et audientibus hore proprio laudavit et affirmavit in civitate transmarine, in Termopole hoc quod superius ordinatum est de ipso avere quod superius scriptum est. ... Et postquam hæc omnia facta per suum testamentum et suis verbis ordinata atque hore suo laudata instituit, de infirmitate corporis sui quam dissinteriam vocant in reversione Santo Sepulcro, in Antiochia civitate mortuus est.*³⁵
28. 1067-XI-27 (TS) Dagbertus / Daubert presbiter (ibidem).³⁶
29. 1067-XI-27 (TS) Bonucius / Bonuç, laicus (ibidem).³⁷
30. 1068-VIII-10 (TS) Isarn, *custos* of the cathedral in Urgell, *samus et salvus, desiderio accensus adire et videre in Iherusalem loca sancta ubi dominus noster Ihesu Xpistus fuit crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus* – died on his way back, on Cyprus: *Deinde item illud quod desiderabat libens et devotus arripuit et post spacia integri anni ac dimidii socii qui cum eo tenuerunt viam illam in Iherusalem reversi sunt ad nos, qui renunciaverunt nobis pro certo obisse illum in quadam insulam maris que vocatur Ciprum in mense marcio ebdomada tertia, feria quarta, anno VIII et dimidio regnante rege Philippo.*³⁸
31. 1070-II-21 Donation by Ramon, *sacerdos sancti Marcelli de Sederro* (Sant Marçal de Saderra), mentioning his brother Geraldus, who is on pilgrimage: *exzepta hereditate Geraldi, fratris mei, si reversus fuerit de peregrinatione in qua ivit ad Sepulcrum Domini.*³⁹
32. 1071-IX-22 Arnaldus Petri / Arnal Pere, married to Arsendis: *volo pergere in servicio Dei et Sancti Sepulcri.*⁴⁰
33. 1073-X-27 Berenguer, son of Giufred (*Berengarius, proli Guifred*): *... et ego volo pergere ad Domino Deo et S. Sepulcri, si Deus mihi dederit.*⁴¹

³⁵ Joan Blanco de la Lama, *El Monestir de Sant Feliu de Guixols (segles X–XI): La formació del domini* (San Feliu de Guixols, 1991), 91–94, doc. 9; summary: *Col·lecció diplomàtica de la seu de Girona*, ed. Martí, 340, doc. 329.

³⁶ Blanco de la Lama, *El Monestir de Sant Feliu de Guixols*, 91–94, doc. 9; summary: *Col·lecció diplomàtica de la seu de Girona*, ed. Martí, 340, doc. 329.

³⁷ Blanco de la Lama, *El Monestir de Sant Feliu de Guixols*, 91–94, doc. 9; summary: *Col·lecció diplomàtica de la seu de Girona*, ed. Martí, 340, doc. 329.

³⁸ Baraut, “Els documents, dels anys 1051–1075,” 176–78, doc. 816.

³⁹ Ordeig i Mata, *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Vic. Segle XI, fascicle 3*, 632–33, doc. 1335.

⁴⁰ Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, pergamins, doc. 9845; summary: Marquès i Planagumà, *Esriptures de Santa Maria de Vilabertran*, 20, doc. 49.

⁴¹ Domènec Sangés, “Recull de documents del segle XI referents a Guissona i la seva Plana,” *Urgellia* 3 (1980): 195–305, at 253–54, doc. 36. Many thanks to Nathaniel Taylor for the reference. The testator was still alive in 1078: *El Segrià. Les Garrigues. El Pla d’Urgell. La Segarra. L’Urgell*, ed. Jordi Vigué (Barcelona, 1997), 314.

