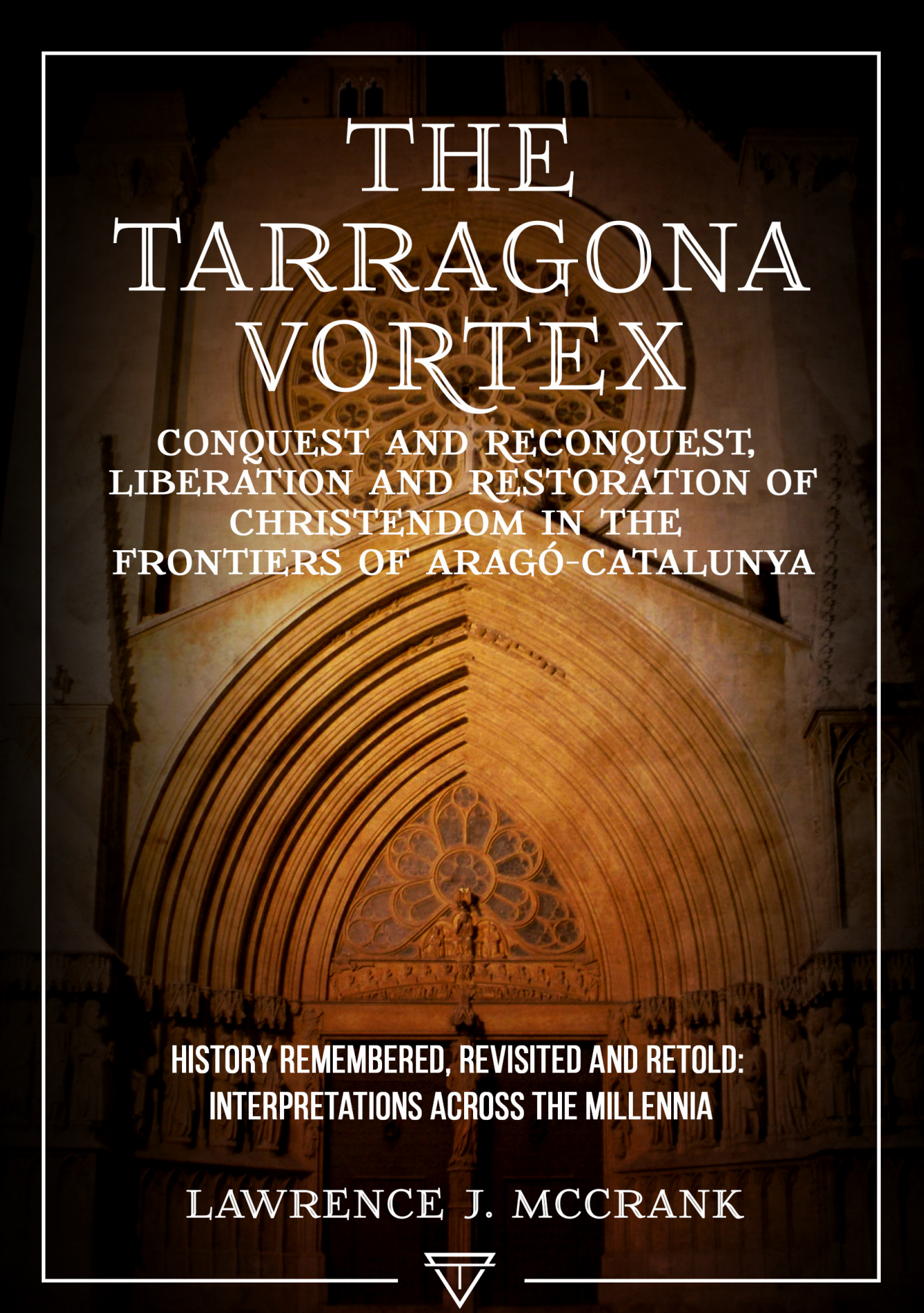


THE TARRAGONA VORTEX

CONQUEST AND RECONQUEST, LIBERATION AND RESTORATION OF CHRISTENDOM IN THE FRONTIERS OF ARAGÓ-CATALUNYA

HISTORY REMEMBERED, REVISITED AND RETOLD:
INTERPRETATIONS ACROSS THE MILLENNIA

LAWRENCE J. MCCRANK


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THE TARRAGONA VORTEX

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Volume 1
History Remembered, Revisited and Retold:
Interpretations across the Millennia



Lawrence J. McCrank
MA, MLS, Ph.D.

Lead us back to you, O Lord, that we may be restored;
Give us anew such days as we had of old.
O.T., Lamentations, 5: 21

Mediterranean Studies in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages

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The Tarragona Vortex. Conquest and Reconquest, Liberation and Restoration of Christendom in the Frontiers of Aragó-Catalunya, vols. 1-6
Vol. 1. History Remembered, Revisited and Retold: Interpretations across the Millennia
Lawrence J. McCrank
Set eISBN 978-615-6405-53-1
Vol. eISBN 978-615-6405-54-8
Mediterranean Studies in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages
Series ed. Damien Kempf
Responsible publisher: Teodora C. Artimon
ISSN 2939-5615
https://trivent-publishing.eu/38-mediterranean-studies

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First published in 2022 by Trivent Publishing

Trivent Publishing
1119 Budapest, Etele ut 59–61
Hungary

For more information, visit our website: http://trivent-publishing.eu

TO RUTH

Who for love of a peripatetic academician,
has lived
The Song of Ruth.

ABSTRACT

This is a history of late-antique and medieval Tarragona, the city and its territory, and the See and its ecclesiastical province, the Tarraconensis, that came to be co-terminus with the medieval Crown of Aragón-Catalunya-Valencia. The frontier setting is a vast medieval frontier stretching East to West from the outskirts of Barcelona to Tarragona and down the coast to Tortosa, past Zaragoza and up the Ebro Valley, which for centuries separated Islam and Christendom at the point of closest contact, the very junction of the Iberian Peninsula and European continent. According to medieval mapmakers, it was the gateway between Europe and Africa. For Romans ancient Tarraco had been the entry to Iberia and was the capital of Hispania Citerior. For the Latin Church, Tarracona was an ancient metropolitan See, primatial in dating back to the Apostolic era, made holy by its martyrs. Its history was important in so many ways, but yet remains largely unknown in History at large. This work seeks to correct that. It does this in 6 volumes in a series, each standing by itself or part of the whole sequence after a historio-geographic introduction (1), covering four chronological periods of dramatic change: (2) Roman and (3) Visigothic Late-Antiquity and early Christianity; (4) the Islamic Interregnum; (5) the Reconquest and Restoration period; and then (6) the critical apparatus for this study (Master bibliography, gazetteer, index).

The first part (1-3) lays the theoretical groundwork for interpretation and the foundation from Late Antiquity to the Islamic Conquest about what was or was thought to have been, that would be reconquered and restored in the Middle Ages. What went before, or was thought to have happened, guided recovery and reconstruction after the alteration of the Hispano-Roman trajectory with the overlay of Arab religion and leadership with Berber might. The midsection (4) addresses Islamic history of the northeastern frontier of the *Umayyad* caliphate and *al-Andalus*, their *thughūr* or frontiers, which to Christians was a regrettable interregnum and eclipse of Christendom. The third part tells the story of Tarragona's Reconquest and Restoration, more than its own urban reconstruction, but the reformulation and reconstitution of the province of the Tarraconensis and amalgamation of Church and State in the creation of the Crown of Aragó-Catalunya and its extension to Valencia and beyond. Interlaced are the themes of continuity versus discontinuity; repeated conquests and reconquests; liberation and restoration; conversion and assimilation; missions and reforms; cultural revival and expansionism; and the interplay between the Ibero-Christian kingdoms and Islamic *al-Andalus* and *tawā'if* kinglets through the 12th c. and then a brief 13th c. epilogue.

An interpretative construct, the American-based frontier thesis, is applied unabashedly to the geographic frontier of New Catalunya from the Llobregat River to the Ebro Valley bounded by the Iberican range, primarily New Catalunya and New Aragón, and to the north the Pyrenean piedmont. It begins with Tarraco's foundation and growth in the classic era, maturity in late antiquity, and the birth of Christianity in Hispania Citerior; then traces its decline at the end of the Roman Empire in the era of barbarian invasions and survival under the Visigothic successor state. All of this is a prologue to ascertain what there was to be retaken and restored, in theory and actuality. The Islamic interregnum is explored, especially to learn why the Islamic empire stopped its western expansion at this point; the effect of the long stand-off between Muslim and Christian forces in the frontier of New Catalunya related to that of New Aragón; the role of the Muslim *tawā'if* of *Saraqusṭa*, and how the tide was finally reversed with the incorporation of this frontier into the newly formed Crown of Aragó-Catalunya. This accomplishment is placed in the context of the entire Mediterranean, the Crusades, and the resurgent *Islām* from North Africa, stressing the western arena in this global confrontation. The main foci are on the Church and Principality of Tarragona and satellite fortress cities and bishoprics of Lleida and Tortosa. Its subjects are the frontiersmen who tamed this frontier, the armies that fought over it, and the Muslim, Jewish and Christian pioneers who resettled it. The epilogue is how this absorption of the northeastern Muslim *ṭaghr* prepared the way for the conquest of the Balearics and the fall of Valencia, thus

expanding the Crown southward and dividing the peninsula between it and the kingdom of Castile-León until its unification by the Catholic Kings. It removes Tarragona from just local history and sets it into the international arena, as one of the most important episodes in all European medieval history.

The text also attempts to differentiate between distinct realities in the same place by using place-names according to usage during the time referenced (hence Roman Tarraco, Visigothic Tarracona, Islamic *Tarrakūnah*, Romance Terrachona, and Catalan Tarragona) and italics for Arabic transcriptions and varied names as in this example. Nomenclature transcribed from the Arabic for Muslim tribal political entities are also italicized when familial names also indicate territorial control, a school of law or thought to dominate in an area, and Arabic words including *Islām* and *Allāh* out of respect for their non-Western origins and religious usage. Although transliterated and standardized here, they are not fully Westernized or Anglicized to preserve their non-Western identities and to escape Anglo-American intellectual imperialization. A simplified transliteration is used to avoid the older, complex forms heavy with diacritical markups that now impede electronic retrieval, but in any case, it seems impossible to be entirely systematic when even the Library of Congress (LC) system contends with the *Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules* (*AACR*) to preserve original renderings in bibliographic citations regardless of usage in the text. So versions in this text often differ from bibliographic entries, a problem sometimes overcome by the use of main entries for filing order instead of the common confusion in entry forms under author, editor, title, variable titles, etc., for the same works. Moreover, the archival principle of provenance is preferred, i.e., place of origin or originating authority rather than transmitter or editor. Modern equivalents as popularly used are given in the first occurrence of Arabic equivalents, but even here one is forced into decisions about place-name and personal references in Latin, and then Spanish or Catalan or the other federated state languages as well as Portuguese, with the quandary of what to do before these Romance languages had fully emerged or were themselves standardized after the period under consideration here. One might imagine the orthographic variance found in the documents themselves, say nothing about scribal abbreviations, and sympathize with the researcher. So, consistency often seems an elusive goal just as for medieval scribes -- a noble ideal but contrary in itself to the variety of usages evolving regionally and the complexity of the history studied here. So sometimes personal preference prevails. *Mea culpa*; but, I trust, not *maxissima culpa*.

An American perspective on comparative frontier history, including those of expansionist Europe in the Middle Ages, cannot escape a pre-conditioning from a popular culture that extolls the pioneer spirit and American westward movement. Nor can the historian of modern times shake the assumption that the past is prologue, and that so much of what was experienced by immigrant Europeans in the American frontier was preconditioned by the experiences of their ancestors in places like medieval Iberia, remote and yet familiar, in a past eschewed and yet held onto dearly. Walt Whitman's poetic words can be applied to the medieval frontier, an Old World made new through reconquest, liberation and restoration. He captured the spirit of the March even if he was wrong about leaving the past behind. His determinism can be dismissed, while appreciating the determination of those who marched onward and westward, in America and across Iberia studied here. Frontiersmen and pioneers, in the medieval past as in the American frontier, took their cultures with them and changed everything by creating a new blend with the indigenous.

Pioneers! O Pioneers!
(selected stanzas)

All the past we leave behind,
We debouch upon a newer mightier world,
  varied world,
Fresh and strong the world we seize,
  world of labor and the march,
Pioneers! O Pioneers!
We detachments steady throwing,
Down the edges, through the passes,
Up the mountains steep,
Conquering, holding, daring, venturing we go
  the unknown ways,
Pioneers! O Pioneers!

O to die advancing on!
Falling in they beat for us,
  with the Western movement beat,
Holding single or together,
  steady moving to the front, all for us,
Pioneers! O Pioneers!
On and on the compact ranks,
With accessions ever waiting,
 with the places of the dead quickly fill'd,
 Through the battle, through defeat,
  moving yet and never stopping,
Pioneers! O Pioneers!

Walt Whitman, 1819-1892[1]

VOLUME 1

TARRAGONA

HISTORY REMEMBERED,
REVISTED, RETOLD
Interpretations across the Millennium

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PREFACE

> In the order of study... First learn History and diligently commit to memory the truth of what has happened, reviewing from beginning to end what ..., when ..., where ..., and by whom something has been done ... This field of endeavor, well cultivated by your plough, will bear you a manifold harvest ... The first place and foundation of sacred learning is History...
> Hugh of St. Victor, *Didascalicon*, 6.3 (1120s)[2]

Gaging from the Human Gnome project, human life is now known to be a 60,000-year-old phenomenon. Migrations out of Africa occurred in the last quarter of that span, and people arrived in Europe circa 8,000 years ago not across the straits but overland from the great steppe lands of Euro-Asia.[3] Put in such perspective of "deep history," this inspection of late antique and medieval history is relatively short, barely a dozen centuries; and within a relatively small area, the frontier of New Aragó-Catalunya. Quite minuscule. However, in view of so many histories inside national frameworks that focus on much less time and even smaller areas, this scope must still seem expansive. This is 'Big History' with a sweeping panorama. This study leads-off with historiographic and geographic prologomena, each an interpretative essay to provide a framework for understanding the subsequent historical treatments of subjects by periods. The ample prologue sets up this two-part study, namely the reconquest and restoration of Tarragona (the city and its territory, the see and its province, the Tarraconensis); but first, what was there to be conquered in the first place, or was thought to have been, and what needed repair, or worse, what had been destroyed and had to be recreated anew. One part without the other is incomplete.

This is critical history, for itself with its haunting visions and moral questions about warring religions that proclaim peace; for Catalunya and Spain in their crucible; and indeed for all of Europe with the birth of the territorial and nation state; and for the rise of the West and expansion of the Christendom on a collision course with the contrapuntal spread of Islam and its explosion out of North Africa. It explores the initial situation, conflict and stalemate, and resolution and the troubled relations between the Christian and the Islamic worlds across the Mediterranean. This is history with us still today.

I call this *The Tarragona Vortex* to denote a variety of currents in history that converged in this region for a millennium, making it the pivotal point for tremendous change with far-reaching consequences. The metaphor works so much better for the modern reader than the age-old dramatic image of a stage, roles, and scripts as if there were a single master writer and technicians changing scenes and setting the stage, while historical agents were actors in a known predictable narrative because it is, after all, History. Although cliché can be used because it is so classical, there is something misleading about play-acting, as if the story were just fiction. It is not. Granted reconstruction and interpretation, the reality behind it all gives meaning beyond mere imitation and make-belief. This is not simply a "Linguistic Turn." History is, however, often surprising when revealing itself, confusing until ordered by imposed rationality, and subject to multiple interpretations from various vantage points. Yet there is in History a subject, objects and agents, and direct and trace evidence to be considered and reconsidered. A different paradigm was sought, other than the classic play with its sense of dualism and polarity, a pre-ordained plot as in late-antique divine providence or the much criticized master narrative, medieval notions of Fortune or Chance to explain hell on earth, or the extremes of modern socio-economic determinism in the Social Sciences vs. History reduced simply to Literature in post-modern Humanities-- all dissatisfying to this historian. The idea of telling a story is appealing, however, with interwoven

themes, digressions here and there, like a mystery in which the historian is sleuth and narrator, critic and judge.

