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# CATALONIA AND PORTUGAL

THE IBERIAN PENINSULA  
FROM THE PERIPHERY



**Identities.** An interdisciplinary approach to the roots of the present  
**Identités.** Une approche interdisciplinaire aux racines du présent  
**Identities.** Una aproximación interdisciplinar a las raíces del presente

# The Spain that never was<sup>1</sup>: The Iberian Peninsula from its Peripheries<sup>2</sup>

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The crisis of the Early Medieval Germanic monarchies was resolved differently inline with to each one's specific circumstances. The two old competitors in the West had very different fates in the 8<sup>th</sup> century. The Franks recovered their power after mutating from the outdated Merovingian dynasty through the Pippinids who immediately consolidated the Carolingian sovereigns<sup>3</sup>. On the other hand, the Visigoths were given their deathblow and their kingdom erased from history, by the Islamic invasion<sup>4</sup>. In the first case, the move was towards a new political entity that took over from ancient Gaul. In the second, the geographic unity of the Peninsula housed various political realities, in a context of moveable frontiers in which, throughout the Middle Ages, cultural and political references reconciled the common geographic perception of the Peninsula and the growth not only of various kingdoms, but also societies united internally as nations.

The importance of the reality forged in the Middle Ages is confirmed by its legacy, converted into a constant and contradictory invocation as an argument with proposals to consolidate the political cohesion for the Iberian Peninsula throughout the centuries. Therefore, a revision of the historical analysis is required to elucidate the correct dimensions of a path

- 1 The term "Spain" is used in this title and throughout the chapter as a direct translation of the Latin "Hispania". Thus it could be replaced by such other terms as Peninsula or simply Hispania.
- 2 Used abbreviations: ACA, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó; AHCB, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona; AML, Arxiu Municipal de Lleida.
- 3 Christian Settipani, Patrick Van Kerrebrouck, *La Préhistoire des Capétiens, 481-987. Première partie; Mérovingiens, Carolingiens et Robertiens* (Villeneuve d'Asq: Van Kerrebrouck, 1993).
- 4 Luis A. García Moreno, "Unos años que cambiaron el mundo", *711. Arqueología e Historia entre dos mundos*, Luis A. García Moreno, dir. (Madrid: Museo Arqueológico Regional-Comunidad de Madrid, 2012), pp. 19-45.

that begins in the Middle Ages and leads down to the present while still conditioning the capacity to articulate a common society in the geographic area of the Iberian Peninsula.

## 1. Spain as a peninsular geographic reality

Within the Roman Empire, Spain was a clear geographic region on the edge of Europe, as defined by Orosius: *Europae in Hispania occidentalis oceanus termino est, maxime ubi apud Gades insulas Herculis columnae visuntur*<sup>5</sup> (“the other limit of Europe is the Atlantic Ocean, in Hispania, especially in Cadiz islands, where the Pillars of Hercules are viewed”). Thus, after the conquest and pacification, this had been naturally adopted in the political and administrative structure of the Hispanic provinces<sup>6</sup>. The later fracture of the Roman Empire, with Visigoth dominance of the area<sup>7</sup> and the immediate merging of Visigoths, Suebis and the Hispano-Roman aristocratic nobles, facilitated the Isidorian ideological idea of linking this ethnic sense with the perception of Hispania, reinforced by such authors as Saint Julian, despite the irregular nature of Visigoth control over the Peninsula<sup>8</sup>. Added to this, there was the marked diversity and confrontation among the nobility, which generated challenges to the legitimacy of the throne of the *regnum visigothorum* by nobles based in socially singularised areas, like the Narbonense and the Tarraconense. It was precisely this territory, that saw the 7<sup>th</sup>-century revolts by Sisenand against Suintila<sup>9</sup>

5 Paulus Orosius, *Historias* I, 1-2 (Paulo Orosio, *Su vida y sus obras*, Camilo Torres, ed. [La Coruña: Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, 1985], p. 94).

6 José Manuel Roldán, “Conquista e integración administrativa”, *Historia de España. Historia Antigua. Citerior y Ulterior. Las provincias romanas de Hispania en la era republicana*, José Manuel Roldán, Fernando Wolff, eds. (Madrid: Istmo, 2001), pp. 189-197.