34. 1080-III (before) A land sale mentions Adalbertus, son of Lupetus, *sacerdos* of Oristà (Oristidano): *Et quia modo mortuus est ipse Lupetus et collateralis eius et Adalbertus, eorum filius, ivit in transmarinis partibus ad sepulcrum Domini, ubi est mortuus, et uxor eius quae hic dimisit sana et viva modo est mortua ...*⁴²
35. 1081-III-25 Ramon Sunyer, *cupio pergere ad sanctum Sepulcrum domini*; dorso: *Haec omnia supra scripta totum relincho in bajulia Domini Nostri Ihesu Christi et Sancte Marie et Sancti Sepulcri.*⁴³
36. 1081-V-8 Gerbert and Guillem Ramon / *Girbertus Ramon et frater meus Guillem Ramon* [from the county of Pallars]: *et precamur ut si in isto itinere quod Domino annuente pergere cupimus, id est ad sanctum sepulcrum in Iherusalem, ut si mors nobis advenerit mihi ...*⁴⁴
37. 1083-VI-30 Pere Bonardell: *Ego Petrus Bonardelli, volens pergere Jherusalem propter remissionem omnium delictorum meorum et timeo ut in hoc itinere mors subveniat me.*⁴⁵
38. 1084-II-11 Orusc Mir: *cupio pergere ad S. Sepulcrum domini vel ad aliorum sanctorum.*⁴⁶
39. 1085-X-3 Arnal [de Malloles]: *Ego Arnallus, propter amorem Dei et remedium anime mee seu omnium parentorum meorum ibo jherosolimam ad sepulcrum filii Dei, et si mors evenit in ipso itinere ...*⁴⁷
40. 1085-X-12 Bernardus Transver (*Tasvarius*) de Urgell, sells a vineyard, because he plans to undertake a pilgrimage *ad sepulcrum domini nostri Ihesu Xpristi ... Hunc vero quia mihi libuit ut irem ad sepulcrum domini nostri Ihesu Xpristi voluntarie volo hanc vineam vindere.*⁴⁸ But TS 23-VII-1092: Bernat Transver pledges 50 gold *mancusi* if he travels to Jerusalem, 20 ounces of gold if he does not: *Ad Sepulcrum vero Domini, si ego adire potuero gratiam et idem [quinquaginta mancusos], sin autem XX^{ti} uncias mando ibi mittere in erogacionibus pauperum. [...] Hoc mandavit vel ordinavit et postea non mutata nos scientes in hac volumpate persistentem obiit de hoc seculo in mense ianuario preterito.*⁴⁹
41. 1086-III-14 Gisclamon, married to Senanda / Sesnana: *Ego Gisclamundus adiuvante Deo volo pergere ad sepulcrum Domini, et timeo mortem meam et penas inferni et cupio pervenire ad gaudia*

⁴² Ordeig i Mata, *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Vic. Segle XI, fascicle 4*, 714–15, doc. 1423.

⁴³ Francesc Xavier Altés Aguiló, “El diplomatari del monestir de Santa Cecília de Montserrat, III: anys 1079–1200. Index,” *Studia monastica* 38 (1998): 291–400, at 299–301, doc. 218.

⁴⁴ Baraut, “Els documents, dels anys 1076–1092,” 86–87, doc. 958; Puig i Ferreté, *El monestir de Santa Maria de Gerri*, 2:18, doc. 27 (with the date 28-VI-1081).

⁴⁵ *Col·lecció diplomàtica de la seu de Girona*, ed. Martí, 402, doc. 384.

⁴⁶ Perpignan, *Archives Pyr. Orientales*, 12 J 25, doc. 145.

⁴⁷ Perpignan, *Archives Pyr. Orientales*, 12 J 24, doc. 147.

⁴⁸ Baraut, “Els documents, dels anys 1076–1092,” 136–37, doc. 1018.

⁴⁹ Baraut, “Els documents, dels anys 1076–1092,” 209–13, doc. 1092.

- paradisi et de meum avere sive de alodio hunc testamentum fieri.*⁵⁰
42. 1086-IV-15 Rainard from Sahorre [Conflent]: *Ego Renardus ... volo pergere in partibus Iherusalem visitare Sanctum Domini sepulcrum nec non et aliorum sanctorum qui in his regionibus circuire potero ... Hec omnia superius scripta dimitto in bailia omnipotenti deo et sancti sepulcri.*⁵¹
43. 1086-IV-17 Guillem, married to Beatrix: *Ego, Guilelmus cupo pergere partibus domini et sepulcrum eius visitare sanctos apostolos et aliorum sanctorum ut ipsis intercedentibus accipere merear veniam delictorum meorum ... Mulier mea et filio meo sit in baglia domino deo et sepulcrum eius.*⁵²
44. 1087-IX-9 Carbonell: ... *hoc nobis Deus propter suam clementiam intulit, ut per penitentiam, laborem et elemosinarum gratissima largitione veniam peccatorum consequi mereamur, ac inde annuente eo qui cuncta creavit ex nichilo ad illam beatam requiem per suam gloriam ac benignissimam passionem dignatus est nobis aditum pandere regni celestis, et ideo ego Carbonell pergo ad locum sancti sepulcri propter omnia peccata mea quod contra deum feci ut a domino possum veniam consequi, it in circo hunc testamentum fieri decrevi.*⁵³
45. 1087-XII-7 Petrus Bernardus / Pere Bernat from Cornellà [del Conflent] cupio pergere ad S. Sepulcrum domini et aliorum sanctorum ... *et dimitto ipso filio meo praescripto cum ipsam suam honorem in bajulia Domini nostri Ihesu Christi et de fratre meo nomine Berenguer et de meos homines.*⁵⁴
46. 1087-III-1 Atanolf, married to Maissens, castellan of the castle of Mediona: *Ego Athanolf volo pergere in servicium Dei vel ad sancti sepulcri [!] et timeo ne subito casu mortis veniat michi ... travels together with his son Alamà ... tali tenore si prescripto filio meo Alaman obierit in isto itinere ... Et filio meo Alama et uxor mea dimito in potestate Dei et sancti Sepulcri et sancte Marie et sancti Petri ...*⁵⁵
47. 1087-III-1 Alamà / Alaman, Son of Athanolf (ibidem).
48. 1088-VIII-27 Pere Arnau / Petrus Arnaldus, *volo pergere in servicio Dei et sancti Sepulcri.*⁵⁶

⁵⁰ Baraut, "Els documents, dels anys 1076–1092," 141, doc. 1024.