Why 'Vortex'? The word comes from the Latin *verto*, to turn, or more precisely turning around something. Revolving produces revolutions which seem to propel others so that continual action results that is hard to stop. It takes on a life of its own, enlarging time and space, indeed, overcoming its own history. Like the whirlpool of activity in physics, the concept is appropriate because it denotes a center that can be something, in this case a city, or a central hollow or kind of cavity, as when this city was depopulated and was merely a geographic site. Pinpoint or mass, no matter what goes around is change; combined actions in the whole is what counts: multi-dimensional, variable, and unpredictable. Eddies, waterspouts, whirlwinds, etc., are all examples of such natural phenomena having peripheral action around a narrowing column of nothing that nevertheless has a center, a point of contact or place of origin. Descartes used the idea in the early 17th c. to account for the movement of heavenly bodies, in a space defined by motion more than anything else, where each object in motion exerted some influence over the others. Although his hypothesis was overtaken by Newtonian Physics where the sun as the center of gravity for this solar system replaced self-sustained whirling motion, the Cartesian model works for this historical case better than the idea of gravity because the Newtonian image from an energy-centered solar system has one overpowering pivotal point, when in a vortex as in the history surrounding Tarragona one can have a void, like the emptiness and quiet in the eye of a storm, and other mini-vortices whirling around, and the whole butting against other entities, mixing it up on the periphery which can influence even the innermost circles.

Why Tarragona?

First, Tarragona is central to a lot of history. Zaragoza and Barcelona often seem part of it as well, and even far-away Toledo and Rome tugged at the Tarragonan vortex. These vortices interacted, sped up contact, mixed politics and cultures, and at different times reinforced each other or slowed things down by their counteraction. In the rise and fall of local powers, other vortices spun around closer to central action, sometimes seeming to vie with the mainstream of change. At times these coalesced in parallel courses as if to form a ring of multiple layers, i.e., a vortex ring. In physics, such rings can have opposite motions between the inner and outer portions of the ring, but the vortex remains nevertheless with its hollow core or solid pivotal center around which all things can be located. The ring itself may be invisible until objects glide into its path and are sucked into its motion, as in a smoke ring, where the vortex is at the origin of this motion and the circulating ring of air extends from it, made visible by the smoke but the smoke particles are not themselves cause of the motion. They are in motion because the smoke is caught up in the vortex. History is often like this, complex and subtle, not immediately visible, incomprehensible without some penetrating close-up inspection combined with another look, long-range from a distance and over time. That is what this history attempts, perusing an entire frontier where different powers and cultures rub against each other, while viewing things from a focal point, that is, medieval Tarragona.

Secondly, the historic winds surrounding Tarragona seem to have multiple speeds at different times, and the circular motion suggested by a vortex means that the winds whirled in all directions. The prevailing direction from the classical notion has always been East to West, without much attention to backdrafts, undercurrents, and turbulent changes in direction. Calm may have prevailed at the center when things seem to revolve around the site when Tarragona was abandoned, and at other times things are sucked into the center as when the city was reconquered and repopulated. Grand themes spawning seemingly minor episodes that are given larger meaning from the greater context. They are interwoven to create an identity and culture in processes now called more scientifically ethno-genesis as if history were some great experiment and yet the random combination of ingredients, indigenous and foreign, with events, forgettable in themselves but memorable overall, and sometimes cataclysmic, seems close to what medievals called *fortuna*. All of this today evokes chaos theory, a self-ordering of seemingly anarchic processes, or the merging of histories into a retrospective overview -- a history.

Thirdly, rather than peace and tranquility or change by consensus and undisturbed evolution, vortex suggests revolution, rapid change -- violent even, when people are drawn to it, trapped in its action, interact, and some stay while others are thrown outward again, into a wider orbit but nevertheless within its grasp. The winds of change, like a storm, when they accelerate too fast, do violence and the destruction can be awful; when gentle, they cleanse and refresh the air, bring rain and sun, and rotate the seasons. The change results in something new, reformed, and restored. Such History is characterized by a sense of underlying urgency, a need to make sense of things and to react, accept or control, make better. Such discomfort is itself telling, for the storyteller and the hearer, historian and reader. History in a vortex model is continuously changing, revolving and evolving. As Toynbee understood,[4] it is not change itself that is so disturbing, but fluctuating rates of acceleration. Even in the short-term dynamic change seems chaotic, but when over time, seen as long term, changes are made sense of from a point of view, a central vantage-point, from where the story is told and retold. It is as if all history unfolded in it many layers or rings from a vortex. For this history, Tarragona is that viewing point. Imagine yourself sitting atop the castle of Tarragona overlooking the land or on the balcony of the looking-out to sea, taking-in their history. Look, listen, and feel History!

From the heavenly gaze above in the fullness of time, this is macro-history because its events had such long-range influence. However, the localization at a center, with a few outer points of reference, gives this history both locality and regionalization; it is grounded history, delimited by geography, and evidenced in records and artifacts that are local and compose information systems and identifiable social space. Its chronological scope, albeit with considerable background, focuses on two centuries -- not long in an evolutionary view of mankind. In this regard, this is micro-history. Although not exhaustive, it is therefore an intensive look at an episode when and where Europe and Africa once overlapped, where cultural and political boundaries were defined, when human individual and group interaction was one of intermittent coexistence in a delicate balance of power pulsed by peaceful periods and outbreaks of war that increased in frequency, intensity and scale in a quest for dominance of one people over the other. Its theme is therefore human conflict and its ultimate resolution with the establishment of a new regime and the final incorporation of the peninsula into Christendom and Europe.

This episode of history is perhaps small in scale and short in time as seen from a global perspective of the history of humankind; but it was one of momentous importance beyond its limited geographic and chronological dimensions. In terms of medieval history, this is a huge story – the reconquest and restoration of medieval Tarragona and the frontier of New Catalunya -- one of tremendous proportion, impact, and lasting consequence. It involved hundreds of thousands of people, a clash of cultures on a cataclysmic scale, in an arena which like the Holy Land was a territory perpetually traversed by different peoples where conflict and creativity were common and inextricably united. Although Tarragona is the focal point of this study, the subject is hardly local, since people caught up in this history came from as far north as England and Normandy, France and Italy, the papacy specifically, and from the whole of the Iberian peninsula; and indirectly, spectators as far off as Germany and contributors to these events through correspondence, travels and witnessing, and passing along oral tradition and stories with personal interest and embellishment, as well as those engaged in the crusades. It involved all of Europe.[5]

On the Muslim side, the players came from all over *al-Andalus* with their family connections in Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and the crossroads of the Near East, with interest and indirect influence from the very cradle of civilization between the Tigris and Euphrates at the *Abbāssid* capital of Baghdad, Arabia and Yemen, Egypt, and the entire North African coast to Morocco – especially the lands of the *Barbar*/Berbers. While traditional European histories tell of crusaders marching to the Holy Land, and traders crossing the Mediterranean with colonies in Tunis and other exotic ports, less well-known are the phenomenal waves of Semitic immigration from Africa into the Iberian peninsula and diffusion along the whole coastline of southern Europe. Tribesmen from the desert gave up their nomadic ways, city-dwellers packed their bags as well, to migrate thousands of miles to a land unknown, fabled perhaps, but still too distant for any direct

knowledge… in what was perhaps the greatest such migration since the barbaric invasions of Europe from the steppes of Euro-Asia, until the cross-Atlantic embarkation to the New World. These, with their religion as the only lasting unifying influence against diversity in traditions, languages, and perspectives as well as seemingly unparalleled political factionalism, apparently saw the prospect of a better life for themselves on the north side of the Gibraltar straits – lands already claimed, mostly occupied, and in mentality, heir to the Hispano-Roman empire.

The mass movement of these peoples was stopped in the Tarragonan frontier. If this had not been so, where would the lines of engagement have been drawn; where would the frontier have stabilized; how much of Europe would have become part of the western Islamic empire? The Midi of France? Along the Loire Valley? Up the headwaters of the Rhone River? The piedmont of the Alps? How different European history would have been, had it not been for events in the frontier of New Catalunya. Indeed, how different world history would have been. The Iberian experience cannot be viewed just as a local affair.

Not only is this history centered at Tarragona and a radiating sphere of related events in the frontier of New Catalunya with concentric circles of influence, like ringlets in a pool radiating out from a plunge of a stone into quiet waters, to the entire Iberian peninsula and most of Europe and North Africa, its magnitude is measurable as well in time. From 711 until 1492 with the fall of Granada to the Catholic Kings, the kingdoms of Spain were perpetually at war. For those who see the conquest of the New World, the Luso-Hispanic trade empires of the early modern era, and Spain's stance in the Counter-Reformation through the Council of Trent and after, and much of European expansionism and Euro-American world domination, all as continuation of impulses unleashed in the reconquest and restoration movements of the era studied here, history is woven in continuous threads with one series of events resonating in others. The ripple effect in space is repeated in time as well. The two are somehow linked, but often seem asynchronous. That is the essence of complexity, the root of chaos theory. Local events can have large results. Historical hindsight, seldom as penetrating soon after the events as when time passes, often matures only through the centuries.

The chronology of this story can be prolonged indefinitely, therefore, but a critical period can be identified when the Muslim push is halted and then slowly reversed, when one can detect a crescendo of events and a coalescence of episodes into movements, and when there is finally a confrontation of gigantic proportion that decided for all time the fate of Christian Europe and of the western Islamic empire. Although there are antecedents to be noted, the defining movements are the internal Gregorian Reform and the robustness of Europe in the 12th c. 'Renaissance' that in the conflict with Islam, is characterized most by the Crusades. The ideological component can be discerned first, with a reform party in the Church overriding divergent parochial self-interest of secular authorities; then a political component with the unification of counties of northwestern Spain into a tributary and then territorial state under the hegemony of the House of Barcelona; these start to converge in the late 11th c., precisely at the time that the always fragile unification of Islam in the peninsula under the caliphate of *Qurṭuba* began to disintegrate. Some kind of accommodation may have been worked out regionally were it not for renewed intervention from Africa in the form of highly conservative, reactionary and virulently militant Islam which as "challenge and response" theory explains, provoked a more radical reaction from Christians forces that in the early 12th c. became more united, coordinated, and reinforced with northern European crusaders. When the African invasions in the decades of 1110 and 1120 threatened to push the frontier back to where it had been in the 800s, older generations of intermittent conflict exploded into a conflagration of monumental proportion which ensured for all time in the 1140s that the frontier was pushed across the Ebro River into the borderlands of *Balansiya*. The Crown of Aragón was born of dynastic union in the 1130s, the Christian regime consolidate territory behind the lines during the 1150s, and the frontier was consolidated as part of a new, enlarged and invigorated Christian state united with a coterminous Church which by the 1170s stabilized a new frontier with a border along the small Senía River separating them from Muslim Valencia. The stage was set for

continued Christian advances throughout the following century under Jaume I "the Conqueror." Two generations in the 12th c. turned the tide forever. They are the core of this study.

If this arena and historic affair are so important and the events studied so momentous, why is the Tarragona episode so little known? European medieval history remains focused on the so-called core of France, England and Germany largely because of presentism – that is, an historical perspective overwhelmed by more contemporary history. Nationalism has played its part too. The dominance of the modern nation state replacing the older territorial state has not only placed political history as the central theme in modern historiography, but has moved toward national master narratives that suppress the diversity, dissonance, and separatism of peripheral parts of the state, so that, for example, the identities of Languedoc, and Provence to the east or Gascony to the west, are folded into that entity called France when in the Middle Ages their peoples had no such identity except in allegiance to a distant secular authority in much the same way that Christians respected authority emendating from the papacy without experiencing the presence of the pope in their daily lives. This national tendency in historiography has always emphasized the core over the periphery,[6] in much the same way, to adopt an illustrative medical metaphor, vital organs are those central that can produce immediate death, while the skin is seldom seen as an organ at all, but is equally important over time if it were ineffective as a barrier to infectious disease or other forms of invasion from without. The European periphery has always been neglected in preference to what is seen as the core. The ideal, of course, is to balance the two and aim for a holistic perspective of the whole organism, the entire culture, that is Western Civilization then perceived as Christendom.

Modern nationalism has also downplayed the history of those countries like Spain and Italy which were tardy in national unification, confusing the intricacy of their individual histories with a historical backwardness and contemporary political ineptitude. Finally, in the Anglo-American world History still suffers from a WASPish[7] Hispanophobia and American Nativisim where anti-Catholicism born of modern conflict is superimposed subjectively and often unconsciously on a different past, and where since the threat of the Armada English sensibilities toward the Spanish have always been to hold the latter suspect, if not in disdain. One could speculate about the prospect of English traditional views on Spain if instead of an early-modern Spanish armada threatening the independent little isle with a different language and its incipient Protestantism with an overriding Catholicism, the real and lasting threat would have been a Muslim force ravaging Frankland on the scale that the Romano-Visigothic kingdom in Hispania was overtaken, posed to cross the channel as effortlessly as they had crossed the Straits of Gibraltar. In either case, such intervention in English insular history would surely have attracted the attention of Anglo-American historians to the Iberian peninsula for all time.

The Spanish themselves, long aware of the Tarragona episode as important, have not always elevated this subject to its rightful status in European historiography or that of Spain itself because the latter has been centralist in perspective as well, focused on the core of Castilian hegemony, while Catalunya in this perspective is also peripheral. Just as after the failures of the Spanish Republics in the 19th c. and dictatorship of Generalissimo Franco while Nazi Germany resurrected the specter of the Holy Roman Empire in the Third Reich, there was a wave of concern in Hispanic historiography about kingship, legitimacy in government, and Spain's identity as a unique entity or part of Europe, a mid-century anxiety focused on what it meant to be Spanish – more than speaking the dominant language, i.e. Castilian, or being born in the peninsula. The famous Américo Casto vs. Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz debates were largely an aftermath of such soul-searching.[8] The former searched for authenticity in a Spanish history that had continuity to the Romano-Hispanic past and hence treated the Goths as interlopers and the Muslim interregnum as an accident set up by the failures of the Visigothic state in rescuing the classic regime, culturally as in the classics, and politically as a unified state. The latter, characterizing Spain as an "enigma" nevertheless brought it into the orbit of pan-Europeanism and made Spain a part of Europe, if imperfectly feudalized on the model of medieval central France, steadfast in its adherence to classic Christianity and loyalty to the papacy, and detoured, interrupted, if not permanently scarred by the Muslim intrusion from Africa. Again, couple this historic paranoia and hyper-critical

tendency in historiography with ingrained perspectives and modern nationalism, and the fact that the Republic of Catalunya lost the Spanish Civil War. Just as Catalan was suppressed as a language under the Franco era, so too was its history regionalized and marginalized as something that deterred the nationalist program. Remember also that the Catalans, from the birth of the Crown of Aragón onward, with the buildup of Barcelona, a maritime city, as its capital, along with the economic and political dominance of Catalunya over Aragón and its inland capital of Zaragoza, have never been totally focused on the Iberian peninsula, but have long cast their gaze, and hence much of their identify, over the greater Mediterranean world. While Castile-León concentrated on the inland reconquest of the peninsular core, a column right down the center from north to south, with Portugal defining its western flank and Aragó-Catalunya its eastern termini, the latter looked east and involved itself from the 13th c. reconquest of the Balearics, in Mediterranean affairs, in the affairs of Languedoc and southern France in constant conflict from the Albigensian Crusades onward with France; in Sicily and Naples; and then Greece itself. None of this was lasting. If one allowed speculation as offered previously about the onslaught of *Islām* in Europe, think of the economic and political power of the medieval Crown of Aragón versus Castile-León had the former not been distracted overseas but had pushed the limits of New Aragón westward from Teruel to Cuenca and into La Mancha, and if the early exploits against Almería had resulted in the permanent Aragó-Catalan reconquests of Murcia and under the Sierra de Granada instead of keeping its attention so close to the coastline. Morroco and much of North Africa would have been Spanish and Christian, but instead much of the New World was colonized and Christianized -- the processes of reconquest and liberation, restoration, etc. diverted to a New World. The Anglophone United States has always emphasized its English heritage, even though its western territories owe so much to the Iberian background. In Europe, the histories of England, France and Germany have been privileged, when those of the Mediterranean world have been slighted even though it was older and greater in scale than the former. And North Africa, attached as it is to sub-Saharan Black Africa, has been seen as another continent, Islamic and non-western, apart from Europe and the West, even though Africa and Hispania were often seen as united and from the vantage point of the ancient East were both part of the Far West. In so many ways, modernist Eurocentric perspectives distort how late antique and medieval peoples saw their world.