7 Edward Arthur Thompson, *Los godos en España* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1969), pp. 179-194.

8 Suzanne Teillet, *Des goths à la nation gothique. Les origines de l'idée de nation en Occident du V<sup>e</sup> au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Société d'Édition Les Belles Lettres, 1984), pp. 621-636.

9 Renan Frighetto, “As limitações do poder régio no reino hispano-visigodo de Toledo (séculos VI-VII)”, *Cuestiones de Historia Medieval*, Gerardo Rodríguez, ed. (Buenos Aires: Universidad Católica Argentina, 2011), pp. 235-345.

and by Paulus against Wamba<sup>10</sup>, and also backed Achila in the final moments of the kingdom<sup>11</sup>. This behaviour seemed to challenge not only the noble pre-eminence but even the unity and perception of the kingdom itself especially in the Narbonne end: the *Insultatio* describes the *exercitus Spanorum* of Wamba against the rebels who seem to distinguish themselves from both the Franks and the Hispanics<sup>12</sup>.

Also, at the other end of the Peninsula, in an even more institution-alised way, the territories of the north-west have a specific singularisation<sup>13</sup>. Although Roman military incursions into the area are documented from the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC, it was only during the Cantabrian Wars (29-19 BC) in the times of the Emperor Octavian Augustus that the area of Galicia was occupied and added to the Roman Empire. Then, towards the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, under the Emperor Diocletian, *Gallaecia* acquired its own personality, with its capital in *Bracara Augusta*, and adding to the three Galician legal convents, to the East, the Asturian and Cantabrian lands and, to the South, the future Portuguese territory as far as the Douro<sup>14</sup>. When the Iberian Peninsula was invaded by the Germans in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, *Gallaecia* maintained its differentiation being the center

- 10 José Orlandis, *Historia de España. La España visigótica* (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1977), pp. 256-263.
- 11 Josep Maria Font i Rius, Manuel Mundó, Manuel Riu, Frederic Udina, Joan Vernet, *Procés d'independència de Catalunya (ss. VIII-XI). La fita del 988* (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1989), p. 15.
- 12 Gregorio García, "Sobre la autoria de la 'insultatio' y la fecha de composición de la 'Historia Wambae' de Julián de Toledo", *Los visigodos y su mundo* (Madrid: Consejería de Educación y Cultura-Comunidad de Madrid, 1998), pp. 204-205.
- 13 For the geographic "coherence" of the north-west of Iberia, see the recent considerations by: Ana Monteiro, "A base geográfica", *Entre Portugal e a Galiza (sécs XI a XVII). Um olhar peninsular sobre uma região histórica*, Luís Adão da Fonseca, coord. (Oporto: Fronteira do Caos-Centro de Estudos da População, Economia e Sociedade, 2014), pp. 25-30. Also interesting are: Torquato de Sousa Soares, *Reflexões sobre a origem e a formação de Portugal* (Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 1962), vol. 1, pp. 33-140; Torquato de Sousa Soares, *Contribuição para o estudo das origens do povo português* (Sá da Bandeira: Universidade de Luanda, 1970), pp. 39-76; Fernando López Alsina, "La singularidad de Galicia en la Edad Media", *Fundamentos medievales de los particularismos hispánicos. IX Congreso de Estudios Medievales (León, 2003)* (Ávila: Fundación Sánchez-Albornoz, 2005), pp. 65-67.
- 14 Jorge de Alarcão, *Portugal Romano* (Lisbon: Verbo, 1987); Carlos Fabião, "A romanização do actual território português", *História de Portugal*, 8 vols., José Mattoso,

of the Kingdom of the Suebi<sup>15</sup>. This kingdom lost its independence in 585 and was annexed to the Visigoth monarchy under King Liuvigild, a situation that lasted until the Muslim invasion in the early 8<sup>th</sup> century<sup>16</sup>. It is probable that in the old *Gallaecia*, and throughout the north of the Peninsula in that century, the effects of the Muslim invasion were not particularly relevant. They probably accentuated some decline and insecurity derived from the previous epoch, and the differences in population between the lands north and south of the river Miño (the former more densely inhabited and more Romanised, and the latter more scattered)<sup>17</sup>.