⁵¹ Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Monacales, Pergaminos Monasterios Benedictinos, doc. 347; cf. Joaquin Miret y Sans, *Antics documents de llengua catalana i Reimpresió de les Homilies d'Organyà* (Barcelona, 1915), 12, doc. 19; Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu du Xe à la fin du XIe siècle*, 2:941.

⁵² Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Monacales, Pergaminos Monasterios Benedictinos, doc. 348; cf. Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu du Xe à la fin du XIe siècle*, 2:941; Taylor, "The Will and Society in Medieval Catalonia," 383.

⁵³ Perpignan, Archives Pyr. Orientales, 12 J 24, doc. 148; summary: Ponsich, "Roussillonnais, cerdans et Catalans," 87.

⁵⁴ Marca, *Marca Hispanica sive limes hispanicus*, cols. 1183–84, doc. 302.

⁵⁵ *Col·lecció diplomàtica de la seu de Girona*, ed. Martí, 421–24, doc. 403.

⁵⁶ Marquès i Planagumà, *Esriptures de Santa Maria de Vilabertran*, 63, doc. 157.

49. 1089-VIII-27 Guillem de Mena: *abans de marxar a Terra Santa per visitar el sepulcre del Senyor*.⁵⁷
50. 1089-II-21 Humbert Gerberti: *volo pergere in partibus Iherusalem et ad sanctum Sepulchrum Domini et aliorum plurimorum sanctorum*.⁵⁸
51. 1089-VII-22 Baró Radmó, married to Arsendis: *Barone Radmundus volo pergere in partibus Ierosolimitanis*.⁵⁹ 9-XI-1093 deceased (TS).⁶⁰
52. 1090-I-12 Bernardus [d'Orl] Isarni, married to Guila: *Ego Bernardus cognomento Isarni, volo pergere ad sanctum sepulchrum Domini, et desidero videre loca sancta*.⁶¹
53. 1090-I-27 Guillem Domenec: *cupio pergere in servitio Dei omnipotentis vel ad eius sepulchrum et pavesco penas inferni et desidero videre regnum Dei, et propter hoc facio istum testamentum ...*⁶²
54. 1090-IX-8 Mir Compan, Eliardis, Guillem, Adalaizis: *In nomine domini Dei eterni et salvatoris Ihesu Christi, ego Mir Compan et uxor mea Elliards et filius meus Willem et Adalaizis filia mea. Dignum et satis licitum esse videtur domum Dei edificare ubique de rebus nostris honorare concedere. Audientes predicacione et monita sanctorum quod helemosina a morte liberat anima, et cognoscentes nos peccati macula honestos, compuncti de superna celorum pietate, supplicantes Dei misericordia ut pius et misericors sit Dominus in peccatis nostris et quia monitum sancti Evangelii audivimus dicere: Amen dico vobis quod vos qui secuti estis me, cum sederit filius hominis in sede maiestatis sue sedebitis cum eo iudicantes omnes gentes. Set illi paterna pietate edocti et nos exemplum dantes dicunt: Emendemus in melius quod ignorantes peccavimus. Hidcirco nos suprascripti hec audivimus timore divino compuncti, cupimus pervenire ad promissa paradisi gaudia, statuimus in animo nostro mente integroque consilio ut pergeremus in servicio domini nostri Ihesu Christi usque ad eiusdem sepulchrum urbem Iherosolime, ut Deus propicius sit nobis in diem iudicii, amen. Et ob hoc concedimus atque tradimus nos ...* [Donation].⁶³

⁵⁷ Guàrdiol, "De peregrins i peregrinatges religiosos catalans," 97 – supposedly Cartoral de Carlesmany de Girona, p. 309, but not included in *Cartoral, dit de Carlesmany* ed. Marquès i Planagumà.

⁵⁸ *Cartulario de "Sant Cugat" del Vallés*, ed Rius, 2:393–95, doc. 731; *Diplomatari de l'Arxiu Capítular de Barcelona. Segle XI*, ed. Baucells i Reig, 5:2342–44, doc. 1503.

⁵⁹ *Cartulario de "Sant Cugat" del Vallés*, ed Rius, 2:396–97, doc. 733.

⁶⁰ *Cartulario de "Sant Cugat" del Vallés*, ed Rius, 2:412–13, doc. 752 (without any reference to a pilgrimage or Jerusalem).

⁶¹ Taylor, "The Will and Society in Medieval Catalonia," 424–25, doc. 8: Perpignan, Archives Pyr. Orientales, 12 J 25, doc. 151.

⁶² *Cartoral, dit de Carlesmany*, ed. Marquès i Planagumà, 295–97, doc. 162.