In terms of the Iberian peninsula, Spain or all five of them, Spains, or the cultural affinity of Hispania, would have been more equally divided throughout its history between the Far West or Portugal, the central plateau of greater Castile-León, and the Levant or East, i.e., Aragó-Catalunya, without the dominance of the middle-ground. Indeed, if a civil war had broken out earlier instead of dynastic unification, Aragó-Catalunya might have overpowered Castile-Leon, but the latter shifted eastward to butt against Navarra and its march of Aragón and Castilian, not Catalan, became the dominant language of the peninsula. If not, then the frontiers of New Aargó-Catalunya would have become more prominent in Iberian historiography than has been the case with the Reconquest being seen largely as Castilian only, in the same way that the Crusades are misconstrued in European historiography as applying only to the Near East, as if those in the West were not part of the confrontation with Islam. While the Crusades in the East failed, those in the West were successful. Had the Catalan domination of southern France, Sicily, Naples and much of Italy, as most of the Mediterranean lasted into the modern era, Crusades historiography would likewise be more balanced between East and West. Alas, such "what if" speculation may enable revision and encourage reflective inspection of one's historical perspective, but it is not history. So, what happened? This study tells the story of the re-establishment of Christendom in former Islamic lands in the West and the pull of the entire Iberian peninsula into Europe, If one insists on seeing medieval history as the precursor to the modern, then it also counterbalances the Castilian dominance of peninsular history as a force of its own with a more holistic perspective where Aragó-Catalunya is in the middle of the Castilian and Moorish Empires and the rest of Europe, i.e., what came to be incorporated into southern France, Italy and Sicily, and a far-flung trade empire that would stretch all the way into Greece.

Reconsider the parochialism of local history when it is never set in a larger context. The history of Tarragona has been told often, but mostly just as a history of Tarragona city, which in modern perspective is always seen as somewhat provincial under the preponderant influence of Barcelona. It has had the character of small-town history, not unlike its counterpart in American history where local historical societies dominate the agenda. The closer the history, the more meaningful, but for a smaller audience. The larger the scope, the more abstract it is unless one becomes a discerning tourist. In Tarragona's environs, its history is possessed, loved and owned while ironically it is also dispossessed and distrusted as somehow a failure, second-rate experience in contrast to Barcelona. Of course, its history needs to be cherished for its own sake, but at the individual, local, regional, national, and international levels all at the same time.

The history of the See of Tarragona as a metropolitanate is more regional, but in terms of the peninsular history is always juxtaposed to the dominance of the Primatial See in Toledo, in the same way that Castilian foci dominate peninsular secular historiography and the central government has dominated regional provinces. It is rarely considered as a crusader principality, which it was, where its archbishops were, like Mainz, princes not just in the Church but ruling over a small territorial state. Its religious and secular aspects must be considered together. Moreover, the Tarragona Church boasts of few saints, while the later medieval spiritual traditions in Catalunya center again in Barcelona. Some of this is a matter of mathematics, population density, etc., rather than spirituality as such; but the archiepiscopal line after the restoration period has had some real characters, brick and mortar men, and political savants to be sure, but not the kind of religious leaders that through charisma, learning, and example, could dominate the religious scene in Spain -- not since the extraordinary example of Saint Oleguer, but then he too was a Barcelonan. The See of Tarragona has never been a stepping stone to the papacy, and since the most famous episode of a churchman from the Tarraconensis attempting elevation to the Holy See resulted in scandal and schism, one might see the 12th c. as a heyday and brilliant burst of spiritual leadership in the person of Apb. Oleguer never again to the surpassed or even closely emulated. So, ecclesiastical history in the Tarraconensis has remained provincial, not national, nor international either in mainstream historiography, but that does not reflect medieval realities.

Finally, locally the history of Tarragona has been captured by 19th c. Neo-classicism and Romanticism that has glorified its Roman foundation at the expense of its medieval reincarnation. Of course, its monumental remains are awesome, and more so if one continues to have them unveiled as the medieval and early modern overbuilding is stripped away to restore the ancient past as the *sine qua non*. Indeed, the classical under-layer is impressive while the over-layer is by comparison ramshackle, piecemeal, and drab. As will be seen in this reconstruction of Tarragona's history, there is slight continuity between the history of Tarraco and Tarragona. Pirenne's thesis applies totally in this case, where the discontinuity in the city's history was not the barbarian invasion, but the Muslim interregnum when *Tarrakūnah* was but a small town and had to be rebuilt and civic life generated anew.[9] Tarragona is not a classical city, but a medieval recreation. Then why ignore the latter, as has been done in so much of Tarragona's local history, to glorify an ancient past that has so little continuity, except in artificially recreated corporate memory, with the Tarragona of yesterday and today? Why does historical re-enactment occur annually in Tarragona with citizens in Roman military attire guarding the walls and marching through the streets for tourists and locals alike, instead of the Cristianos y Moros festivals and holiday pageants of other, more southern cities? Tarragona is not a medieval Carcassonne in its presentation to the public, but it should be; nor in its case to UNESCO to be designated an historical site for posterity largely on the basis of its Roman foundations, not its medieval recreation. One might have expected instead the cast of Medieval Times to come into play or some other rendition from the nearby theme park, to do justice to Tarragona's history by emphasizing its rebirth and medieval past.[10] Maybe this study can do just that -- put Tarragona into its deserved place in a larger History.

One of the problems in retelling a history that is known in outline form and only locally, is to enter into a comparative mode of thought on a regional if not national or international, continental scale. The ancient and medieval need to be connected, of course, and this requires also a new look

at the Islamic intervention. Certainly the whole of European medieval history provides overarching context for interpretation, but regionally the focus here on the frontier of New Catalunya rather than just the territory and city of Tarragona and its Campo shows how integral are the histories of medieval Lleida and Tortosa with that of Tarragona. The latter is also entwined with Barcelona and Vic. Tarragona is in many ways the nexus between the former and latter cities, at the intersection of a horizontal X wherein the terminus of each extension is in the top Vic and Barcelona, and the bottom, Llieda and Tortosa. The top is located in Old Catalunya with connections to southern France, the Pyrenees, and the early stages of reconquest, resettlement, and reconstruction of medieval Christian societies in northeastern Spain; the bottom from the cross-over down, Tarragona, not only constitutes the principle triad of New Catalunya, but the termini are in once thoroughly Muslim territory. The reconquest of *Tarrakūnah* and restoration as Tarragona were neither complete or secure until the fall of *Lārida* and *Ṭurṭūŝah* and their restorations as Lleida and Tortosa. Tarragona itself, at the nexus, in the historic "no man's land," is where the two culture were blended anew. That makes possible opportunities for comparison at the local and regional levels which may contribute to our overall understanding of Christian-Muslim relations in the Middle Ages, frontier phenomena, medieval urbanization, and Church history both with a different sense of local phenomena and on the larger scale. More may be brought to bear on the local from a regional perspective, and the result has greater potential for relating to the supra-regional in an overarching historiographic view.

This study opens with a bibliographic and historiographic essay before plunging into the exposition of this history chapter by chapter, period by period, topic by topic with an overall chronological order. In each, the nomenclature changes by language and usage, even if the location were the same, the place was different. The extensive frontal essay addresses key concepts, subjects and themes, historiographic controversies, and notable contributions to such a study, so that the latter can also tell a story without having to digress into explanations, backgrounds, or extensive notes and citations for the essential bibliography. It asks key questions addressed in the actual study, introduces interpretations and revisionism in the exposition, and exposes a certain disposition of the author some might call bias for subjects where it might be safer to take a politically correct position on controversial topics. It offers opinions on unresolved issues where proof seems impossible for lack of direct evidence, but which seem similar in other venues. Such are conditioned by lifelong study. Finally, it pays homage to the many archaeologists, historians and art historians, psychologists and sociologists, ethnologists and geographers, experts in theology, church history, and canon law who make this interdisciplinary study possible. Because of them this is not a typical history, just a narrow, single-period or limited-focus study as in local history, but one that attempts to put a heritage centerpiece into broad comparative context.

These comments and stress on larger contexts for interpretation are not meant as any deprecation of local history or local historians. Even as hobby-craft, their expertise and exposure to place are always remarkable. All history is in one sense local, even individual and momentary. Tarragona has been blessed with local savants whom I hold in particular esteem; they figure prominently in this study and credit to their work is amply provided in my notes and bibliography. An American historian could not possibly compete with them or the new generation of Catalan historians and archeologists who are daily adding to our knowledge of both ancient and medieval sites in northeastern Spain. They can easily recheck their sources in local repositories, take another look at any particular site, or talk with colleagues as frequently as they desire, while this American historian must traverse the Atlantic at considerable expense, rely on notes taken over the years without much opportunity for rechecking them, and cross a language barrier to use Castilian if not Catalan to communicate with colleagues infrequently in person, and only with persistence and diligence can one from afar identify, retrieve and assimilate their scholarship into such a history as this. What an American historian can provide is the distant perspective and craft of comparative medieval history -- an American invention -- to offset the subjectivism and confines of local history; a credibility for the importance of the subject in this broader context, if by nothing else than the devotion over one's career to the historical investigation of a foreign history, someone

else's history, in another place and time motivated not by self-interest, but the subject's intrinsic interest and importance; and the ability to lift this history out of not only the local context in which most of it is written into an international arena, but across the language barriers that keep too many historians in Spain from following the critical work of American historians in medieval Iberian studies, and into English where its history is more widely accessible to an international readership than Catalan or even Spanish can provide. Finally, I hope to provide herein a history that is critical, accurate, and reliable as an honest brokering and reconstruction of the facts and interpretation of the larger scenarios they constitute; one that is readable and understandable to a modern audience beyond the environs of where this history took place; and one that provides lasting knowledge, an enduring interpretation, and an inspiring appreciation, empathy even, for those who lived this history so that in so much as possible, they become real at another time, in another dimension, and in the context of all human experience.

Lawrence J. McCrank, MA, MLS, Ph.D.
Professor & Dean Emeritus

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This is both an intensive and extensive subject, and an ambitious project. I am reminded by a recent cryptic remark reviewing someone's else's historical endeavor, "Attempting less she might have achieved more"[11] that my late mentor Charles J. Bishko also advised sticking to one's topic. If any excursion seems like digression, I hope always to have tied it back to the storyline. If this project can bring medieval Tarragona and the frontier of New Catalunya into the consciousness of 21st c. history, in the same way that the prodigious work of my colleague, Robert I. Burns, SJ, did for Valencia, it will surpass my wildest expectations. If it could bridge the aforementioned divides in European and Hispanic historiography and provide balance, perspective, and resurrection of the local into a larger arena, that too would be my pleasure. If it attracts tourists to Tarragona as an historical site and to the surrounding territory to appreciate their history first hand so to speak, through immersion in its medieval past as much if not more so than its much briefer Roman imperial claim to fame, that would surely please local merchants, the tourist industry, and funding agencies for historical museums and preservation If it reminds Catalans -- Lleidans, Tortosans, and Tarragonans particularly—and the people who visit them, of the medieval history all around them in their monuments and streets, and it makes them proud and comfortable with their past, that would also please me.

This study is long in the making, interspersed as it was in a career combining History and the Information Sciences, teaching and administration in both fields, and over three decades as a dean and university librarian. It has been my avocation rather than vocation. I owe its completion to prodding by my aforementioned late mentors, Charles J. Bishko who directed my doctoral dissertation at the University of Virginia (1974); and second mentor, Fr. Robert I. Burns, S.J. who in the last of the Franco years (1971-) shepherded me through the archives of Barcelona; colleagues who over the years have heard bits and pieces at various conferences in papers that have found their way into a holistic study; and even chiding from Prof. Thomas Bisson who early in my career arranged for me to replace him at the University of California, Berkeley, just when he was making his transition in scholarly interests from France to Catalunya.

Its origins lay in my dissertation at the University of Virginia (1974), touted as one of the most cited and photocopied dissertations ever to circulate without being formally published. It has been cited many times, in multiple languages, often as the last word on critical issues when I was still making up my mind about many complex issues treated herein. I was attracted to this area of study after specializing in medieval history and focusing on ecclesiastical and monastic subjects at the University of Kansas, with a course of study (1969-1970) guided by my Master's program advisor, Prof. Lynn Nelson in socio-economic history, and enhanced by fellow historians Richard Kay in Church and cultural history and John Longhurst in Spanish Enlightenment and Inquisition studies; classicist and Renaissance Latinist Sesto Prete from Milan and the Vatican; and visiting professor in the Kansas School of Religion, Fr. Arnold Thacik, OSB, from the Gregorian University and then a monk at St. Benedict's. Nelson put me onto the Cistercian cartulary of Poblet which led to a thesis (1971) about the White Monks, published with the encouragement of the late professorial *diwan* of the Order, the late Fr. Louis Lekai, OCist. Since his passing Fr. Chrysogonus Wadell, OCist., of Gethsemani Abbey has been my tutor in things Cistercian. In Spain, I remember fondly the long-lasting friendship of the late historian of Poblet, Fr. Agustí Altisent, OCist., whom I visited just months before his death.

My initial exploration of the Spanish archives was in 1970-71 in the latter years of the Franco Regime, when the Trial of the Basque Seven brought such unrest that the Universitat de Barcelona was closed, interrupting my course with the late Prof. Emilio Saéz of the CSIC who took me under wing. The late Maria Teresa Ferrer Mallol and her staff at the CSIC library always took care of my every need. The same true of the late Felipe Mateu i Llopis at the adjacent Biblioteca de Catalunya, and Federico Udina Martorell at the ACA. Among the fellow researchers I recall fondly, was the

late Josep Trench who shared my interests in archives, documentation, and nascent information systems. I was shown every courtesy by the staff of the Biblioteca de Cataunya, having been presented to them first by its former director, the respected scholar Felipe Mateu i Llopis, who clapped his hands in the great hall to draw the attention of his staff to introduce me and call for them to look after my needs --how embarrassing that was! He honored me with an invitation to dinner at his house with his daughters, Josefina and Maria Delores Ibars. We were unable to do so, lamentably, due to family illness and a hurried return to the U.S. after having been caught in Reinosa pass in a horrendous winter storm and thereafter outbreaks of cholera and Asiatic flu. I have always appreciated since the invitation to coffees with Maria Delores whenever she spotted me in the Archives. I recall the same kindness of a glass of sherry and pleasant conversation with Antoni Pladevall i Font in his apartment. Our mutual interests in Church history and material culture have led me to follow his work always. In the latter regard, I benefited from the photographic archives of the Archivo Mas and Archivo Ametllar in Barcelona whose personnel were very helpful. Fr. José Vives y Gatel was a gracious host in the Biblioteca Balmes, as was Mn. Angel Fabrega Grau at the Archivo de la Catedral de Barcelona where J. Baucells Roig provided excellent counsel and service. I spend several days in the company of the late Eduard Junyent in the cold winter archives at Vic, copying manuscripts around a coal burning stove and a single hanging light bulb swinging in the breeze. We moved our desks close to the stove, one on either side, and he joked about my namesake, St. Lawrence's martyrdom on a grid, when we rotated seats when done one side and put our frozen sides nearest the fire.

My first research at Tarragona was abetted by the late archivists Xavier Ricoma i Comes and Salvador Ramon i Vinyals; at Tortosa this was a different story, with difficulty in access for more than a couple of hours per day, so it was much appreciated when the Benedictine HMML staff microfilmed most of Tortosa's documents for perusal at St. John's Abbey and University in Minnesota**.** Whirlwind tours of other archives at Zaragoza, Lleida, Urgell, Solsonna, etc., augmented a much longer stint at the Archivo Nacional, Biblioteca Nacional and reading room of the Real Academia de la Historia de España in Madrid. Museum tours included the Museo Nacional of Tarragona for antiquities, Museo d'Art de Catalunya, the diocesan museums at Huesca, Tudela, and Tarragona, and new conglomerate museums of Lleida and Vic, and the Museu de la Historia de Barcelona. Over thirty trips back and forth, most recently in 2019, have allowed me to visit them again and nearly 400 archeological and historical sites.

I would like to mention as well colleagues in Madrid whom I remember fondly from lecturing at the Biblioteca Nacional for SEDIC, and from several conferences: Vicenta Cortes Alonso formerly of the Archivo Historico de las Indias in Sevilla; Margarita Vazquéz de la Parga from the Ministerio de la Cultura; and Professora Emila Curras, a chemist and information scientist from the Universidad Politecnica de Madrid. I always enjoyed meeting my colleague from Copenhagen there, Prof. Gustav Henningson, who was researching his white witches in the Inquisition archives. While recalling some bleak stays in the spartan CSIC residencias, now so modern in both Barcelona and Madrid, the collegial interaction was always rewarding.