Thus, in line with recent historiography, the Visigoth kingdom reached its end singularising the perception of its two extremes, the eastern and the western<sup>18</sup>, which does not prevent identifying it with Hispania. Very clearly, in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, Pope Leo II addressed King Ervik as *rex Hispaniae*<sup>19</sup>. So, on Visigoth rule being replaced by Muslim dominion at the start of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, the latter also absorbed the Hispanic denomination<sup>20</sup>. Thus, Hispania became identified with the territory under Muslim rule<sup>21</sup>. And

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dir. (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1993), vol. 1, p. 203 and following; Jorge de Alarcão, *O domínio romano em Portugal* (Mem Martins: Publicações Europa-América, 2002).

- 15 Torquato de Sousa Soares, *Reflexões sobre a origem e a formação...*, vol. 1, pp. 141-174; Torquato de Sousa Soares, *Contribuição para o estudo das origens do povo...*, pp. 76-111.
- 16 Antonio Henrique de Oliveira Marques, “Portugal das invasões germânicas à ‘Reconquista’”, *Nova História de Portugal*, Joel Serrão, Antonio Henrique de Oliveira Marques, dirs. (Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1993), pp. 45-79; José Mattoso, “A Época Sueva e Visigótica”, *História de Portugal...*, vol. 1, pp. 301-321.
- 17 José Mattoso, “A Época Sueva e Visigótica”, *História de Portugal...*, vol. 1, pp. 445-447. Also: Torquato de Sousa Soares, *Contribuição para o estudo das origens do povo...*, p. 111 and following. A recent synthesis is: Manuel Recuero, José Augusto de Sottomayor-Pizarro, “Antecedentes. O Noroeste Peninsular da Antiguidade ao final da Alta Idade Média”, *Entre Portugal e a Galiza (sécs XI a XVII)*..., pp. 51-58.
- 18 Renan Frighetto, “Identidade(s) e fronteira(s) na Hispania visigoda segundo o pensamento de Isidoro de Sevilha (século VII)”, *Identidades e Fronteiras no Medievo Ibérico*, Fátima Regina Fernandes, coord. (Curitiba: Juruá Editora, 2013), pp. 118-120.
- 19 Luis A. García Moreno, “La idea de España en época goda”, *Fundamentos medievales de los particularismes hispánicos...*, p. 56.
- 20 José Antonio Maravall, *El concepto de España en la Edad Media* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1954), pp. 207-258.
- 21 Pablo Álvarez, “El concepto de España según los cronicones de la Alta Edad Media”, *Príncipe de Viana*, 3/7 (1942), pp. 151-154.

so, as reflected in the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the duality could be expressed by referring to *tam de Christianitate quam de Hispania*<sup>22</sup>. Consequently, the sovereign in Cordoba was seen as *rex Cordubae* and *rex sarracenorum*, but also as *rex Hispaniae*<sup>23</sup>. So, the resettling of the eastern frontier strip in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries opened onto Hispania. In 1024, this was expressed as *marcha extremitatis Ausone, in partibus Spanie*<sup>24</sup>, allowing explicit toponyms like *Portaespana*<sup>25</sup>. It makes sense that the feudal conquests of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries were naturally *contra Ispaniam*<sup>26</sup>, given the proximity of *Marchiarum et Yspaniarum*, at the same time as the rulers perceived *ipsas parias [...] de partibus Ispani*, or more clearly *ipsas parias de Hispania*; so the receptors could consider that they were enjoying *de ipso honore quem hodie habetis de Ispania*. The frontiers, in any case, faced Spain, so that, apart from the relations with those who proceeded *a partibus Yspanie*, it could be envisaged that *in ipsa marcha extrema [...] teneatis pacem ad Ispaniam*; that the counts negotiated with *omnibus potestatibus Yspaniarum* or that *acreximentos quod qualicumque modo fecerint aut poterint facere de cunctis partibus Ispaniarum* were obtained on its coast, through *expeditione preter in Yspaniam*, so it was even prudent to make a will before going to *Ispaiam in ostem*<sup>27</sup>.