⁶³ Miret y Sans, "Los noms personals y geogràfichs," 536–37, doc. 13; see also: http://www.arxiuadg.org/documents-i-textos.php?lleng=cat_ (= Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, pergamins, doc 3210).

55. 1091 Udalgar, son of Viscount Guillem [of Castellnou, archdeacon of Elne].⁶⁴
56. 1091-I-1 Arnal / Arnau, *allodiarus* (free fief holder) from Vallès.⁶⁵
57. 1091-III-24 (TS) Raimundus Gauberti / Ramon Gaubert, married to Sicardis, *qui obiit in itinere Sancti Sepulcri*.⁶⁶
58. 1091-IV-1 Guillelmus / Guillem, viscount of Castellnou and archdeacon of Elne: *timeo et paveo poenas inferni, et cupio pervenire ad praemium paradisi, atque volo iter carpere gloriosi domini sepulcri, e jubeo fieri hoc testamentum*.⁶⁷
59. 1091-VIII-1 (before) Berenguer Atò / Berengarius Ato, married to Adaleidis: *dum cupiebat pergere Iherosulimam antequam ipsum itinerem [sic] ceperet ordinavit per scripturam sui testamenti ... cepit ipsum itinerem et in ipso itinere antequam ad nos reverteret defunctus est*.⁶⁸
60. 1092-III-28 (TS) Bernardus / Bernat: *Postquam vero hec omnia hordinavit et pleno sensu memoriaque integra abens corroboravit, nos scientes volumptatem suam non mutavit sed post tertium diem, id est post v kalendas aprilis, anno xxxi Philippi regis [1091], iter ad sanctum Sepulcrum Domini arripuit atque in redeundo, sicut relatum fuit nobis a veredictis omnibus, altera de Sancte archangelis Michaelis [probably Monte Gargano] in via qua veniebat per mare in navi vitam finivit*.⁶⁹
61. 1092-IX-18 Arnau Guillem: *Ego Arnal Guillelmus cupio pergere ad sepulcrum domini*. Gives land in usufruct which he will recover on his return.⁷⁰
62. 1093 Pepinus Bernardus: ... *inspiravit Deus omnipotens in corde meo quatinus in Iherusalem a[...] Domini visere sepulcrum*.⁷¹
63. 1094-I-1 Guillem (Bernard), married to Ermessendis: *In Dei eterni, miseratoris et pii. Ego, Guillelmus, sana mente et integro corde, volo pergere in servicio Dei omnipotentis ad sancti Sepulcri sive ad alios sanctos ubi Deus dederit michi licentia* ... according to verso: *Testamentum Guillelmi Bernardi, militis*.⁷²
64. 1094-VIII-9 Bernardus Raimundus / Bernat Ramon: *Precepta dominica est, sicut Evangelista refert in Evangelio: "Si quis vult post me venire, abneget semetipsum et tollat crucem suam, et sequatur*

⁶⁴ Gudiol, "De peregrins i peregrinatges religiosos catalans," 97; *El Rosselló*, ed. Vigué, 273.

⁶⁵ Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu du Xe à la fin du XIe siècle*, 2:941.

⁶⁶ Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, pergamins, doc. 9615; summary: Marquès i Planagumà, *Escriptures de Santa Maria de Vilabertran*, 76, doc. 184.

⁶⁷ Marca, *Marca Hispanica sive limes hispanicus*, cols. 1188–89, doc. 307.

⁶⁸ Ordeig i Mata, *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Vic. Segle XI, fascicle 4*, 869–71, doc. 1582.

⁶⁹ Baraut, "Els documents, dels anys 1076–1092," 206–08, doc. 1089.

⁷⁰ Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, pergamins, doc. 10030; summary: Marquès i Planagumà, *Escriptures de Santa Maria de Vilabertran*, 79, doc. 193.

⁷¹ Baraut, "Diplomatari del monestir de Sant Sadurn de Noya," 172–74, doc. 102.

⁷² *Col·lecció diplomàtica de Sant Pere d'Àger*, ed. Chesé Lapeña, 1:415–18, doc. 157 = Biblioteca de Catalunya, Manuscrits 941, fols. 227v–229r (there erroneously dated to 1083); Eduardo Corredra Gutiérrez, *El archivo de Ager y Caresmar* (Balaguer, 1978), 75, doc. 106 (also with erroneous date).