The request to publish my dissertation was in 2000 converted into this book project. Later when invited to lecture at Tarragona by the Real Societat Arqueológic Tarraconensis (RSAT) in 2003, I met so many colleagues that I wish I had the time to know them all more personally. I have been encouraged by the positive reception of my work by scholars such as Maria Bonet i Donato, whose area studies have taught me a great deal, and Antoni Virgili whose publication of the cartularies of Tortosa has saved my eyesight looking at them in microfilm copies. Indeed, the many cartulary editions funded by the Fundacio Noguera in Barcelona all came later, after spending countless hours pouring over originals, transcribing medieval Latin and extensive notetaking. I still resort to wet-process copies of manuscripts from old technology fifty years ago, and my collection of some 6,000 microfilmed manuscripts from Poblet, Santes Creus, Vallbona, Scala Dei, Tarragona, etc. I found new friends and supporters at RSAT under then president Rafael Gabriel i Costa, and the late president Jordi Rovira, Fernández Hernández and his wife Filomina, and their colleagues. Grateful mentions must include Llius Piñol Masgoret, then director

of the city history museum of Tarragona (HMT) who guided me around the old city of Tarragona and we enjoyed lunches and many coffees together; and more recently Joan Menchon i Bes who not only provided a tour around Tarragona, collaborated in a conference in Barcelona, engaged in ongoing E-Mail correspondence, and offered help in promoting these books, but he generously sent a prepublication of his own work for me to update mine and jpgs of over 500 images of his own and at the HMT with permissions for my use. Others like art historians Marta Serrano Coll and Ester Lozano López and their colleague Gerardo Boto Varela have provided welcomed insights into Tarragona's magnificent Romanesque cathedral. My colleague Eduard Juncosa Bonet of the Universidad Computense in Madrid, has shared his work with me and provided wonderful hospitality in his hometown of Reus. They and many others are owed my sincere thanks.

The English version owes its appearance to Dr. Teodora Artimon of Trivent Publishing in Budapest, who with series editor for Late Antique and Medieval Mediterranean studies, Prof. Damien Kempf of the University of Liverpool rescued it from ACMSRS at Arizona State University when due to financial difficulties it could not proceed with the publication and others like the Medieval Institute Press would only commit to one volume. I did not want this work dispersed to multiple publishers, so I am pleased to have Trivent proceed in its opening of several series in Medieval studies. This work bucks the trend toward the shrinking monograph and increased serialization, and indeed the probable disappearance of physical books. As an academician and university librarian, I lament the trends which may promote access and smorgasbord or piecemeal consumption while diminishing sustained reading and in-depth scholarship. We educators, I fear, face a future of so much information with less understanding, surmise and opinion without evidence, and uninformed by History.

Finally, no undertaking like this is debt-free in regard to the libraries here in the U.S. who opened their doors for me and let me raid their holdings volume after volume, often dozens at a time. I owe thanks to numerous librarians at the universities I have served, especially Interlibrary loan librarians at Auburn University, Ferris State University, and Chicago State University; and collection developers, bibliographers and reference librarians at the university libraries of the Catholic University of America, Duke Universities and Western Michigan University, Universities of California (Berkeley), Chicago, Illinois, Kansas, Michigan, North Carolina, Oregon, and Virginia; and at the Library of Congress and the Newberry Library. On occasion I was able to use the outstanding library of the Institute of Medieval Mediterranean Studies of Fr. Burns in Los Angeles, which is now disbanded but many of its holdings went to the University of Southern California. Loomes Booksellers, Michael Hackenburg, and others at the Medieval Conference at Kalamazoo and through their sales catalogs have kept me supplied and my wallet empty; as did the Llibreria Franciso Puvill and the fully automated services of the Puvill enterprise today, the Biblioteca Balmes library bookstore, and that of the late Porter sisters -- they could find anything -- in old town Barcelona on the Puerta de Angel, and the tucked-away Lliberia Gabernet has always had Tarragona things to catch my eye. And so, to the chagrin of my wife and tolerance of my daughters, Kirstin and Jaime, our home has always housed a substantial library.

It is to my wife of more than a half century, Ruth, that I have dedicated this book for her dedication to me, following me in a checkered career like Ruth of Old Testament times: wherever I went, she went also, in Spain with little ones in tow, and later job to job, archives to library, and fundraisers and conferences all over the US and Europe as well. I am afraid we saw far too many churches while in Spain... although she still enjoys the castles. I apologize to my daughters as well, who like most kids, would often have preferred a short answer rather than a history lesson, and a night club or two more frequently scheduled between historical sites. Even our Gold Retrievers, I think, had to become history buffs, always at my feet, lulled to sleep by the clicking keyboard.

And to you, readers and travelers abroad and into the past, I hope your time is well spent. Thanks as well for accompanying me into the past for an ever more interesting present.

LJM

[1] Walt Whitman's famous ode was upstaged by Willa Cather's book, *O Pioneers* (1913), often a banned or challenged title in American libraries because it echoes some of Whitman's sentiments, not always seen as patriotic; it was made into a film (1992) and even an opera (2009). Whitman's poem was made into an animation (2009) and has enjoyed a revival in American culture. The reading by Will Greer has even been touted as important for the art of manliness! Actually, read closely, Whitman both praised the pioneer movement and condemned it, referring to its irrational motives, violence, and prevalence of hardship and death. The poet had in mind the American westward movement, of course, but his commentary fits the frontier of New Catalunya as well, centuries earlier, capturing the pioneering spirit and the diversity and adversity of it, and even the cruelty of the movement. Those over-trod are absent from the picture, as in most histories.

[2] Hugh of St. Victor, *Didiscalicon*, 6. 3 "Concerning History" modified from trans. by J. Taylor (1961), 135-137:

> In the order of study ... First learn History and diligently commit to memory the truth of what has happened, reviewing from beginning to end what ..., when ..., where ..., and by whom something has been done. Four things are especially sought-out by History -- the person, the deed, the time, and the place. Nor do I think that you can be highly sensitive allegory unless you are first grounded in History. Do not look down upon these basics. The man who does ... slips little by little... Skimpy knowledge is not pleasing ... it is appropriate that what one calls "History" not only recounts actions, but also the principle in any narrative that words are used according to their proper nature ... This field of endeavor, well cultivated by your plough, will bear you a manifold harvest. You have in History the means through which to admire God's deeds, in allegory ... to believe his mysteries, in morality ... to imitate his perfection ...The first place and foundation of sacred learning, however, is History...

The translator notes (p. 222) that Hugh in this passage quoted from Marbodus, *De ornamentis verborum* Prologus in J-P. Migne (Ed.), *Pat. Lat*., 171; and borrows from Gregory I , *Moralium libri Epistula missoria iii*, also in *Pat. Lat*. 75:513. Note that Hugh elsewhere (*Didiscalicon*, i, v and viii) maintains that knowledge and virture "are said to work the restoration of man's nature" in Taylor's words (p. 223). He refers to M-D. Chenu, "Conscience de 'histoire et théologie au XIIe siècle (1954), 107-133..

[3] H. G. Wells, *Journey of Man* (2002), 4: scientists date the mtDNA (Eve) in Africans to ca. 150,000 years ago; p. 59 gives 60,000 years as the minimum when all genetic diversity found in the world today are traceable to Africa , eastern or southern. Most geneticists concur that the diversity began with migrations about this time, thought to have been encouraged by drought conditions in the mother continent. Dating for arrivals in different parts of the world is based on splitting lineages (microchondrial clusters).

[4] A. Toynbee, *Change and Habit* (1966).

[5] My own conceptualization of culture clash, frontier competition, subservience and ascendancy, etc., was formed as an undergraduate in an Honors program at Moorhead State, in what has come to be the Minnesota State University system. There, under guidance of Prof. John Smurr, I was introduced to Comparative History methodology, Global or World History in scale (without the nuances then of differences perceived today between these two concepts), and the influence of Arnold Toynbee's *Study of History* (1933-54).

[6] Teofilo Ruiz (2003), suggests one should teach medieval history using the concept of core and periphery. The late C. J. Bishko did so for years the University of Virginia by use the "core" in his two-term Medieval History courses (Italian peninsula and the papacy, France, England, Holy Roman Empire) and the "periphery" in his "Medieval Frontiers" which circumscribed western Europe with a *tour de force* around the north Atlantic isles and peninsula to Scandinavia, the Slavic middle ground from there to Byzantium, The Byzantine oriental experience, and from the Near East (Crusader Kingdoms) to North Africa (including trade empires with sub-Saharan extensions), to Iberia experience, which one could follow through to the early-modern Luso-Hispanic sea-born empires in another year-long tour where encounters of Europe and America were augmented by those with Africa, India, and the Far East. This framework was formative in my own graduate training and instrumental in my subsequent teaching in medieval and early modern history; it conceptually frames this study as well.

[7] That is, White Anglo-Saxon Protestant bias.

[8] A. Castro, *Spaniards* trans. W. King and Margaretten (1971) vs. C. Sánchez Albornoz, *España: Un enigma histórico* (1957).

[9] Henri Pirenne's famous thesis in his sweeping *History of Europe* and especially *Mohammad and Charlemagne* (1937) held that the greatest discontinuity between the Roman Empire and medieval Europe was not the barbarian invasions, an interpretation championed by E. Gibbons in his *History of Rome* (18), but the Muslim incursion and subsequent domination of the Mediterranean that cut off the landlocked core of Europe from Byzantium and the Middle East.

[10] Tarragona's first attention as a municipality (Ajunament de Tarragona, Museu d'Història de Tarragona) to its medieval past was L. Piñol Masgoret's *Tarragona medieval / Mediaeval Tarragona* [2001], 27 pp., an attractive tour guide, and his installation of his Maqueta de Tarragon al s. XV, a 3-D wood miniaturization of the medieval city.

[11] P. Linehan in an *American Historical Review*, 115: 2 (2010). 595.

CHAPTER 1

MEDIEVAL REALITIES AND MODERN HISTORIOGRAPHY

Of all lands from the West to the Indies, O sacred and always fortunate Hispania, mother of princes and peoples, you are most beautiful. You are now by all rights queen of provinces from which not only the West but also the East gathers luminance. You are the pride and ornament of the world, the most illustrious part of the earth where Getic people are prolific in glories, with much to rejoice about, and flourishing so very much. Beneficent Nature has enriched you, deservingly, with fruitful abundance.

St. Isidore, Bp. of Hispalis, *De Laude Hispaniae* (6th c.).

History is a discipline widely cultivated among nations and races. It is eagerly sought after. The men in the street, the ordinary people, aspire to know. Kings and leaders vie for it. Both the learned and the ignorant are able to understand it... It shows how changing conditions affected [human affairs], ... The inner meaning of history, however, involves speculation and an attempt to get at the truth, subtle explanations of the causes and origins of existing things, and deep knowledge of the how and why of events. History, therefore, is firmly rooted in Philosophy. It deserves to be accounted a branch of it.

... The focusing eye, as a rule, is not always sharp... It takes critical evaluation to sort out the hidden truth; it takes knowledge to lay truth bare and polish it so that discernment may be applied to it.

Ibn Khaldûn, *Muqaddimah* (1377): Forward, 5.[1]

PROLEGOMENA:
RETROSPECTION IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM AND METAHISTORY

Times change; so do perspectives. While history seems set in time, as Ibn Khaldūn remarked in his 14th c. historical gaze back on events across the whole Mediterranean, the critique goes on, relating past to the ever present. He was philosophical about getting at the Truth, obscured as this is by contemporary confusion and memory failure between generations, but he advocates the exercise to uncover History and inform the present as much as possible because, as expressed in a modern quip echoing his point, 'inquiring minds want to know.'[2] The underlying assumption is not for mere conversation and idle gossip, but improvement through informed discussion to understand the past as a matter of current concern, made possible by sharp-eyed historians sorting out the truth. His motive is mine.

The task is daunting because it requires focusing on three things at once: (1) the history itself (i.e., the facts and their contexts); (2) its telling through time (i.e., past interpretations); and (3) its current presentation in what is to be perceived as a continuum now relating to contemporary readers. This work about restoration is necessarily historical, in restoring something from the past at present for the future. It involves huge leaps across time between three critical periods of historical reflection (ancient [Flavian period] to medieval [11-12th c.] and now contemporary at the turn of the 21st c.); each embrace a millennium -- plenty of time to reflect and form some consensus. People of the medieval restoration era would think about their classical past with about the same time-lapse as we now might think about them. History speaks across the generations, but with a different voice and different audiences. Each rendition has its own context. So, there is the actual history, reconstructed and imperfectly known, and its historiography or the history of this History, which must be taken into account with each new telling. The issue in such metahistory is how one knows something, and credit to those who investigated the subject before. For most historians, very little in their work is really new: History is a process of re-exploration, refinement, and pushing understanding forward step by step -- learning like growing up, with baby steps first, before leaps and bounds.

Bernard of Chartres is credited by John of Salisbury in 1159 with the saying *nonos gigantum humerus indentes* from an even earlier tradition going back to Priscian according to William of Conches, with the habit of paying tribute to antiquity for the foundation of most medieval thought. The idea was rendered into the more memorable metaphor by so many, like Isaac Newton in 1675 for the Sciences, as dwarfs standing on the shoulders of giants so they can see far.[3] It is almost commonplace. Although often an afterthought or buried in footnotes, the credit should be upfront, as in the Greek *prolegomenon* as a preliminary matter rather than some appended afterthought. So some metahistory is here laid-out at the beginning like a preface or prologue, as a foundation, and acknowledgement of previous investigation to give credit but also to demonstrate how important the subject is and has been for a long time, lest forgetfulness at present misconstrues everything as new. The continuous re-examination of issues studied herein are testaments to their importance. This study provides no last word but is part of a continued conversation. And there is logic in this order, following the ancient rhetorical truism that to persuade and convince, to create understanding, tell the audience what the story is about before telling it, and then in good rhetorical fashion to summarize afterward what has been told to drive home essential points and instill something in memory. That is what is attempted here, at the onset, and at the end of each chapter.

1. GRAND THEMES AND HISTORIOGRAPHIC PROBLEMS

The extensive bibliography behind this study, some 12,000 citations, mostly from the last 50 years, illustrates the continuing importance of this subject matter despite its limited geographic scope and a chronological span of only one millennium to Late-Antique and Medieval History and History

overall, with special importance to Spain, the Aragonese and Catalans, whose History it is. The Master Bibliography has been split between an annotated list of primary sources, which is itself divided between Arabic, Hebrew and Greek, and Latin and Romance titles, followed by secondary works examined over the time since Franco's days when this undertaking first took shape as a dissertation (1974) conceived earlier (1969) while studying the phenomena of medieval frontier monasticism. As such, this work attempts to understand an historiography since Franco and further back to the advent of Scientific Historicism just before the turn to the 20th c. reacting to the "historical imagination" of the 19th c.[4] Indeed, the "scientific" approach goes back to Francis Bacon with his method of observation, through extant sources and remains; inductive reasoning; formation of hypotheses, as many as needed; proofs and experimentation which cannot be done physically but in the laboratory of the mind, and geography serves as a spatial laboratory; refutation and argumentation; and finally a thesis, however theoretical, still explanatory.[5] In this case, following several threads, there are multiple histories, compared and contrasted in a Hegelian diacritic or historical reasoning, to achieve some synthesis. There is no finality to such interpretation, nothing so arrogant as a Master Narrative, but another step to further discussion, refinement, criticism and revision. Both these discussions and the bibliography are meant as platforms for such further exploration.

The scope of both the study itself and the literature surveyed in a lifetime of study have grown considerably, indeed exponentially, most of all because of the dynamic explosion of academic interest in the subjects covered and the expansion of graduate studies in Spain and elsewhere in Europe. More History is being explored than ever before, even though historians lament that it seems so little history is generally known by the "me generation." The bibliography as a quick finding-aid does not suffice as a guide or sense-making that can be attempted better in essay form. That is the purpose of this chapter, and to acknowledge indebtedness more than just citations. This bibliographic survey attests enduring interest in the subject and a tremendous foundation in continuous study back to Renaissance humanism. At the same time, it addresses the lack of attention outside that specialist stream of historical inquiry, in the larger context of medieval studies and in the Anglophone world. That makes such a study in English, increasingly the *lingua franca* of scientific academic discourse, now in Spain as well where English is commonly introduced in grade school just as Spanish is being introduced to elementary students in the United States. Part of the intention of this work is to act as translating from one culture to another, and from peninsular scholarship to the larger world, especially from Catalan, which has a limited regional utility while the history of Catalunya as the main link between Spain and France, and in the Middle Ages between Europe and Africa, is so essential disproportionately to its geographic size. As realtors say, location is everything.