At the same time, the unitary vision of the Iberian Peninsula under the Hispanic coronym was maintained by the Roman Church. It referred

- 22 Ignasi J. Baiges, Gaspar Feliu, Josep Salrach, dirs., *Els pergamins de l'Arxiu Comtal de Barcelona, de Ramon Berenguier II a Ramon Berenguier IV*, 4 vols. (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2010), vol. 1, p. 344.
- 23 Mikel de Epalza, "Descabdellament polític i militar dels musulmans a terres catalanes (segles VIII-XI)", *Symposium Internacional sobre els orígens de Catalunya (Segles VIII-XI)*, 2 vols., Frederic Udina, ed. (Barcelona: Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona, 1991), vol. 1, p. 69.
- 24 Flocel Sabaté, "Anoia. Marc històric", *Catalunya romànica*, 28 vols., Antoni Pladevall, dir. (Barcelona: Fundació Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1992), vol. 19, p. 307.
- 25 Antoni Pladevall, "Les arrels del mil·lenari", *Tous, mil anys d'història* (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1981), p. 31.
- 26 Flocel Sabaté, "Occuper la frontière du nord-est péninsulaire (X<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles)", *Les territoires frontaliers entre Chrétienté et Islam, nouvelles approches: la territorialisation, de la guerre à la paix*, Stéphane Boissellier, ed. (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming).
- 27 Ignasi J. Baiges, Gaspar Feliu, Josep Salrach, dirs., *Els pergamins de l'Arxiu Comtal de Barcelona...*, vol. 1, pp. 197, 223, 225, 230, 243, 264, 283, 332; vol. 2, pp. 660, 727, 741, 778, 845, 899, 969; vol. 3, p. 1055.

to the various *partibus Ispanie*, addressed its governors as *regibus, comitibus ceterisque principibus Hyspaniae* and tended to designate the same legates for the whole *Hispania*<sup>28</sup>. At the beginning of the second third of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, Innocence II addressed Alfonso VII of Castile and the rest of Christian sovereigns with naturalness through an explicit Hispanic denomination; *filio Adefonso regi et dilectis fillis principibus per Yspaniam constitutis*<sup>29</sup>. In 1088, the archdiocese of Toledo had been restored as *Hispaniarum primati*<sup>30</sup>, as it was recognised throughout the Late Middle Ages from the Aragonese royal chancellery, for example<sup>31</sup>.

At the same time, from the Christian domains, the term Spain continued to mean the Islamic area until after the mid 12<sup>th</sup> century: *in Yspaniam* was equivalent to the Islamic area where the objectives *per totam Ispaniam* were located, so the Catalan counts went *cum exercitu meo in Hispania ad servicium Dei* and the vassals lengthened the feudal chain, as Pere Hug de Sedó did in 1146 in the County of Urgell when convening Pere Bernat de Fonolleres to be *si forte ego ierit in oste vel cum episcopo Urgelli vel comite Urgelli in Espanie, rie mecum vel comodare mihi unum rocí vel mul*, and in 1149 in the domains of the count of Barcelona, *ego Petrus Arnalli vado in quadam galea in Yspaniam et facio meum testamentum*<sup>32</sup>.

However, at the same time, the profile of the frontier was changing dramatically, more clearly at the two sides of the Peninsula. Tallying with the crisis of the Almoravid Empire and in the ideological context of the second crusade, in 1146, the Muslims lost Lisbon at the western end of the frontier and, between 1148 and 1149, Tortosa and Lleida at the eastern end, actions achieved, explicitly, *ad detrimentum Yspanie*<sup>33</sup>. This meant a

28 Demetrio Mansilla, *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III (965-1216)* (Rome: Instituto Español de Estudios Eclesiásticos, 1955), pp. 8-22.

29 Ignasi J. Baiges, Gaspar Feliu, Josep Salrach, dirs., *Els pergamins de l'Arxiu Comtal de Barcelona...*, vol. 3, p. 1287.

30 Demetrio Mansilla, "Panorama histórico-geográfico de la Iglesia española (siglos VIII al XIV)", *Historia de la Iglesia en España*, Ricardo García-Villoslada, dir. (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1982), vol. 2/2, pp. 626-627.

31 ACA, reg. 527, fol. 42r.

32 Ignasi J. Baiges, Gaspar Feliu, Josep Salrach, dirs., *Els pergamins de l'Arxiu Comtal de Barcelona...*, vol. 3, pp. 1003, 1006, 1019-1021, 1078, 1272, 1273, 1375-1376, 1430.