- me.” Ita et ego, Bernadus, cupiens pervenire ad celestia regna, desiderans videre Jherosolimitana limina, obediturus apostolica precepta, jubeo fieri hoc testamentum.⁷³*
65. [1095-X-7] Guillelmus Raimundus / Guillem Ramon, count of Cerdenya, leaves on journey: *si in itinere quo iturus sum aut in quolibet loco mors arripuerit ...⁷⁴*
66. 1096 Mir Gombald / Gombau from Entenza sells castle of Canals or Canales to the bishop of Roda for 1500 *mancusi*, to finance journey to Jerusalem: *Et hoc feci propter necessitatem quam habebam ego, Mir Gonbald, quia volebam ire in Jherusalem quod et feci ...⁷⁵*
67. 1096 Girard (later Girard I, count of Roussillon), called Guinard, son of Count Guislabert II de Roselló: participant of the First Crusade with Raymond of Saint Gilles. He returned home in 1100, but left again between 1102 and 1105 (probably 1105), and was subsequently murdered in the Levant in 1113.⁷⁶
68. 1096-IV-25 Bernat Berenguer: *Bernardus Berengarii ... dono vobis omne fevum et alodium quod ego habeo vel habere debeo ullo modo vel voce et ullus per me tenet in omnibus locis quod illud habere debeo, hoc tamen modo ut tandem predicta omnia teneatis et possideatis donec revertar de peregrinatione dominici sepulcri qua Deo dante peregere cupio. Et in hora qua Deo annuente reversus fuero recuperem omnem fevum el alodium meum integritur ...⁷⁷*
69. 1096-VII-23 Ramon (*Reimun*), from Prats de Lluçanès, son of Narbona: *volo iherosolimis ambulare ad sepulcrum domini.⁷⁸*
70. 1096-VIII-11 Pere Ramon, married to Ermeniardis: *Ego Petrus Raimundus, cupiens adire limina sepulcri Domini, hunc meum cupio facere testamentum ... Et mando uxori mee ut VII annos me expectet vel donec sciat quod ego sim mortuus, ita ut interea nullam operetur nefandam turpidem cum aliquo viro neque accipiat virum.⁷⁹*
71. 1097 Death of Count Berenguer Ramon II of Barcelona on penitential pilgrimage to Jerusalem: *Exigentibus itaque peccatis suis, mutus effectus et opprobrium omnium factus,*

⁷³ Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, 5:9, doc. 33.

⁷⁴ *Liber feudorum maior*, ed. Miquel Rosell, 2:204–07, doc. 694. The brackets indicate a probable crusader.

⁷⁵ Grau Quiroga, *Roda da Isábena en los siglos X–XIII*, 365–66, doc. 96 (http://ifc.dpz.es/recursos/publicaciones/30/36/_ebook.pdf). Thanks to Carlos Laliena (Zaragoza) for the reference.

⁷⁶ *El Rosselló*, ed. Vigué, 32.

⁷⁷ Baraut, “Els documents, dels anys 1093–1100,” 64–65, doc. 1140.

⁷⁸ Montserrat, Arxiu de la Abadía de Montserrat, pergamins Bagà, doc. 13; mentioned by Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu du X^e à la fin du XI^e siècle*, 2:941.

⁷⁹ Ordeig i Mata, *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Vic. Segle XI, fascicle 4*, 924–25, doc. 1642.

- sub poenitentia Hierosolymis obiit peregrinus.*⁸⁰ Possibly a participant of the First Crusade.⁸¹
72. 1097-I-23 Pere Udalard / Petrus Uvalardi: *Pedro Udalardo, al partir para el Santo Sepulcro, dió al monasterio de Gerri ...*⁸² 1099-X: *ego Petrus Valardi timens penas inferni et desiderans gloriam paradisi dum irem Iherusalem rogavi ...*⁸³ Back by 1105: *ego Petrus Uvalardi, timens penas inferni et desiderans gloriam Paradisi, dum irem Ierusalem, rogavi Suniarium, filium Raimundi comitis, aunculum meum, ut faceret ad domum Sanctae Mariae Gerrensis cenobii cartam de uno homine nomine Raimundus Bernardi ...*⁸⁴
73. 1097-III-15 Mir Ermengol pledges land in Santpedor (Manresa) to Guillem Soler and his wife Adaled for 5 *solidi* which he will take to Jerusalem. Provisions in case he does not return within the following ten years: *Iterum autem, ego, predictus Mironus Ermengaudi, impignorator, volo pergere in Iherusalem cum predicta plata, propter remedium anime mee, et propter hoc mitto vobis impignus prephatum alodium ... Iterum autem, ego, prefatus Mironus Ermengaudi, si non erat rettenitum infra X^m annos, detis pro anima mea, ad Sanctum Iacobum Gallecia, solidos IIII^{or} denariorum.*⁸⁵
74. 1097-VIII-5 Bernat Guillem, married to Betriu: *Bernardus Guillelmus cupiens ire in servicium dei ad expugnandam iherosolimam et ad liberationem sancti sepulcri.*⁸⁶
75. 1098-VI-13 Ponç Guerau: *Poncius Gerdaldi, cupio pergere ad Sanctum Sepulcrum.*⁸⁷
76. 1099-II-14 *Arnaldus sacer, volo peregrinare viam peregrinationis sancti sepulcri vel aliorum sanctorum.*⁸⁸
77. 1099-VIII-29 Guillem Guitard [de Vallferrera] stipulates that his brother Ramon Guillem hand the castle of Rocafort to the monastery of Santa Maria de Gerri if he does not return from Jerusalem

⁸⁰ *Gesta Comitum Barçinonensium*, 7.4, ed. Barrau Dihigo and Massó Torrents, 37; *Les Gesta Comitum Barchinonensium* ("versió primitiva"), ed. Cingolani, 130–31. See also the necrology of Ripoll: *Berengarius comes qui obiit in Jerosolimam*: Eduard Junyent, "El necrologi del monestir de Ripoll," *Analecta Montserratensia* 9 (1962): 217–25, at 222; see also: *Els annals de la família rivipullense i les genealogies de Pallars-Ribargoça*, ed. Stefano Maria Cingolani (Valencia, 2012), 90.