Some old themes which one might have assumed have run their course in previous studies are resurrected again in this study, sometimes to review conclusions and if a consensus has been reached about important questions, to acknowledge revisionism and sometimes to agree or disagree with noted shifts in interpretation, and at other times to reconnect historiographic trajectories that have remained too separate such as those of the Reconquista and the Crusades in Medieval History or between disciplines as between the Psychology of Religion and Church History. There has also been a deliberate attempt to put the history of Tarragona in a broad perspective both for the entire peninsula and southern Europe, and across the Mediterranean. This somewhat runs contrary to the local history genre and introspection that Archaeology entails, and to the practical limitations of studies that are edited dissertations which necessarily have well-demarcated limits. Grand themes do not fit well into narrow confines, and when a focal point like Tarragona becomes enlarged into a frontier and province, kingdom and geographic entity, or international dimension, the traditional confinement of local history is impossible to accept as the whole story. Just as in debate, one must reason back and forth between specific data and resulting generalizations, historical discussions should do the same.

There are also two dimensions in the study of History. The most obvious is history itself, what happened, which is analyzed, reconstructed, and narrated. The second is interpretation, which is

influenced by how this history has been handled in the past, what resources makes its recollection possible, different frameworks and constructs in past treatments, and how the current milieu effects the historian's fundamental assumptions (not to say biases), outlooks, formulation of questions, and the attempting relating of History to a current audience. This meta-history is a matter of meta-data (data information) brought to light, which is important in the assessment of sources and their use, but the whole scene behind the writing of History incudes personal introspection and attempted objectivity, research skills and disciplinarity (depth and breadth), and purpose for the undertaking and presentation. Success depends on the intellect and skill of the narrator, but every historian, including this one, has limitations, basic assumptions, and one's own culture that colors the lenses through which one looks. In this case, the perspective of an American historian looking from abroad, with up-close and personal encounters with the extant documentation and actual sites, provides some insights not present in those treatments that are local, and a cultural lens colored by that history.

1.1. PROMPTING AN INVESTIGATION: QUESTIONS AND FOCI

This study, begun in the 1970s in the last of the Franco era, attempts to update my first inquiry 50 years ago, because of the tremendous interest in the subject itself, with a prodigious amount of research that opened like an explosion after the passing of the Generalismo, especially in Catalunya, but in all three provinces of the medieval Corona d'Aragó-Catalunya-Valencia where eight major universities exist with History schools and advanced studies institutes (three in Barcelona, one each in Tarragona, Lleida, Valencia, Zaragoza and Pamplona) with more than two dozen scholarly journals in Late-antique, Medieval and Church History alone, a dozen archeological series, an historical documents editing industry backed by the Fundacio Noguera, public programing and exhibits by ten major history and art museums, and more symposia and congresses than one historian could ever possibly attend. Add to these contributions from Madrid's Consejo de Investigaciones Cientificas (CSIC) and the Universidad Complutense, and from southern French universities from Toulouse to Montpellier, and some still from German universities and more from English ones, and a plethora of studies from American scholars, and the problem of keeping up with current scholarship is daunting -- reading furiously all the time, in whatever language, and always behind and catching up. To embrace such scholarship over a generation (indeed, a half century!) would seem a staggering task. The rate of scholarly production relating to this study has increased exponentially, and the volume has quadrupled every decade, so that the bibliography assembled here from extensive reading over five decades and an endless return to the sources with so many published editions that supersede my first examination in raw form at many archives and special collections libraries, seems now to have grown out-of-hand. The local and regional scope must be expanded for comparison and new insight, so that the subject seems unbounded. While not exhaustive, inclusions are presented uncut in a final critical apparatus to aid continued research. To synthesize it all, to get nothing wrong and to omit nothing important, and still to find more to contribute, to offer fresh insights, and to continue debates, would seem impossible. It is. But knowledge about the past is not a product but a process of continuous re-examination, reconsideration and refreshment. That is the purpose here.

The initial inquiry in 1970-71 focused on the medieval Reconquest and ecclesiastical Restoration movement, at Tarragona 971-1177, but this focus begged questions about what was being reconquered and restored?[6] What historical precedents formed a model about what everything had once been like, in reality or in mythography, and why was it seemed so important to reconquer this special place, at the time, and then, why not before? If northeastern Spain was an important part of Christendom, Reform may have been called for, but why Restoration? That implied something had been destroyed. So then came the question about why this site had to be reconquered and restored, in that obviously something catastrophic had happened in the meantime, destroying the old and continuity with the past, i.e., the Islamic interregnum, so that further questioning led to the why and how of the demise of Tarraco-Tarracona when reconquered by the

Muslims, why it was thought the city had not been resuscitated by the new overlords as elsewhere in Hispania? With the realization of the myth that had been generated that distorted views of this history and exposed how little historians actually knew about the Islamic interregnum. Not only was there no singular battle in the Conquest recorded for the northeast, but the same was true for the Reconquest, so that rather than being explained only as military and political history which often entails turning points, what happened in and around the site seemed to be more complex and more of a process than any singular event. But the explanatory attempts bridled by the concepts of Reconquest and Crusade were manifestly unsatisfactory. Endless confrontation over four centuries between Muslims and Christians, with Jews caught in the middle, simply failed upon close inspection -- especially if one bought the myth that the frontier had few people and no Muslims in Catalunya. The recreation of something from nothing was not convincing -- by nobody, as if *ex nihilo*, almost like the 'Big Bang' theory which Paul Chevedden criticizes. Restoration had to accomplish many things: territorial reclamation, resettlement, re-institutionalization, etc., when these had not been done before but all of these alluded to times past when civilization had flourished in what became a frontier zone. Then it became obvious as well, that the conceptualization of what was undertaken and needed to be done was larger than a single focal point, the ancient capital and ecclesiastical See of Tarraco-Tarracona itself, but the whole province of the Tarraconensis and the revitalization of Christendom itself and its confrontation with *Islām*. The scope of the study had to be expanded significantly to make sense of what had begun as a more concentrated study, and the depth too by digging deeper into comparative archaeology, Arabic sources, reconstructed prosopography, and local history which included encastlement of more than 400 sites with an eye for patterns revealed only from above like fractals, combining hiking around for personal inspection and using aerial photography and satellite imagery via Google Maps. Multiple perspectives were needed to explain better this complicated history.

The partition of this history between before, middle, and after highlights three critical transitions each with its own turning points in the history of northeastern Iberia. It all began with the Romanization of Iberia and the myth of Romanization as the peak of human endeavor in the peninsula, but the medieval interpretation was more in terms of the Roman imperium combined with the Christianization of Hispania in Late-Antiquity. So the model used was the late Empire and the primitive Christianity coming of age and taking charge when the Empire fell apart, i.e., the transition in Late-Antiquity from Roman Tarraco into Visigothic Tarracona, so that from a known history expanding near eight centuries back to just before the Punic Wars, less than two centuries (late-6-7th c.) marked the Roman Church's unification and establishment as distinct from its 3rd-4th c. foundations and 5-6th c. development in schism and recovery -- all periods of struggle. The standard interpretation was that this long melee and final success, the hey-day of a united Catholic and Visigothic Church and State, was cut short and ruined by the Muslim Conquest and imposition of *Islām*. The Islamic interregnum was treated as though there were no history to speak of, because it was not a Christian story, or at least not remembered well enough to be recorded in the absence of an organized, established Church. As to be shown, this is not exactly right; the long interplay wrought significant change and unique developments that meant a restoration was not to be a mere replication. Moreover, Reconquest suggests a reversal of Conquest, as if the same processes were simply a forward and backward replay of the same storyline. They were not, most obviously in terms of duration. The Conquest was violent, quick and decisive; the latter was almost equally violent, but more prolonged after a time being indecisive, and then final. During that time behind the lines unfolded a different story than told by military history alone: the resuscitation as medieval Tarragona and restoration of the Church in an embattled frontier zone, back and forth migrations and irregular resettlement streams, intermittent destruction and reconstruction, and ideological and institutional restoration. These are the major themes of this study.

Each of these grand themes has an historiographic tradition which should be discussed initially to frame this text in the context of so many others. Just as the history retold here is set into a larger arena, so too must this retelling be aware of previous renditions, interpretations, and cultural frameworks. A mainstay of objectivity in historical reconstruction, apart from relying on evidence

and documenting this, is the acknowledgement of influences on interpretation, both previous scholarship and the contemporary ambience.

The events and actions studied here juxtapose one power and culture against the other, *Islam* and Christianity -- both heirs to Late-Antiquity but with different heritages -- that would be in conflict over seven centuries. At the end of Islamic expansion into the West there occurred increased resistance and reversals of trans-Pyrenean excursions, and a gradual set-back to this Conquest. That stoppage of the Muslim insurgence occurred in the Tarraconensis. That fact alone calls for continued re-interpretation and focus on this region for monumental importance for the histories of the Islamic world and the West. A momentous reversal of power occurred in northeastern Hispania (this term is preferred to the modern entity, Spain, and which would include modern Portugal, i.e., the entire Iberian peninsula), somewhat behind developments in the high plateau. This reversal began earlier in the 1060s, but really occurred within only two generations, ca. 1090-1150 contemporary with the Crusading era, resulting in the Christian ascendancy in the northern frontier that reincorporated this corner of the peninsula into Europe as much if not more than it ever had been since ancient times. The counteraction again established the mid-Mediterranean -- not its northern shores -- as the geographic and cultural boundary between it and North Africa, which went inland to the high plateau all the way to the Atlantic. Just as Christianity in Hispania was reduced to a minority religion, culture and political regime by the Muslim takeover of the early 8th c. and dominance of *Islam* thereafter and mass conversions after the millennium, it would react in the 11th c. and age of Reform from more than a resistance movement to a more coherent opposition, and return to majority status by the 13th c. in the northern half and most everywhere else by the late 14th c, before the 15th c. unification. The late 11th to mid-12th c. being the critical transition in which the Reconquest and Restoration of Tarragona were critical turning points, requires re-interpretation in view of this larger picture.

Given this 'Where' and 'When?' let us consider the 'How?' and 'Why?' There are multiple arenas in which to consider such questions: the high plateau of Castile-León, commonly thought of as where the main Spanish story occurred; across the Mediterranean, usually focused on the Near East and the Crusades, instead of the equally important western and mid-Mediterranean regions; and the nexus between these focii, namely northeastern Hispania or the nascent Crown of Catalunya-Aragón that with Navarra encompassed the ecclesiastical province of Tarragona. This area was more connected with southern Italia and Sicilia than has often been recognized until the later period with the attachment of the Kingdom of Naples. Just as the pattern of land expansion south into *al-Andalus*, can be detected linkage across the western sea and Norman expansionist history. Within this latter arena our focus is on the Tarragona frontier, which in this larger view across the western Mediterranean is in the middle of the action rather than just the northeastern section when a land-based view is taken exclusively, because this was the stop-gap for enduring Islamic rule, where the transition gained momentum, and the critical turn-about happened after prior successes and penetration into the Realm of *Islam* on either side, in the Iberian peninsular center and the south of the Italian peninsula and island archipelago. This eastern shift in focus from the Spanish concentration on the plateau to the western Mediterranean also reconnects what happened in the Hispanic theater and around Tarragona, specifically with the middle theater and Crusading phenomena and expeditions to the third theater in the Near East. The dominant debate in Crusade historiography has been about how events in the western theater influenced the drive to the East, but here the usual north-south focus will be balanced by a two-way look at East-West influences than run throughout Tarragonan history.

The Tarragonan frontier story entails so much more than local military maneuvers, defeats and victories, and local reconstruction. It tells us also, albeit predominantly from the victor's perspective, about humankind's struggles to rise above itself, to aspire to a better life, and to achieve in reality what otherwise was only a vague vision. The worldly, mundane level is amplified by the spiritual, since medieval Christian people thought of their history not simply as event sequences in some vacuous state, but as salvation in the making… individually and collectively. Views of Salvation History were immersed in the making of this History. They anthropomorphized

heaven as God's kingdom on earth, despite Christ's disclaimer. However imperfect, a Christian state was better than Christians living under *Islām* or the paganism of old Rome. This was lesson reinforced by *Islām* itself, in that Muslims were to resist assimilation and move from territories not under Islamic rule. Tarragona was a primary example of this: ancient Tarraco decayed Tarracona was a shadow of its former glory, and *Tarrakūnah* on the periphery of *Dār al-Islām* was neglected; but in the dream-world of possibilities, this great city could be restored. The goal was noble, historic, and inspiring. It was symbolic of aspirations loftier than ever before -- rebuilding what the Romans had wrought in Hispania, its premier city and capital of its Citerior province; and the birthplace of Hispanic Christianity as rooted in Apostolic tradition, enduring legend, and documented hagiography. The history of medieval Tarragona is therefore two-dimensional: worldly and spiritual at the same time.

This story, like any tale, has its telling, with knowledge based on voices of the past: nuance in the creation, survival, selection and analysis of sources; influence from context in time and place; interpretation involving choices between alternative versions and traditions; and the interaction of past in the present, both in my writing of history and your reading, their interpretation and continued reinterpretation, and distillation as this particular history is assimilated into the larger history of a people, culture, civilization, or the world. This introductory essay pays tribute to the historiographic tradition in which this particular history falls by the nature of its subject, place, and time.

Subsequent chapters follow naturally, first to explore this religious dimension theoretically to make sense of the following exposition of actuality; then to set the stage of this history in a wonderful part of the Iberian peninsula, Aragó-Catalunya, and especially its western districts which to this day preserve their medieval origins as comarcs, that is, military marches laid-out together on the new frontier. Because the themes of Reconquest and Restoration suggest that history was done again, not simply repeated but redone, i.e., the re- added to conquests, settlements, constructions, etc., one must understand something of the original lands, peoples, organizations, and structures of previous societies: (1) ancient and classical; and (2) late-antique and the Visigothic successor-state to the Roman Empire in the peninsula. This heritage underlays both Islamic and Christian cultures brought into proximity and conflict with each other. The task here is twofold: first, to summarize what is known about the previous stages through History, Archaeology, and Anthropology, etc., and reconstruction from sources available to us; and secondly, to be aware of what medieval people knew about their own history and how it related to the lands they adopted as their own. Their awareness and knowledge influenced them in using History to remake their past and reshape their future, and indeed, to remake their History.

After laying this groundwork, the transition period will be examined: the aftermath of the Muslim invasion and conquest. Here the key issues are when and why Muslim expansion was halted, what was for a time stabilized, and then the same questions about the reversal that began slowly and reached a crescendo in the Reconquest and Crusade for Tarragona. From beginnings as highland resistance and establishment of the Hispanic March, what determined the earliest Christian frontier? And when and how did it move back and forth but crept into the Muslim frontier? Conquest and Reconquest are thrusts and counterthrusts, more than simply defense or continuous aggression. What stages in this development may be discerned? Can related phenomena be dissected to relate parts to the whole; and how do we make sense of these and the entirety of what is too often called singularly, the Reconquest?