33 Antoni Virgili, "*Ad detrimentum Yspanie*". *La conquesta de Turtúsa i la formació de la societat feudal (1148-1200)* (València: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona-Servei de Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2001).

new frontier profile and a new correlation of forces between the northern feudal entities and the southern Islamic territories. In this context, the coronym of Spain ceased to mean the Islamic lands and became identified for everyone with the Peninsula as a whole<sup>34</sup>. While the documentation from the north-east of the Peninsula continued to use Hispania to refer to the Islamic parts, the power that Alfonso VII of León intended to take was reflected in his assumption of the ecclesiastical view of Spain. Consequently, he presented himself as *Aedefonsus pius, felix, inclitus, triumphator at semper invictus totius Hispaniae divina clementia famissimus imperator*<sup>35</sup>. In the same line, his father Ferdinand II was defined in 1162 as *Fernandus, Dei gratia rex Hispanorum*<sup>36</sup>.

This was the generalised view in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The sovereigns could imagine themselves integrated into Spain, as the *Gesta comitum Barchinone et Regum Aragonie* reflects on describing that Alfonso the Chaste, *cum suis nobilibus ac etiam vicinis regibus Hispaniae plurimas habuit sediciones, contra quos omnes semper extitit triumphator*, and that *proposuit in suo animo beati Iacobi limina visitare, et reges Ispanie invicem convocare, ut dileccionis fedu miteret inter eos, ut facilius valerent contra agarenos preceptum apostolicum ducere ad effectum*<sup>37</sup>.

When the defeat at Alarcos before the emerging Almohads in 1195<sup>38</sup> led to fears for the fate of the Christian kingdoms in the Peninsula, from Marseilles, the merchant and poet Folquet warned that *·l Sepulcre perdet*

34 Flocel Sabaté, “La nació d’Espanya a la Catalunya medieval”, *Acta historica et archaeologica Mediaevalia*, 19 (1998), pp. 383-384.

35 Manuel Recuero, *Alfonso VII, emperador. El imperio hispánico en el siglo XII* (Leon: Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad de León-Archivo Histórico Diocesano de León, 1979), p. 191.

36 Ana Isabel Sánchez, *Alfonso II Rey de Aragón, Conde de Barcelona y Marqués de Provenza. Documentos (1162-1196)* (Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1995), p. 37.

37 *Gestes dels comtes de Barcelona i reis d’Aragó — Gesta comitum Barchinone et regum Aragonie*, eds. Stefano M. Cingolani, Robert Álvarez (Santa Coloma de Queralt: Obrador Edendum-Publicacions de la Universitat Rovira i Virgili, 2012), p. 120.

38 Antonio de Juan, Antonio Caballero, Macarena Fernández, “Alarcos medieval: La batalla de Alarcos”, *Alarcos’95. El fiel de la balanza*, Juan Zozaya, ed. (Toledo: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Junta de Comunidades de Castilla-La Mancha, 1995), pp. 41-59.



*premeiramen / et ar sofre qu'España's vai perden*<sup>39</sup> (“the Holy Sepulchre [Jerusalem] was firstly lost, and now it is afraid that Spain is going to lose”).

With the same naturalness, the 13<sup>th</sup> century Catalan chronicles spoke of *los cinc regnes d'Espanya* (“the five kingdoms of Spain”), whose success against the Muslims made *honrada tota Espanya* (“honored the whole Spain”), as James I stated, happy because *pus Déus nos ha feita tanta de gràcies que ens ha donat regne dins en mar, ço que anc rei d'Espanya no poc acabar* (“God has given us so many graces that he gave us a kingdom over the sea, that any other Spanish king could not reach”)<sup>40</sup>. Thus, they explained that in Germany, the count of Barcelona would present himself saying: *jo son un cavaller d'Espanya* (“I am a knight of Spain”)<sup>41</sup>. In the mid 14<sup>th</sup> century, this geographic perspective allowed Francesc Eiximenis, after listing the leading Mediterranean port cities of Syria (to mention Acre), Greece (where he places Constantinople), Italy (where he mentions Naples), Sicily (highlighting Messina), Africa (centered on Tunis) and Egypt (around Alexandria), to describe *e'n Spanya, Mallorques, Sibília e València*<sup>42</sup>.