⁸¹ Paul Meyer, "Fragment d'une Chanson d'Antioche en provençal," *AOL* 2/2 (1884): 467–509, at 476: *Vai l'avesque del Poi ab una gen d'Espanha / e Ramon Berenguer e lo com[s] de Sardan[h]a, and 492: [...]* e *Berenguiers d'Espanha*; cf. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 228.

⁸² Puig i Ferreté, *El monestir de Santa Maria de Gerri*, 2:41, doc. 56.

⁸³ Puig i Ferreté, *El monestir de Santa Maria de Gerri*, 2:56–57, doc. 81.

⁸⁴ Puig i Ferreté, *El monestir de Santa Maria de Gerri*, 2:56–57, doc. 81.

⁸⁵ Salvador i Montoriol, "El Monestir de Sant Benet de Bages," 3:1997–99, doc. 1237.

⁸⁶ Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, pergamins, doc. 9950, summary: Marquès i Planagumà, *Escriptures de Santa Maria de Vilabertran*, 96–97, doc. 236.

⁸⁷ Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, pergamins, doc. 9739, summary: Marquès i Planagumà, *Escriptures de Santa Maria de Vilabertran*, 98–99, doc. 239.

⁸⁸ Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, pergamins, doc. 9689, summary: Marquès i Planagumà, *Escriptures de Santa Maria de Vilabertran*, 101, doc. 245.

- within the next two years: *Mando ego Guillelm Guitard ad te Remon Guillelm et ad uxore tua et ad infantes tuos, que in isto anno que facio mea peregrinatione ad Sepulcrum Domini in Iherusalem, que de ipsa festa de sanctum Michaele ad duos annos, si non sum reversus in terra Paliarensem, sine nullo dubio donetis potestate ad Sancta Maria de Gerr de ipsum castrum de Rochafort aud qui per ea ad sua fide vobis quæserit, sicut michi iurastis et hic scriptum est; similiter relinquo omnes voces et omnem servicium quod ego apredebam in vita mea in manu abbatis Poncii et Petri Guillelmi abbatis Cogxani; et evacuo me de tot hoc quod tenebam in onore Sancte Marie, quod ego comparavi de comite Artaldo ab integro.*⁸⁹
78. 1095–1109 Ramon Ermengol: *Et hoc tibi teneam et attendam donec Raimundus Emengaudi revertar huc de Iherusalem, quo pergit.*⁹⁰
79. 1100-IV-12 Ramon, viscount of Cerdanya: *Quando fuit Ramon vicescomes in Iherusalem mandavit in suum testamentum ... [deceased].*⁹¹
80. 1100-IV-17 (1097) Ramon Bonuç: *Cunctorum notícia manifestare satagimur qualif[er] Raimundus Bonuçii, in exercitu Domini Salbaoth Iherusalem tendere cupiens, iussit atque constituit suarum facultatum omnium in patria sua dimitendarum manumissores ... Hanc igitur ipsius testatoris extremæ voluntatis ordinationem, VII idus augusti anno XXXmo VII regni Philippe scriptum [1097] ... et nunc post ipsius obitum ...*⁹²
81. 1100-VII-3⁹³ Rosselo / Rosellò: *Ego Rosselo, filius condam Cipriani filii Durandi Cremati, recognoscens et aprobens testationem et donum avi mei et patris mei qui spontanea voluntate dimiserunt et dederunt omne suum alodium canonice Sanctae Eulalie sedis Elenensis pro remedio animarum suarum, simili modo, Hierosolimam pergens, testor et dono ipsum idem alodium in integrum post mortem meam, si obiero absque filiis de legitimo conjugio ... Ego quidem Rossilio cupiens Iherosolimam pergere, omne jam dictum alodium impignero canonicis praedictae sedis, et accipio ab eis solidos LXX et unum, quos si rediero et restituero, liceat mihi praedictum alodium sub conditione avi mei ac mei patris recuperare.*⁹⁴
82. 1101-I-13 Ramon Guillem and Pere Guillem, lords of Òdena, with their wives Ermeniardis and Ermissindis, pawn their castle of Arraona for 40 pounds of silver in order to travel to Jerusalem: *Ad noticiam cunctorum deducere satagamus quod nos Raimundus Guillelmi et Petrus Guillelmi de Odena cum uxoribus nostris Ermeniardis et Ermissindis inpignoramus*

⁸⁹ Puig i Ferreté, *El monestir de Santa Maria de Gerri*, 46, doc. 63.