The crux of the story, which shall receive more and more detailed attention with 11th c. comital expansion, is Christian identity building and unification, during and after the collapse of the caliphate and fractured state of *al-Andalus* when Muslim political unity was failing. To take advantage of such weakness, a more united front was attempted across the peninsula, to be challenged from North Africa with a series of new conquests -- indeed, a Reconquest from the Islamic Magribi point of view although the term Reconquista in Spanish historiography has been reserved for the Christian perspective, exclusively and therefore incorrectly. Special attention will be given to the reformed Church of the late 11th c. as a catalyst for the Reconquest, activist and

motivator, and to the abortive attempts to take Tarragona city and its territory and restore its ancient metropolitan see. After a stalemate of two generations and the debacle of comital politics and family life after Ramon Berenguer I (1035-1076), his grandson and great-grandson, Counts Ramon Berenguer III (1096-1131) and IV (1131-1162), all remarkable leaders, turn the tide forever when encroachment turned to reconquest and ultimately crusade against *Islām*, with the taking first of *Tarrākunāh* / Tarragona, and latter *Ṭurṭūsa* / Tortosa and *Lārida* / Lleida in rapid succession (1148-1149). This happened under the influence of, if not direction by one of Christendom's greatest churchmen, Oleguer of Barcelona, bishop of that See and the archbishop of the restored metropolitanate of Tarragona (d. 1137), who as comital ambassador and papal legate forged the greatest international alliance yet mounted in the western Mediterranean and northeastern Hispania, founded the Norman principality of Tarragona, and masterminded the union of Catalunya and Aragón in 1136 leading to Ramon Berenguer V's assumption in 1162 as Alfons II (d. 1196) of the united Crown of Catalunya-Aragón (if one emphasizes the dominant power; but since the royal title came from Aragón, others prefer Aragó-Catalunya -- they might be used interchangeably). Then the Church, diocesan and provincial (which then had no split between countries, but incorporated both Aragón and Catalunya and spread into Navarra and lands claimed by Castile), and Principality of Tarragona as a territorial, feudal, crusader state, are examined, with the ultimate absorption of the principality into the Crown and a delicate working out of the relation between church and state in the coterminous province and medieval federated realm -- albeit in dispute during the early modern era. The reconquests of the Balearics and of Valencia under Jaume I and expansion of the Crown tripled what the House of Barcelona once ruled, and expanded the ecclesiastical province of the Tarraconensis in northeastern Spain; this moved the frontier south beyond Tarragona's territory and satellite at Tortosa, when the Tarragonan Church, rather than being forever a frontier institution, matured enough to be a backer of the further Reconquest into Valencia. Our study ends there with the passing of the frontier as an epilogue to the 13th c. episode focused on Valencia studied elsewhere so thoroughly by others -- the sequel.[7]

The importance of the Tarragona question in western medieval history cannot be over-emphasized: it was critical, huge in impact beyond its time and outside its immediate geography, with ramifications certainly for the peninsula, but indeed throughout Europe and the entire Mediterranean world. Consequently, the first order of business is to place this study into historiographic context, and then to situate the action in time and place, before embarking on the story itself.

1.2. THE PAST-PRESENT RELATIONSHIP IN OUR TIME

The contentions of our time intrude on the writing of this history in many ways and make it relevant to a contemporary audience with pre-conceived notions that may not be in harmony with its construction and interpretation. These are polarized and contemptuous times, where any readership aware of current events is likely to put a history about a contest between Islamic and Christian forces in what is today regarded as part of Europe and the West, and Christendom too, in a modern context of terrorism, political tension, and culture wars. The same anxieties, frictions, and outbreaks of violence and intermittent war in this medieval Iberian setting seem all too real in our times, so that past and present seem to collide and mix inseparably. No matter how much the historian may think otherwise in the quest for objectivity, all – writers and readers – are trapped in time and the contemporary envelopes any writing or reading regarding framing questions, use of sources, interpretation, and arriving at conclusions. It is what some historians have called the ever-present past, or the past at present, etc.; i.e., the past-present relationship. No past is ever completely separated from the present unless it is totally forgotten, which is what historians try to prevent. So, historians in their endeavor become both subject and object. Since the tempering of Positivism, the balance between the two has diminished. This has caused enough self-doubt among historians, under attack from relativists and subjectivists in the aftermath of the so-called "linguistic turn" reducing real experience to just language, and thereby to produce what some feel is a "crisis"

in History.[8] Apart from the older concept of Presentism, when the historian is faulted for reading too much from the present into the past in an attempt either to be relevant, or just to communicate in modern language and sensibilities, the equally problematic issue can be the "Perpetual-Present" (all things seen from the contemporary, not the historical)[9] in attempting to be relevant. Similarities between past and present are then emphasized over differences for easier understanding and even empathy, and to make History serve accommodations in modern problem solving. This becomes imbalanced when the present reads that past into itself and changes it according, making it fit for purposes other than just knowing a more detached and objective History. In the opposite vein, a sole view of the past has sometimes been used to restrict the present, i.e., straight-jacket modeling that restricts movement, dialogue, and re-interpretation, in an attempt to find a singular explanation and for replication rather than guidance in creativity and development. Religions must confront this problem, because by nature, they are conservative, seeking to preserve past teaching, perpetuate a cherished world view, and thereby influence thought and behaviour, and by using History for these ends. Judaism, Christianity, and *Islām*, however, all embrace a living past and see History as a continuum into the future.

The relativist and linguistic critique[10] attempts to reduce the historian to a helplessness in explaining the past, searching for a useable past, or even when just practicing antiquarianism by appreciating all that has aged for its own sake – a benign mentality "because it happened" so it is important. The ideal of personal relevance is to be valued, but an attitude of all art being in the eye of the beholder makes History particularistic and perhaps even trivial. Perhaps the best claim to objectivity is to appreciate that all history, when recalled, processed and discussed, and understood to any extent, has context greater than the individual's experience, just as does the original event, act or deed, from that time to the present whenever it is brought to mind. This requires a certain acknowledgement of basic assumptions or suppositions, explicit as formal constructs and implicit in empathy, judgement, and interpretation under the influence of one's contemporary environment. That is the purpose of these introductory commentaries.

This issue of relating past to present has a two-fold dimension in History such as that history reconstructed here, namely perception at the time, historical memory across time, and currency at all time. Going back to the sources for attempted proof in the sense of making things evident, and re-verification for confirmation or re-interpretation is crucial in the practice of History, and historians must retain respect for the continuum of human existence and persistence of historical memory, especially in questioning sources and according to one's own sensibilities ascribing varying degrees of importance when attempting interpretation and relaying more than the facts, but the story -- if not the whole story, as least a plausible rendition based on fact. History is not fiction in the sense of made-up and imagined, but is admittedly a reconstruction and interpretation, and so is indeed human-made. It has both elements in sense-making: science and art. Knowledge is so much more than the accumulation of facts.

The enlargement of perspective from local Catalan to Iberian and Mediterranean history does change interpretation by creating more possibilities for contrast and comparison. Moreover, the historiography of the entire Mediterranean is a different corpus of literature than Luso-Hispanic studies alone. So, by placing Tarragona in the context of the Mediterranean, one might suspect there to be a different take on things than from the hinterland. Perhaps the major shift in modern historiography of the Mediterranean, particularly the Middle East, has been to attempt revisionism from seeing everything as a theater of conflict (*jihad* and crusade) and polarization simply because of modern strife and concerns, to something less defensive and destructive but more integrative and creative. Of course, this is partially induced by the idealism to have diverse peoples get along in this world, and to have historians contribute to a program of reconciliation and acceptance, and thus to see History differently. But the change in perspective is also because there is so much more to see with the dynamic growth in historical studies and interdisciplinarity of the subject as well as greater and faster communication between peoples of different cultural backgrounds. Inbred historiography within a language and culture is self-limiting, and that has been a major problem in Aragonese and Catalan History, which tend only to go next door into Castilian or French studies,

and the profession only recently has begun to engage Anglo-American studies of peninsular history, and such criticism can be reversed in that the New World has been interested in the Iberian World only for its colonialism in the Early Modern era without understanding the roots of European expansionism are much older.

Such change in reflective thinking has been expressed well in a communication with the Mediterranean Seminar associates to confer about many of the concerns affecting this study of Tarragona and its province, situated as it was against the Mediterranean and facing East:[11] Consider the following as reflecting a growing shift of attention in Medieval Studies from north to south and a diversity greater than the traditional Eurocentric foci previously seen by historians as a theater of conflict, and of crusade and *jihād*, divided into hostile zones of religious interaction. The Mediterranean is now recognized as a region in which religious boundaries were blurred, ambiguous and shifting. It was also a place in which Christians, Muslims and Jews of various denominations and orientations lived amongst each other and had a profound influence on the development of each other's religious beliefs and practices. This is rooted first and foremost in their common Abrahamic heritage, theological orientation and scriptural traditions. It was also due to a shared legacy of Persia-Hellenic (as well as Latinate, Nilic and other indigenous) esoteric beliefs and folk traditions, and common grounding in the Hellenistic philosophic tradition, all rooted in the shared geography of the Mediterranean. This was particularly evident in the Islamic-dominated Mediterranean, thanks to *Islām*'s legal pluralism, its orthopractic approach to doctrine, and the extremely ethno-religiously diverse character of the Islamic Near East…. [The Seminar calls for work that] explores the shared religious traditions, rituals and spaces of the area, as reflected in both conflicting and syncretic dynamics in devotion, ritual, theology, myth, legend and tradition, as expressed in law, polemic, doctrine and ideology, and in practice in devotional, ritual and custom, whether relating to specific sites or itineraries (e.g., pilgrimage routes), or the larger regional framework."

This statement is both the opening of a forum for debate and discussion, and a platform for an ongoing shift in interdisciplinary studies that contemplates diversity as a given, not just a simple dualism, and which uses religion to understand deep-seated proclivities and assumptions that drove so much of a complicated history seen previously as always antagonistic and only reluctantly sharing commonalties in their heritages. As such, it represents an intellectual and quasi-political program, in this case for a formal academic program at a major conference. In calling for proposals for the Medieval Academy of American conference in 2018, for another example, the same voices repeat this determination for more conciliatory approaches to the Mediterranean world to emphasize commonalities and exchange rather than differences and division such as *Islām* vs. Christianity, with the condemnation of the confessional divide as being too divisive, as old school or "conventional historiography." Trade is the key to such revisionist thinking about bilateral agreements forced between peoples of different backgrounds and cultures for a common purpose, resulting in mechanism for mediation, integration of minorities into majority groups, and bridges between distinct cultural communities. The new mantra is expressed thus:[12]

> Far from being a sea divided and a rigid frontier between the Byzantine, Islamic and Latin worlds, the Mediterranean was a region of connectivity and integration, in spite of the grand confessional and communal divisions at the heart of much conventional historiography.

Note that such a statement infers that confessional and communal divisions work against connectivity and integration, when in fact they foster inclusion and membership, cohesion and belonging, etc., with certain standards and some discrimination. Separation and isolation are not their goals, as partially acknowledged in the "establishment of ethno-religiously defined transregional networks" but these are seen to encourage emigration, colonization, and resettlement as if these processes of instability and dis-establishment were better goals than staying put, settlement, and the appropriation of space that is satisfactory. These, so the argument goes, fostered a vibrant hybrid supra-culture, international by its very makeup, that worked against

localism, parochialism, and social cohesion based on religion. Such processes are two-sided, in that they also react to what was destroyed, somewhat like the phenomenon of conversion; or the privileging of the transient and new contains a bit of anti-establishmentarianism. There is a subtle secularism and double-speak in celebrating such revisionism, in reformulating conventional wisdom that might be seen as stale and old-guard as were those institutions and traditions based on inherited confessional identities, always harkening back to age-old strictures and religious teaching as a straight-jacket.

Of course, anything new and revisionist is valued by a new generation more than views previously held simply because of newness, but re-affirmation of older views after due reconsideration is also a valuable contribution. While acknowledging that there were influences that brought different peoples together, one must recognize that many things kept peoples apart -- sometimes the very same things. Trade contacts were indeed important for first and subsequent impressions, but were momentary transactions that did not necessitate the acceptance of people as if they were goods; and trading was different from lifetime commitments and ingrained attitudes that produced wariness even among traders. Repetition and habit alter the unfamiliar, but do not always produce acceptance. Lasting relationships matter. In buying and selling, an exchange completes the transaction, unlike gift-giving and patronage that can produce obligation and more lasting memory. The totally secular is never the same as something more intimate and spiritual. The two can co-exist without confusing them as the same. Finally, revisionism may entail refinement rather than total rejection of a previous view. After all, what is conventional is a meeting of minds, a coming together, which does not mean casting something in stone or preservation for its own sake.

While not disagreeing with much of its premise because everything once considered can use some refinement, here the point of using these statements is to expose not only revisionism in current (early 21st c.) historiography as sometimes having subtle or hidden purposes, and in this case a certain academic liberalism in attitude and fundamental assumptions not automatically inherent in confessional thinking or the historical settings and times so contemplated. There is a liberal reconciliatory program inherent in this interdisciplinary, intercultural outlook that is itself a response to the politicization of nationalist history, the taxonomies underlying much of the empirical work in modern Social Sciences as far too rigid, and a skepticism about official religion. Of course the Mediterranean Seminar itself claims origins in the comparative and phenomenological "California School" which opposes "the dominance of modern national paradigms, the weight of theological traditions, and assumptions about the rigidity of ecumenical divisions…"[13] Greater appreciation of the complexity of the subject does not dismiss the adversity in relations between peoples of different faiths, fundamental assumptions and outlooks, reactions to having a change of thought thrust upon them, or the antagonism arising from conquest and imposition of foreign regimes on others. It does capture some of the considerations in this study that seek to go beyond a simple political and military history, and attempt to see things from a variety of perspectives even though the Christian viewpoint prevails because that dominates the extant sources, certainly from the winning side in a polarized conflict which turned out dramatically different in the Far West than in the Near East. The viewpoints from Hispania then and from Spanish and Portuguese historiography ever since then, did not have to be so understanding from a minority perspective as in the Near East where Christianity became and still is a minority. Of course, higher religions are teleological, traditional, and idealistic; and indeed, historically minded -- right minded in their regard, but not necessarily according to those offering different suppositions.

So there is a flipside to this modernist comparative approach that pertains to peninsular history and western historiography that insists on recalling the traumatic Conquest and prolonged Reconquest that themselves produced a reinforcement of confessional differences rather than a truly open forum for an exchange between equal players or an assimilation that sanctioned a blending to produce a different hybrid -- or adhesion as entrenchment in terms of religion, not conversion. This "sticking to your guns," to use an idiom, should not be confused with closed-mindedness as so often assumed by academics who applaud open-mindedness. However, doctrinal

religion can be a system of thought, and while not impervious to other ideas, it can and should be skeptical and insisting on high standards in proof, persuasion, and application.

History can be about Religion, but the secular historian's practice is not religion. That ideal of open dialogue, seeing things from the other point of view, deconstruction and reconstruction, and self-examination and even self-doubt, is modern and altruistic. It never really happened much in past reality despite religious ecumenism and notions of charity and individual worth, even in academia; and which is still an exception even in non-polemicized academic exchanges which cannot be isolated from an otherwise troubled modernity. The assumption that everyone wants to seek greater perspective and deeper insights just for the sake of understanding and appreciation of the other, with no alternative purpose, is itself something novel and ahistorical. There is comfort in knowing one's mind, having it made up, and an understandable caution in changing one's mind fundamentally. Moreover, the kind of interconfessional open-dialogue assumed to be so welcomed by modern academics with a Western bias was not generally encouraged previously and even incurred certain risk in medieval times, and still does in specific forums; even in academe where sometimes an academic orthodoxy is still presumed and expected. The downplaying of differences and upgrade of commonalties is a staple of assimilation processes, and not everybody wants to be assimilated; individualism asserts some independence from the crowd, herd mentality and driving need for acceptance among adolescents.

Both tendencies can be seen in modern historiography and trending, as in exchanges across the 'frontier.' An interpretation sympathetic to the peoples studied in their time would still have to stress the medieval frontier, as was most of the Mediterranean, as a "theater of conflict, and of crusade and jihad, divided into hostile zones of religious interaction." That is the view retained here because that is presented in the sources, which does not necessarily hide from view constant cultural interchange and stimuli for creativity and moderation. But agreed, the complexity of intercultural relations across frontiers has increased in light of modern complex relations and more recent scholarship than when everything was political and military. What is amazing in the revelations of such scholarship is that not only did peoples survive under adversity and deal with each other, that there was progress despite so much hatred, so many setbacks, and massive destruction. One might want to think more would have been accomplished if harmony had prevailed, except that if the "challenge and response" theorists are correct about social interaction, conflict was both stimulating and an accelerant of change. But one must remember that in two universalist religions, *Islam* and Christianity, assimilation is the goal; however benign in intention, it is one absorbing the other. Therein is the rub, and no amount of wishful thinking about harmonious relations can get around it, except by secularists simply ignoring religion as a motivating factor or altogether.

While a broad perspective is taken and East-West influences on the Tarraconensis are considered in this study, the kind of exchange assumed in this statement from the Mediterranean Seminar based on the experience in the Near East where so many different peoples lived in proximity and some mutual understanding had to arise as a matter of everyday necessity, was not a common occurrence. That opportunity and situation close at hand in urbanized environments did not exist to the same degree in the northeastern Iberian frontier, but mostly at designated exchanges. There the hustle and bustle of the Near Eastern marketplace where people rubbed shoulders with each other on a daily basis remained more distant, circumspect, wary, and rare. The way academics, with their assumption of intellectual freedom, might discuss things political, delicate and disturbing still, was not the way then. Religious people with different identities were self-protective. Most people are generally so, as a matter of self-interest. If the historian is to be truly open-minded, then even those stands now seen as closed-minded must be understood for what they were and are. The literate elites then, operating mostly in their closed schools of thought, institutions, and ways of correct thinking, did not have to be open-minded, objective, or even empathetic to another way of thinking. Most people followed what they made general consensus. There was a major difference between medieval closed societies and their openness to outside influence than what may be assumed today with modern media, greater mixed populations, and

more movement of peoples; and intellectualism existed mostly within well-defined thought systems. Different times had different mindsets. Historians should be wary of imposing modern notions on the past, without expressing acknowledging the superimposition, bias, and agenda in doing so.