Outstandingly, in the case of Portugal, during the Middle Ages (at least until the 14<sup>th</sup> century), its historiography manifested a strong Hispanic framework<sup>43</sup>, although later this dimension continued to underly the “excessive” importance given to the subject of the origins of the kingdom<sup>44</sup>. In

39 Martí de Riquer, *Los trovadores. Historia literaria y textos*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 1983), vol. 1, p. 600.

40 *Llibre dels Feits del rei en Jaume*, chap. 478, 535 and 105 (ed. Ferran Soldevila (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2007), pp. 469, 198 and 507, respectively.

41 Bernat Desclot, *Llibre del rei En Pere*, chap. VII (ed. Stefano M. Cingolani (Barcelona: Editorial Barcino, 2010), p. 83).

42 Francesc Eiximenis, *Dotzè llibre del Crestià*, chap. 35 (ed. Xavier Renedo (Girona: Universitat de Girona-Diputació de Girona, 2005), vol. 1/1, p. 75).

43 Maria do Rosário Ferreira, coord., *O Contexto Hispânico da Historiografia Portuguesa nos Séculos XIII e XIV (Em memória de Diego Catalán)* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2010); Maria do Rosário Ferreira, “Terra de Espanha’: A Medieval Iberian Utopia”, *Portuguese Studies*, 25/2 (2009), pp. 182-198; Pedro Cardim, Paula Pinto Costa, Luís Adão da Fonseca, José Augusto de Sottomayor-Pizarro, “A Historiografia”, *Entre Portugal e a Galiza (sécs XI a XVII)...*, pp. 413-423.

44 Pedro Cardim, Paula Pinto Costa, Luís Adão da Fonseca, José Augusto de Sottomayor-Pizarro, “A Historiografia”, *Entre Portugal e a Galiza (sécs XI a XVII)...*, pp. 427-436; Sérgio Campos Matos, “História e identidade nacional. A formação de Portugal

reality, there is a historiographic discourse whose sense is clearer if we relate it with the two other predominant discourses: literary<sup>45</sup> and political<sup>46</sup>.

This way, the peninsular geographic reference identified with Spain included the diversity of institutional and social realities that arose with the political and cultural evolution after the Muslim invasion of the Peninsula and the later southward expansion of the northern Christian territories.

## 2. The political and social consolidation of the peninsular peripheries (until the 12<sup>th</sup> century)

The evolution of the northern Christian societies gradually took on specific political realities. The progression of this evolution in the 12<sup>th</sup> century led to different institutional realities at the two sides of the Peninsula, from distinct and diverse precedents. The coronyms Portugal and Catalonia were consolidated in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, reflecting the strengthening of the respective societies, although following different paths.

In the north east of the Iberian Peninsula, the Carolingian crisis, especially from 877, gave effective autonomy to the counties. After consolidating their baronial and ecclesiastic elites in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, different counties advanced over the frontier and in the 11<sup>th</sup> century took advantage of the feudal dynamic to conquer the northern Andalusian territory<sup>47</sup>. Sharing the geo-strategic context and scenario between Al-Andalus and the Occitanian-Provençal area, the counties underwent a progressive political, economic, diplomatic, cultural and linguistic approximation. This dynamic culminated in the early 12<sup>th</sup> century. This is illustrated by the external perception: when the campaign by various cities of the

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na historiografia contemporânea”, *Lusotopie*, 10 [*Portugal, une identité dans la longue durée*] (2002), pp. 123-139.

45 Filipe Alves Moreira, “Enquadramento da produção literária”, *Entre Portugal e a Galiza (sécs XI a XVII)*..., pp. 405-412.

46 Judite Gonçalves de Freitas, Pedro Cardim, “Discurso e literatura política”, *Entre Portugal e a Galiza (sécs XI a XVII)*..., pp. 437-454.

47 Flocel Sabaté, *L'expansió territorial de Catalunya (segles IX-XII): Conquesta o repoblació?* (Lleida: Edicions de la Universitat de Lleida, 1996), pp. 65-92.