⁹⁰ *Liber feudorum maior*, ed. Miquel Rosell, 2:119–20, doc. 609.

⁹¹ Baraut, “Els documents, dels anys 1093–1100,” 104, doc. 1177.

⁹² *Diplomatari de l’Arxiu Capitular de Barcelona. Segle XI*, ed. Baucells i Reig, 5:2584, doc. 1668.

⁹³ Exact date according to Ponsich, “Les catalans et les croisades,” 89.

⁹⁴ Bernard Alart, *Cartulaire roussillonnais* (Perpignan, 1880), 110, doc. 78 (with date: 1100).

- vobis Ricardo Guillelmi et uxori tue Ermessindis alodium nostrum proprium, castrum videlicet de Arrahona ... propter libras quadraginta de plata, in unoquoque solido argencium unum cuiuscumque metalli continente, tantum quas vos nobis prestastis ad iter Iherosolimitanum perficiendum, quod Deo mediante peragere disponimus.⁹⁵ The castle had not been redeemed by 1113,⁹⁶ and Ramon Guillem had already returned to Catalonia by July 1101.⁹⁷
83. 1101-II-26 Arnau: *Ego Arnallus indignus et peccator volo iter arripere ad sepulcrum domini nostri Ihesu Xpisti, et timeo morie mea et penas inferni iuvante Deo sum cupidus pervenire ad gaudia paradisi, et de omne meum avere hunc testamentum fieri.*⁹⁸
84. 1101-III-5 Count Hug II of Empuries: *Ugo gratia Dei comes et timeo penas inferni et cupio pervenire ad gaudium paradisi et pergere ad sanctum sepulcrum domini nostri Ihesu Christi.*⁹⁹
85. 1102 Ricardis, *conversa qua perrexit Ierosolomimam*, and Estefania, *conversa, similiter*, sign a letter of condolence to the community of Ripoll.¹⁰⁰
86. 1102-III-1 Ramon Fulco / Ramon Folc: *Ego, Raimundus Fulconi, pergo in itinere pro amore Dei omnipotenti et propter desiderium sanctum Sepulcrum uisitare, ut Dominus sit mihi adiutori et dimitat mihi omnia peccata mea et omnia mala mea quecumque feci.*¹⁰¹
87. 1102-III-6 Sendred / Senfred, *allodiarus* (free fief holder): *In Dei nomine. Ego Seldredus cupio pergere ad Sanctum Sepulcrum et timeo morte mea et penas inferni, adiuvante Deo sum cupidus pervenire ad gaudia paradisi et omne meo mobile et de meo alodio ...*¹⁰²
88. 1102-III-8 Girart Lobatò / Geraldus Lubatoni, *volens ire in expeditionem iherosolimitanam.*¹⁰³

⁹⁵ *Els pergamins de l'Arxiu Comtal de Barcelona de Ramon Borrell a Ramon Berenguer I*, 2:614–15, doc. 325.

⁹⁶ *Els pergamins de l'Arxiu Comtal de Barcelona de Ramon Borrell a Ramon Berenguer I*, 2:772–73, doc. 440.

⁹⁷ *Els pergamins de l'Arxiu Comtal de Barcelona de Ramon Borrell a Ramon Berenguer I*, 2:621–22, doc. 330.

⁹⁸ Cebrià Baraut, “Els documents, dels anys 1101–1150, de l'Arxiu Capitular de la Seu d'Urgell,” *Urgellia* 9 (1988): 7–312, at 20, doc. 1191.

⁹⁹ Castello d'Empuries, Arxiu Municipal de Castello d'Empuries, Fons Comtat d'Empuries, pergamins, doc. 14. In 1105: *Ego Ugo gratia Dei comes et timeo penas inferni et cupio pervenire ad gaudium paradisi et volo pergere in servicio Dei patris omnis et sancti Iacobi qui dicitur de Gallicia*; *ibid.*, doc. 19.

¹⁰⁰ Francisco Monsalvatje y Fossas, *El Obispado de Elna* (Olot, 1915), 394–96, doc. 37; *El Rosselló*, ed. Vigué, 145.

¹⁰¹ *Col·lecció diplomàtica de Sant Pere d'Àger*, ed. Chesé Lapeña, 452, doc. 186.

¹⁰² Baraut, “Els documents, dels anys 1101–1150,” 26, doc. 1197.

¹⁰³ Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, pergamins 9758; summary: Marquès i Planagumà, *Escriptures de Santa Maria de Vilabertran*, 111, doc. 268.