With some circumspection, therefore, let us recognize that this history about Tarragona and the Tarraconensis has its own history, an historiography which leads to the current state of this History in its context and the present. In that sense, all of History is contemporary -- the past at present. This history has a modern foundational study in the work of Emilio Morera y Llaurado at the end of the 19th c., with its positivist bent and notion of objectivity from scientific historicism. Largely devoid of constructs from modern ethno-history, he based his history on a classicist reading of the Latin texts, those he could find then having been saved mostly to prove rights and privileges of this or that party, i.e., documentation prepared intentionally and preserved with the foresight that the past would influence the future. He composed a largely institutional history, subject to the loyalty to the Church he served. He was painstakingly aware of geography, but not necessarily of the differences of medieval conditions and those of his time after the terribly destructive 19th c.; e.g., the landscape had changed considerably. So had the position of the Church, with anti-clericalism and popular resistance to its seigneurial rights. Moreover, the work was conceived, research was done, and the publication came about in a context different from today, and it betrays assumptions, approaches, and interpretations from his time. As admitted, all histories do. Catalan historiography changed after that, under the influence of the Civil War and a rapprochement with the official interpretations of a centralist regime. Antiquarianism had preserved much, but serious Archaeology had just begun. Islamic history was far gone and distant, with little distinction between Arabs and Moors, and all Berbers were Moors; and influences from Morocco were thought of in terms of post-colonialism. If anything, after the Ottoman Empire, a romantic Orientalism was dominant in thinking about the East along with western imperialism. In short, after another century, it was time for a reconsideration and placement of his subject into a larger context, more than the kind of local history that has dominated so much of Spanish historiography. But the idealism of the contemporary comparative approach to pluralism and diversity must be tempered by realities of the medieval situation, lest one day such revisionism is also seen as apologetic, with the romantic idealism read into History by those wishing that the old days had been better times because we yearn for the same today. That was indeed reflective of thinking in the Restoration party. Shifts in perspectives enrich History and are part of it -- then and now.

The gathering of evidence for my own study began in the archives during the late Franco era, and its interpretation has changed since then, not only in view of the explosion of the historiographic enterprise, the contributions of Archaeology and prolific editing of documents, and a plethora of talent attracted to History as a profession in the United States and England, and in Spain and the rest of Europe, but especially France. Indeed, as admitted, the field is so rich that it is hard to keep up. Some of this change is addressed in a brief discussion of the pertinent literature that follows; the point here is on the ever-more sophisticated interpretation of the history of northeastern Spain, the provinces of Catalunya and Aragón now federated states, and the elaboration of History as an intellectual enterprise and continual intellectual discourse, which provides a context for this present study. Such changes in a generation's time, influence this presentation of the history of Tarragona and the Tarraconensis.

In an era of mass media, the academic endeavor is always influenced undoubtedly by elements in popular culture, current events, and the omni-present angst in world politics that are part of one's formation and development, and thus form a context more pervasive than formal historical training and research, and expository writing and storytelling -- subliminal, omnipresent within one's culture, contextual and pervasive. Whereas the old paradigm was classical, which has dominated both Archaeology and History in northeastern Spain and is pervasive in American education as well, the newer shift to the ethnological, global and hyper-critical has changed things significantly to a milieu of multi-paradigms entwined, a more flexible dialogue and interpretations aimed at less fixed outcomes, and a broader historical and multi-cultural consciousness resulting

from modern globalization. So a master narrative is impossible, and instead of a single thematic thread, the goal here is clarification based on intricacy, insight into complicated matters, and a set of entwined stories from Late-Antiquity through the central Middle Ages, and updating what can be known about the subject beyond the last major interpretation more than a century ago. In attempting an up-to-date revision, one must be aware of the context in which this History is written and the controversy surrounding many of its themes – issues of ethnicity and altered identities, internecine and external warfare, incredible violence and atrocities contrasted by inspiring accomplishments, and conditions made both better and worse by religious beliefs, practices, loyalties and rivalries. Above all, this history largely evolves around the centuries-old conflict between *Islām* and Christianity in the West. Much is admirable and lamentable at the same time, sometimes instilling pride and at others evoking horror and disdain; and much is controversial today as it was in past debates from the events onward. There is much to cherish; and much to regret.

The most potentially controversial aspect today is how the Islamic interregnum is portrayed, as a blessing or a curse, how Muslims as a whole are treated in their past, and they are seen today as separate ethnic communities and their standing in the Islamic world as such. In a world where recrimination abounds, the past is present in ways that may not reflect how the scholar sees it. Expertise changes opinion, but most History exists outside academe in popular culture. Public opinion may be informed, but not necessarily from a sophisticated sense of History. As the subject moves about a dynamic audience and this history reaches a diverse readership, its context for understanding will change with varying degrees of curiosity, open-mindedness, and empathy for the actors in the drama that this history entails – Christians viewing Muslims and *vice versa* as presented and as understood against a background where mistrust and misunderstanding of the other abounds. History is as bilateral as any trade. Indeed, the historical placement of the action in a medieval frontier also puts the subject in an intellectual and cultural frontier of sorts in the current milieu, between two cultures still, between friends and foes, allies and rivals, past and present. Today's international political situation makes such intellectual shifts about History in the history of our time even less academic and more dynamic when peoples attempt to own their own history, make it theirs and change it accordingly, and bring to it a fundamentalist approach with pre-conceived notions that may not comport with this history in a more realistic and objective sense, or with History generally.

At the turn of this century, the international perspective from the West has been focused more on its relationship with the Islamic world in reaction to terrorism and militant *Islām*, stemming in the United States from the 9/11 attack in 2001 on the World Trade Center in New York, the Pentagon in Arlington VA, and possibly aiming also at the nation's Capital. Atrocities continue worldwide, from suicide bombings, plane hijackings, embassy attacks, and assaults on individuals as fiendish as the recent 2013 hacking of a British soldier to death on the streets of London, with media hype always portraying the perpetrators as ethnic, Muslim, and crazed. Moderate Muslims hate it, and their leaders have been speaking out, condemning such acts as a misrepresentation of *Islām*. Instability in the Middle East has created widespread tension, which acts as a backdrop to the anxieties created by such events. The "Arab spring" has been a violent one; mob violence in toppling regimes, no matter how bad, and civil war in the Near East are no comforts to Westerners. American involvement in Iraq and Afghanistan has not produced greater understanding in the West of *Islām* as a religion of peace when its adherents seem to be always at war with each other and neighbors. A history of Islamic Conquest and Christian Reconquest hardly helps form a different image.

A stereotype has been developing among Westerners that unfairly envelopes all Muslims – perhaps their greatest grievance of all. Such combination of terrorism and modern extremes of jihadist antics have made *Islām* into a competing world religion with Christianity, which it has always been; but now anti-Christian and more so, it is seen as an anti-Western block despite the reality of factionalized Islamic states and indigenous politics. Muslim immigration into the West has created ethnic enclaves like ghettos of old but now self-imposed, and the resistance to assimilation

has caused resentment in the majority -- fear of a new, more subtle Muslim reconquest through infiltration, creating some tensions which are politically taboo to talk about openly. Reactionary and emotional recrimination against any criticism of *Islām* as blasphemy has made matters worse, confusing the unintended with intentional insult so that open discourse between the two polarities has become almost impossible in several arenas, certainly in diplomacy and the media, but also in academe. It is now impossible to isolate the current tensions in the Near East and worldwide between Muslims and almost everyone else from current historical investigations involving past offensives, i.e., *Islām* against Christianity, or *vice versa.* Awareness of this contemporary milieu may help understand ethnic relations in the Middle Ages, and the antagonism between *Islām* and Christianity on more levels than any theological divide.

History pretending to be impervious and unaware of these developments is perhaps the most subjective of all, e.g., choosing contextual ignorance and calling that objectivity. So here one might confront this issue at the onset of this study, where an Islamic invasion and interregnum separates two pasts -- the ancient heritage and the medieval recovery of that dream-- as an interregnum thought of by most Spaniards and Catalans too as a regrettable discontinuity in their history, and by many Muslims as a glorious past cut short by Christian resurgence. Restoration thinking among Muslims calls for a return to what is envisioned as a glorious past, with all of the distortions such mythography entails.

The most noted articulation of the adversarial situation in modern global politics has been by Harvard professor of Government, the late Samuel P. Huntington (1927- 2008), in 1993 and 1996,[14] in developing his "clash of civilizations" theory – an attempted explanation of how this present situation came about other than simply in reaction to current events and escalation of terrorism against the West and non-Muslim societies by radical elements cloaking their worst intentions under the guise of religion. Rather than see modern-day violence as resulting from Muslim grievances against the West, Huntington and his adherents -- at first mostly in diplomatic circles and then the media, but a decade later more generally in Anglo-American popular culture -- placed the problem in History, with the forceful expansion of *Islām* into Christendom and other non-Muslim areas. He characterized the resulting friction and continuing violence as a clash between different civilizations, which are intrinsically so different that when they come together the interaction is naturally violent, and these points of violent interaction are called fault lines from the image of tectonic plates in the earth's crust underneath what is usually visible at the surface, that collide under pressure from below, producing spasmic eruptions – earth quakes, volcanos, tidal waves, and other natural disasters. The double meaning of Muslims being at fault cannot be ignored. Although criticized for his loose definition of "civilization," everyone understands the notion in the classical sense if not in the comparative mode of Arnold Toynbee's classification in his monumental *Study of History*[15] (also born in the environment of a government think-tank rather than History as such), especially as it pertains to the world of *Islām* and its "bloody borders" in Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Eastern and Western Europe, and now conflict along the "Virtual Border" of mass communication and digital media.[16] 9/11 propelled the debate over Huntington's theorizing beyond academic circles and international affairs into Anglo-American popular culture at large. It is a dominant Western paradigm at present to which any history such this one about Conquest, Reconquest, and Restoration (Church and State building) will be subjected. Academicians have railed against it, some vociferously and always liberals against such conservatism, without coming to grips with many of the insights he provided that may be considered without politicization, and how his idea of fault lines comports with the frontier thesis (although more of a zone than linear demarcation like overlapping tectonic plates). They have been too dismissive and dismissed in political circles, especially in the Trump era, as just liberal academics spouting off again. The most salient objection is the predestination aspects of Huntington's thesis, that political geography has permanent rift lines, and these are intransigent as if made of stone. The metaphor he chose from Geology, of fracturing in rock masses and movement of earth's places that creates friction and heats up to explosions as volcanoes, may seem a little too graphic and certainly is intentionally incendiary. However, the general condemnation has

revealed a blind eye in the confusion, to use the 17th c. idiom, and recrimination and apologetics have not enlightened the debate as much as he intended. Historians of the medieval Iberian frontier cannot ignore the insights he provided, because a frontier that is narrow and linear to the point of becoming a border can be like the fault lines he described. Indeed, medieval Tarragona sat on such a metaphoric fault line, as it did in the Napoleonic invasion and the Spanish Civil War. It is as though there is something invisible and yet defining in this Tarragonan intermediary zone. Muslim geographers recognized this in the Middle Ages, as where Europe and Africa met and rubbed shoulders, so to speak, and either their inhabitants shook hands there or smacked each other in the face. As will be seen, these are phrases and images in extant documentation from this Tarragona vortex. So, let us give this paradigm about where cultures clash repeatedly and over long durations the attention it deserves before discussing the nature of the medieval frontier.

Although Huntington's focus was largely turned to the Near East, it is comparative and the vantage-point is admittedly from the West, i.e., Euro-America. One of the fault lines which Huntington addresses is *al-Andalus*, where the Islamic invasion precipitated seven centuries of violence – a main theme in this current study. The medieval frontiers in Iberia certainly qualify for the rubric "bloody borders" in contrast to the glorification of what Muslim society achieved there in the Arts and Sciences, and one cannot easily dismiss some of the observations of the modern conflict as inappropriate presentism regarding the medieval situation. His discussions of change in modern society such as globalization providing pressure on traditional societies where some things adapt and are adopted and others calcify in reaction, is not unlike Arnold Toynbee's observation earlier about change being constant in History, but acceleration is when chaos can ensue.[17] He also commented on modern divisions and the factionalization of societies resulting in violence, a theme he elaborated in his study of the disintegration of civilizations. He noted the friction along zones of contact, i.e., frontiers that were facing nothing, but were bordered on someone else's territory. Both the Conquest and both Reconquests in this history were periods of momentous change too, destabilizations, and all-out war, and it is not far-fetched to see the frontiers as interconnected fault lines along which destruction and reconstruction were interminable. The problem is adopting the paradigm totally is seeing the friction as lines rather than zones, permanently drawn, when frontiers involve movement not just along linear borders, but back and forth.

Much of what Huntington talks about could be applied to most expanding empires or world religions behind a militarized society, such as the Roman Empire or the expansion of the Carolingian Empire which certainly had its "bloody borders" -- including the Carolingian-*Umayyad* conflict in the Hispanic northeast. Or consider the Normans in Sicily or Crusaders in the Holy Land. The first arena is ignored because it predates *Islām*, and that latter where Westerners were the aggressors are seen as recoveries of areas where *Islām* should not have been, i.e., in Christian lands. The current debate is more about current affairs, specifically the confrontation of the Islamic world with the modern West – as seen by Westerners. The reaction by Muslim scholars has been predictable, with ensuing debates about who was the aggressor or most wronged. Religion is only one element in the differentiation of peoples at bay, but Huntington says that the identity of opposing peoples by their different religions is becoming more pronounced with globalization, whereby other traits like language, living standards and style, differentiated technologies, dress and habit, etc. are modified with increased contact; in reaction, differences in religious beliefs are emphasized not simply as a matter of faith, but as heritage. Cultures endangered can resurrect themselves in transmuted form, defensive and changed by the threat, intentionally conservative to save what might be lost, resisting further change and clinging to habit, and religion becomes a defense for the inner self. Such components of the overarching theory are relevant to this study when in the Mediterranean such multi-culture contact increased as at no other time since the Roman Empire, when Christianity spread -- before the advent of *Islām*.

In religion, getting there first is less important than getting it right in orthodoxy, and in orthopraxy doing it correctly; in this regard, the onslaught of *Islām* was a correctional force, necessary even if later regrettable. That stance, of course, had to be taken by Muhammed, coming after the Christianization of the Roman Empire. *Islām* had to be novel and confrontational;

otherwise, the reaction would have been a dismissive 'so what.' That was unacceptable. Such historical considerations do not play into the unilateral polarization in Huntington's thesis, where a history of conflict is used for convenience in argumentation, not for History's sake. Christianity and *Islām* are both universalist religions, self-righteous, and inherently competitive in their missions. So, when self-identity is increasingly confessional, difference rather than commonality is emphasized. They did and do clash; *Islām* was meant to, just as Christianity had to reject classical paganism. Both reject syncretism to the point of losing their identity, truth, and mission. Division rather than possible forms of unity is stressed, and the politics of divisiveness often seem to lose religious meaning when applied to territory, power, and wealth. So too, in this study of divisions between *Islām* and Christianity in the Iberian peninsula, which are often described as religious differences, when there were so many other differences to keep them apart. Yet there exists ample evidence of collaborations, cross-overs across the confessional line, and a kind of unity with diversity rather than just disunity everywhere because of socio-cultural differences. No matter, the common way to make such distinctions and between two parties in collaboration is in confessional terms.

Despite the popularity of Huntington's thesis in government circles, it is interesting that documentation from the High Level Group of the United Nations seems to avoid the issue of religion in politics, and dismisses the civilization idea altogether, to focus on economics, national politics, and related social issues in a different light than anything emphasizing cultural differences – perhaps because such differences were precisely what Europeans wanted to overcome within their own countries and with their neighbors in forming the European Union. Dissidence is something for each country to consider for itself. Eschewing conspiracy theory or anti-establishment movements aligned by common cause in immigrant or ethnic communities, terrorism is likewise treated more like a local affair even though member nations and the media think differently -- as indicated by often over-generalized statements and the stereotype of all Muslims belonging to one community (inferring, of course, non-European). Their associations lack a single spokesperson. It is easier to think of the diverse elements in immigrant communities and their parent homelands more monolithic, as simply a different "civilization" – the "other" as Tzvetan Todorov so famously theorized (1979-) in his treatment of alterity[18] in Europe's encounter with America – "us and them" perceptions in identification, acceptance and rejection. It took medievalists two decades before applying this concept to the social history of the Middle Ages, and now this has become a hot topic, fueled by modern circumstances and ethnic conflicts, and the choices with acceptance of difference or rejection, i.e., inclusion or exclusion.