89. 1002-III-9 Berenguer Amat / *Berengarius Amati de Sancto Saturnino de Salzeto* gives the castle of Sant Sadurn de Salzeto and adjacent possessions to Bishop Bernat Umbert of Girona and receives 25 pounds of silver for his impending trip to Jerusalem: *totum canonice Gerundensis sedis [dono] relinquo, evacuo et diffinio ad proprium alodium eisdem canonice sine ullo retentu et ullius viventis blandimento ob remissionem culparum mearum et propter viginti quinque libras argenti puri [que de] thesauro Gerundensis ecclesie accepi expendendas in Iherosolimitano itinere quod cupio peragere et est manifestum.*¹⁰⁴ After his return he once again bequeathed the castle to the canons of the see in his testament (1121-II-26).¹⁰⁵
90. 1102-III-11 Guillem Jofré / Guillelmus Gaufredi: *filios meos et filias et honorem meum dimito in potestatem et defensionem Dei et sancti sepulcri et beate Marie et beati Iacobi et beati Petri et in baiolia senioris mei Bertrandi et omnium seniorum meorum.*¹⁰⁶
91. 1102-IV-13 Guillem Jordà, count of Cerdanya: *Ego Guillelmus Iordani gratia Dei Comes, gratias Deo valde vigens animo et corpore toto, territus timore mortis, nihil confidens viribus, et praesertim hujus praecipitis aevi casibus, in Deo totis confirmans me nisibus quae hactenus acquirere et adquisiturus sum visus, Christo annuente cupio pergere in Dominici Sepulcri peregrinatione, sicut insertum est jubeo et postulo meis manumissores ... si rediero auxiliante Christo, reddam ei [Aienrico avunculo meo] mille solidos de his supradictis ...*¹⁰⁷
92. 1102-IV-14 Bernat Bremon: *Ego Bernardus Bermundi volo pergere ad Sanctum Sepulcrum Domini. Et ideo volo testamentum meum fieri*¹⁰⁸ 1103-III-13 (TS): *Et cum hec omnia ordinasset, interruptus est a saracenis in praelio, in mensa septembris, XVIII kalendis obtobris, intra cuius obitus sextus mense a nobis elemosinariis hec eius voluntas legaliter publicata et roborata est.*¹⁰⁹
93. 1102-IV-21 Arnau Berenguer: *Notum sit omnibus hominibus tam presentibus quam futuris quoniam Arnallus Berengarius, filius meus, venit mecum pariter in ecclesiam Sancte*

¹⁰⁴ Josep Maria Marquès Planagumà, "La senyoria eclesiàstica de Sant Sadurn de l'Heurà, fins al 1319," *Estudis sobre Temes del Baix Empordà* 3 (1984): 71–106, at 92–94, doc. 9.

¹⁰⁵ Marquès Planagumà, "La senyoria eclesiàstica de Sant Sadurni," 26–28, doc. 12. Cf. Adam J. Kosto, *Making Agreements in Medieval Catalonia: Power, Order, and the Written Word, 1000–1200* (Cambridge, 2001), 232.

¹⁰⁶ Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, pergamins 9904; summary: Marquès i Planagumà, *Esriptures de Santa Maria de Vilabertran*, 111, doc. 269.

¹⁰⁷ *Liber feudorum maior*, ed. Miquel Rosell, 2:207–09, doc. 695; Marca, *Marca Hispanica sive limes hispanicus*, cols. 1224–26, doc. 330.

¹⁰⁸ *Diplomatari de la vila de Cardona (anys 966–1276)*, ed. Andreu Galera i Pedrosa (Barcelona, 1998), 203, doc. 124.

¹⁰⁹ *Diplomatari de la vila de Cardona*, ed. Galera i Pedrosa, 206, doc. 125.

*Marie Celsone ad vigiliam faciendam et misericordiam Domini implorandam, ut ille qui est dux omnium bonorum fieret ductor itineris eius Sancti Sepulcri, quo ille cupiebat pergere. Et vigiliam factam et alia die quando abuit missam auditam, suamque oblacionem Domino oblatam, duxit secum me patrem eius et Bernardum Bligarii, militem eius, et Raimundum Guitardi, prepositum prefate ecclesie, ante altare predictae Sancte Marie et dixit nobis: "Pater et vos alii qui mecum adstatis, volo vobis pandere cor meum; vos scitis qualiter Arnallus Petri, frater meus, dedit michi castrum quod est nuncupatum Malgradum ad proprium alodium; modo ego sum iuvenis, cupiens pergere supradictum iter, non abens fratres neque filios quibus dimitam castrum illud. Ideo audite mandatum meum: Predictum castrum relinquo ad te patrem meum et ad matrem meam in vita vestra, ut teneatis et possideatis eum sine inquietacione ullius hominis. Post obitum vero vestrum dimitto eum Sancte Marie ..."*¹¹⁰

94. 1102-VI-19 (TS)

Azalaidis, daughter of Bernat Udaldar: *Cunctorum notice manifestare satagimus qualiter Azalaidis, in exercitum Domini Sabbaoth Iherusalem tendere cupiens, iussit atque constituit suarum facultatum omnium in patria sua.*¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Antoni Bach Riu, *Diplomatari de l'Arxiu Diocesà de Solsona (1101 - 1200)*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 2002), 1:56–57, doc. 18.

¹¹¹ Ruiz Doménech, *Quan els vescomtes de Barcelona eren*, 451–52, doc. 157.