Outside of academia *per se*, the idea of rejection and exclusion in the historic conflict between the Islamic world and the West gained more immediate acceptance. Huntington also saw the clashes in the borderlands with Islamic societies as more than religious difference only, however, but an array of dividing factors in the modern world, including ideologies that may run parallel to but outside formal belief systems – a host of –isms, from Communism to Capitalism, Nationalism, secular Pan-Arabism, etc., so that religion in combination with such other modern developments and ethno-political violence, is the less visible root of the more immediate problems. Thus Tariq Alī, when considering the Huntington controversy in 2002, posed an alternative construct, i.e., *The Clash of Fundamentalisms*.[19] In religious terms, one might add the clash of competing universalist purviews in Christianity and *Islām*, which like a Venn diagram have overlap between them where conflict was bound to happen, but as in most zones of intensive bicultural interaction an anachronism of old meeting new or just different, produces a certain creativity in the exchange.

Again, one must remember that modernity is itself used as an exclusively modern concept (even though medieval people like John of Salisbury, as said, saw themselves indeed as *moderni* in his era), with a pre-emptive attribution of greater importance to things closer to the person in time and place. Currency reigns; the present controls the past. In the same way that imperial expansion produced violence, e.g., everywhere in the borderlands of expansionist Europe and westward expansion in America, ethno-political conflicts have been frequented within these larger medieval and early modern entities, just as today. In that sense, Huntington is not a long-range comparative historian, but a broad-range surveyor of his times and the troubles they endure. His thinking was

seen as comparative but is more one of contrasting and emphasizing differences over similarities. *Dār al-Islām* is not the West. And the contention from the Muslim viewpoint is in the West attempting to make it so, just as westerners now object to separatist Muslim communities in their midst.

But what Huntington described, and the current debates fueled by violence such as 9/11, is the context in which this study is written even if it was conceived earlier in the Franco era and modified thereafter. It will be read in post 9/11 times, and hopefully long thereafter, but still in a contemporary environment influenced by these changing times, by people increasingly aware of their global situation, under a cloud of distrust and tension, and hostilities somewhere every day. For the foreseeable future, this judgmental context will not be altered: there will be a pervasive uneasiness about the history of Muslim and Christian conflict and outcomes whereby either *Islam* or Christianity trumps the other and where sides are taken, dividing lines are drawn, and each blames the other as the wrongdoer. Today the distancing one from the other, or the West going East as super-powers, is being reversed by globalization and waves of immigration. Indeed, refugee movements are easily seen as fifth-column movements and Christian altruism and humanitarianism are challenged by the backlash against immigration because of deep-seated sentiment and old historical awareness. Instead of invasions, there is fear of a takeover nonetheless because of the ingrained resistance of Muslim communities to assimilation as a compromise where westernization might lead to apostasy. The religious and ethnic admixture of the Near East has come West -- but not for the first time. That is what makes the medieval Hispanic experience so interesting and relevant to our own times. No matter how such history is written, or what subject related to this theme of cultural interaction or "clash of civilizations," the product is bound to be controversial from one perspective or another.

The controversy over Huntington's thesis is exacerbated for historians by the rather deterministic application of the "past is prologue" admonition as if the current situation were produced by others in the past rather than present adversaries, or the attribution to current players that they actually know their history -- with the hint that somehow this historically-driven enmity is more than cultural inheritance and tradition but something genetically transferred from one generation to the other (with ethnic inferences). An ingrained mentality is always more than culture, or religion, but intelligence and its limits, and the obvious limits of experiential learning. It is also controversial because for many exploring Islamic-Christian relations or between East and West, it rings true. And it resonates with attitudes that can be documented in the contemporary societies under consideration here, in and on either side of the medieval frontier, and primarily in textual evidence from the clerical elements in *Dār al-Islām* and Christendom. But apologists are right in counterbalancing this negativity in the critical framework of 'clash' as a permanent incompatibility, with the positives evidenced in ample interstate and transcultural trade, intellectual exchanges, and cultural borrowings and even the possibility because of proximity, contact and communication of conversion in either direction. But one cannot expect the conciliatory proposition in historical interpretation vs. an emphasis on conflict to be easily acceptable by those under duress, challenged, and suffering from the opposition, then or now, any more than the "Love your enemy" challenge or the more subtle advocacy for hating the sin but not the sinner. The issue is the general human comfort level with sameness and apprehension of differences, and ability to live with diversity within an overall unity. That condition and learning curve prevails today as it did yesterday.

The Spanish too are influenced by the post-9/11 trauma that has so affected Americans, and their referents are also homebased: (1) the 2004 bomb attack at the Atocha train station in Madrid, (2) the terrorist cell in Catalunya attacking pedestrians on the Barcelona Ramblas in 2018 and shootout in Cambrils in the very vicinity of this study, and (3) the jihadist web propaganda that would have Spain reclaimed as Muslim *al-Andalus* – undoing the Reconquest and reversing Spanish history. The Spanish are well-schooled in their own history from classical foundations as a long continuum interrupted by many upheavals, right through their terrible Civil War and the Franco era in the last century. Muslims, however, are usually seen as the quintessential invaders who were not sent on their way like the Vandals or absorbed like the Visigoths who formed a successor state to

Roman Hispania. The Muslims came and stayed, conquered and changed things, and did some good but a lot of harm, but whose occupation was not really Spanish – Spain was created in opposition to them.

The Spanish know how their ancestors suffered, resisted, and finally overcame the foreign domination of the Moors and *Islām*. They are aware of the expulsion in 1609 of the Moriscos in an attempt to build a unified Catholic Spain without it being undermined by contentious minorities, Jews and Muslims. On the streets, coffee houses, and in school curricula, the Spanish have vacillated on how to absorb the history of someone else into their History used to form their own identity, knowing that this struggle of conscience and nationalism has been a long road to tread. But the crisis of *Islām* in Iberia was supposedly resolved for all time, so most would think. They are now concerned about the undoing of this history by a more subtle re-invasion, namely its belonging to the European Union with its post-colonial liberal immigration policies, and subsequently the immigration of a half-million Muslim Moroccans from Africa annually, while the birthrate of Catholics in Spain has been declining. The national unemployment rate has climbed to 24% and the over-burdened social welfare system has broken the Spanish economy. The 2020 Covid-19 Pandemic has made everything worse, creating a watershed in History sure to be remembered like the Black Plague, ending the period studied here: not as bad actually, but more recent and thus accentuated. Locally, especially in the south, the mom-and-pop shop has been replaced by the bazaar, menus have changed, and the veiled women in black seen on the streets are not nuns outside their convents. The veil is a sign of resistance and potential threat, depending on the wearer and viewer, with the headscarf a prudent compromise for blending into a modern pluralistic society that was once bent on homogeneity to bolster unity.

Misgivings are growing, former hesitations about political correctness are disappearing, and Muslims feel pressured by their minority status. Emboldened by legal protection, their demands for equity and difference provoke reactions that may surface in unpredictable ways. While the separatist movement in Catalunya holds attention presently, there are more subtle forces at play in Spanish society today. The keen observer of all this may use it to understand the past without being presentist, but only to appreciate the tensions in medieval society that promoted segregation, enmity and warfare, ethnic differentiation and identity by religion, and ultimately a purification movement for unity leading to the expulsion of recalcitrant minorities of Jews and Muslims in 1492 while embarking on the Conquest of the New World as so unrelentingly Spanish and Catholic. That purge and attributions of intolerance and aggressive behavior have earmarked how others have seen the Spanish ever since the threat to the English by the Armada and rise of the Black Legend, without much understanding of the histories of Luso-Hispanic peoples.

All of this points to the question of religious tolerance, or even in secular terms, the freedom to be different, or even wrong from the vantage-point of the righteous. Underneath this concept is that of equity. Thus, modern liberal notions of tolerance are projected onto the past, and past intolerance is a justification for entrenchment. The issue is more profound than how a 5% Muslim minority in Spain today is treated by the Christian majority, or even within that, how Catholicism regards Hispanic Protestantism today or heterodoxy in the past, but pertains to the understanding of History in the present. If History matters, then what kind of History is the question as a matter of cultural and intellectual understanding. Historically speaking, there is also the issue of old-timers and new-comers reflecting the paradox presented in the New Testament about laborers in the vineyard receiving equal pay regardless of time spent at work (*Matthew*, 20:1-16). But in the case of Spain the issue is more than time invested in the endeavor of state-building and cultural enhancement, if Muslims are seen to have interrupted the natural course of events, as destroyers rather than supporters or who were responsible for major deviation, and then whose resistance retarded the recovery. How is the contribution of a different people to be valued by later generations? The apologist interpretation by academics of the conciliatory school, or politicians seeking harmony and fairness, and those concerned with social justice for all, would argue for balance and understanding in what is still seen as a two-sided issue (three if Jews count) defined by confessional adherence, ethnicity, or political loyalty. Thus in attempted reconciliation for an

historiography that traditionally stressed conflict in the Reconquest, cultural historians have always pointed to intellectual creativity, cultural borrowing, and technological transfer as ever so valuable in the long run as if this justified the loss and destruction of indigenous culture (of course, the same argument could be applied to the Romans regarding Celt-Iberian development, but never is because the Roman contribution was 'civilization' itself). To the vanquished and afflicted, that would be like blood money for atrocities in the Conquest. The opposition, of course, could point to similar atrocities in the Reconquest; and the war of words is on! Or more subtly, the resentment is pushed below the surface, discourse remains civil but still biased by the modern affecting what the present understanding of the past has been, is, or should be. This History is a tricky business!

Rather than a "clash of civilizations," President Luís Rodriguez Zapatero after 11 March 2004 proposed an "alliance of civilizations" to stem the outrage and subdue further violence, either pogroms like those of late medieval times arising from reactions to the terrorism, or the spread of terrorism and hate crimes, in a never-ending escalation that could have been even more disastrous than 2004 or as indicated by the rise of terrorism in Europe itself. Since then, the government has been reconciliatory, addressing Muslim grievances and accommodating an increasingly demanding immigrant population that could be easily radicalized.[20] Such attention to the Muslim minority has not always set well with the Catholic majority, seeing such accommodation as coddling and rewarding terrorism, and reacting badly to the building of huge mosques with Arab money and attempts to put the grand mosque of Córdoba back into Muslim service with an appeal to the papacy – after all, it was after the Conquest once shared between Muslims and Christians as sacred space. On the one side, immigrant Muslims see grievances as unaddressed, and on the other, traditionally Christian long-term Spaniards see such recent overtures as insulting. 2004 seemed to nullify the best intentions of the 1990s. *Islam* in 1989 passed the test of *notorio arraigo* (being well enough established) in Spain, ending the Francoist proclamation of Catholicism as the sole state religion (Principle II of the Law of Principles of the National Movement, 1958), when the government gave representation to all Muslim organizations under one association, FEERI (Federación Española de Entidades Religiosas Islámicas).[21] Muslims in Spain hardly see things with any unified vision, and splintering into ethnic factions has continued to be problematic as the state offers them a role but does not know exactly how to do this. The factionalization has been itself called a symptom of "culture clash."[22] Spain now recognizes an historical dimension in the Organic Law on Religious Freedom: Islamic religion is one of the spiritual beliefs that has configured the historical personality of Spain. "Our culture and tradition cannot be separated from the religious foundations that have forged the most profound essences of the Spanish people and character."[23] Studies and minority polling indicate that Muslims highly regard civic rights and democratic principles, but want to preserve something of their lifestyle in keeping with their native cultures and religion. They reject interference in their immigrant communities from their former governments, i.e., Morocco. They came thinking they could have better lives in Spain. But opinion polls of the Spanish public show that most harbor grave concern about the integration of Muslims into their society, more than Jews. But the attempted negotiation with Islamic associations to participate in government (not as equal to the Catholic Church however, and understandably given the demographics of religious persuasion in the peninsula and its history), appears like contracts with a third party, outsiders on the inside, who present a threat to things Spanish. Ideology and perception are inseparable. And that affects History.

Zapatero's call for the cooperation of civilizations embraces the concept that Spain has long been at the crossroads of cultures and has been enriched by these diverse ingredients; "… a country forged and enriched by different cultures." It is a vision with merit but is born out of necessity after 2004 in an attempt to have everyone get along – the idea *convivencia* with its idealized past, even if reformulated by Brian Catlos as "conveniencia." Even that accommodation does not make it palatable to many Spaniards because convenience does not make things right -- except perhaps for the hybrid cuisine which is such an obvious example of shared culture. The other major interpretation is that Spain was a "frontier state" born in adversity. Former Prime Minister

José María Aznar in that same year (indeed the very same day) as a visiting scholar at Georgetown University expressed a different vision relating Spain's past to the present in striking contrast:[24]

> The problem Spain has with al-Qaeda and Islamic terrorism did not begin with the Iraq crisis. In fact, it has nothing to do with government decisions. You must go back no less than 1,300 years, to the early eighth century, when a Spain recently invaded by the Moors refused to become just another piece in the Islamic world and began a long battle to recover its identity. This Reconquista process was very long, lasting some 800 years. However, it ended successfully [obviously not for Muslims]. There are many radical Muslims who continue to recall that defeat, many more than any rational western mind might suspect. Osama bin Laden is one of them.

Criticized as being incendiary, this was one of the clearest statements revealing a resolute historical mindset shaping modern thought, relating Spain to the larger West, and an example of the past-present relationship in its most telling form. It illustrates the milieu in which this current History is written and a relevance that cannot be denied: Conquest and Reconquest, Liberation and Restoration too, related to the present. History cannot pretend to be history in a vacuum. The historic polarization of cultures is with us still -- culture clash in the *longue durée*.[25] It reflects, without direct citation, the ideologies in modern politics and historical modeling of the kind Huntington presented in his "Clash of Civilizations" theory. It embodies sheer frustration with the current predicament and a mindfulness that all is not new. That is what was and still is so troubling about this particular paradigm and to any History that is essentially one of contrast and conflict, no matter how much apologists would have it otherwise by pointing to continuing trade and cultural exchange between Christendom and *Islām* which by its very proposition, crossed a divide – in fact, several divided: place, identity, religion and moral code, language, currency, values and evaluation, repackaging, and transport. Trading ideas and goods are not the same, but sharing understanding and respect helps dissolve intractable differentiation and aids a higher common identity as fellow human beings.

When the 1492-1992 Quincentennial elaborations were first thought of in the traditional way of "Discovery" and had to be modified to "Encounter" ("Meeting of Two Worlds" commemoration in Spain) because of objections by indigenous peoples already in the New World only to be discovered by Europeans ignorant of other worlds than beyond the Latin West, Spaniards were busy making this adjustment in their thinking about their own imperial period in history and interaction with other peoples. This inspired some reconsideration of the predicament of Muslims inside Hispanic culture but no longer in their beloved *al-Andalus* – still thinking and behaving as if they lived in another state (best thought of as another state of grace, inspiration and awareness… but then, this conceptualization might also embrace righteousness, and hence further differentiation). So a series of events can be identified seeking better relations with Muslims such as the king and queen of Spain attending the dedication of the King Abd-el-Aziz al-Saud mosque in Madrid, the World Expo in Sevilla, and exhibitions featuring the Alhambra proclaiming pride in Islamic culture in Spain and its unique history – all in tune with the mythical *convivencia* or peaceful and fruitful co-existence of three cultures in Iberian history.[26] It was as if the enmity and violence of the clash of civilizations were being muted in Spain, but of course, that was not to last beyond 2004.

So History plays an important role in the present politics, but with such differences so manifest, it is hardly surprising that historians have not provided a unified assessment, but that because of such tensions and current debate, Islamic studies in Spanish universities have come out of their sheltered institutes. It also prompts in many ways this inquiry into the Conquest and Reconquest, and focus on the interregnum and Muslim occupation when Catalan historians, except for Islamicists, have for so long behaved as if *Islām* had never penetrated Catalunya and as if the appearance of burkas on the streets of Barcelona was novel -- and just so wrong. They were outlawed. Legally immigrant Muslims cannot be so easily deported as by royal decree as in the old days, but they can be ostracized and alienated even when most accept their duties and embrace