

James I (The Conqueror)

King Of Aragon

Chronicle

Translated by

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with Historical Introduction and Notes by

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Preface

The present translation of the Chronicle of James I. of Aragon, surnamed “the Conqueror”—one of the most remarkable historical productions of the thirteenth century—was undertaken nearly eight years ago, though not quite finished, by the late John Forster, Esq., M.P. for Berwick during the period of 1852 to 1857. The idea sprang entirely from him after a private conversation held in the Athenæum Club in August, 1875. “The history of Spain,” said he to the writer of these lines, “particularly that of Aragon during the middle ages, is so exciting and full of interest, and at the same time so little known among us, that I am seriously thinking of translating James’s Royal Chronicle into English. I happen, as you know, to possess an imperfect copy of the rare edition of 1557, besides a modern Castilian it version—which by the by does not seem to me to be a faithful one—and I have besides by me M. de Tourtoulon’s remarkable work, *Études sur la maison de Barcelone* (Montpellier, 1863), which will, I have no doubt, be of great assistance to the scholar wishing to dive into the history of Aragon. Altogether, I have been so charmed with the perusal of the Royal Chronicle, that I have almost made up my mind to turn it into English! However, the Provençal, or, properly speaking, Catalan, language in which the Chronicle was written, has become antiquated; the Valencia edition is incorrect and full of blunders, so replete with obscure words, perhaps derived from the Arabic, and the meaning of which is quite unknown to me, that I apprehend serious difficulties in the accomplishment of my task. There are, moreover, questions connected with the authorship and composition of the Chronicle itself, to solve which, greater knowledge of the history and literature of the Spanish Peninsula during the middle ages is required than I happen to possess just now. Of the Spanish Arabs I myself know nothing at all. Will you help me?”¹

Such a request on the part of a friend, whose acquaintance I had made many years before, and with whom I had been on familiar terms and correspondence ever since, could not well be declined. I accepted; Mr. Forster set to work immediately, and laying aside other works more or less connected with the history of Spain, in which he was engaged at the time, devoted himself exclusively to the translation of the Royal Chronicle. This was on the point of being completed, wanting only one or two chapters at the end, when on the night of the 7th of January, 1878, Mr. Forster was found dead in his library, surrounded by the many valuable books and manuscripts assiduously collected for the illustration of his intended work.

After Mr. Forster’s death, deeply lamented by his relatives and friends—among which latter the undersigned had the pleasure and the honour to count himself—nothing remained to be done but to put in order and classify his various writings, separate those relating to a “History of the Spanish Inquisition”—a work of scrupulous research and patient labour, to which he had devoted the best part of his life—from his own English version of James’s Catalan Chronicle, and lastly, commit this latter to the press.

¹The above is the substance of Mr. Forster’s conversation in 1875, and of his ideas on the subject. Letters written since show that he had not abandoned them up to the time of his death.

An early application by one of Mr. Forster's executors, the late Matthew Hutton Chaytor, Esq., Chairman of the Alliance Bank in London, could not be disregarded by the writer of these lines, and after considerable delay, owing to various causes, the Royal Chronicle comes at last before the public in English.

It was, however, Mr. Forster's original intention that his translation should be preceded by some sort of "Introduction," or "Prolegomena," on the history of Aragon before its union with Catalonia, as well as by detached pieces on the Mohammedan dynasties ruling over Mallorca, Valencia, and Murcia—Almohades or Almoravides—at the time of their conquest by James. The former task the deceased evidently reserved for himself, though unfortunately he had no time to accomplish it; the latter he had from the beginning entrusted, as above stated, to the undersigned, as well as a Glossary of obsolete words, chiefly derived from the Arabic, and any other additional matter likely to illustrate the Royal narrative. He was not aware at his death in 1878 that the year before a second and more correct edition of James's Chronicle was in course of preparation at Barcelona, its text having been first carefully collated with two manuscripts of the fourteenth century, one of which, made by Celestí Destorrens for the Abbot of Santa Maria de Poblet, on the 17th of September, A.D. 1343, is now preserved in the public library of that city. Had he been aware of this fact, Mr. Forster would undoubtedly have visited Barcelona, for the sole purpose of collating certain passages of the Chronicle evidently vitiated by scribes or printers, most likely by both, and which must have sorely puzzled the most accomplished and ingenious student of the Catalan language. As, moreover, the original manuscript, which according to all accounts was preserved at Poblet as late as 1651, is nowhere to be found,² it naturally results that the second and revised Barcelona edition of the Catalan text, of which the translator could not avail himself, has supplied his present editor with the means of correcting its many blunders, and supplying its deficiencies.

As to the much debated question of the authorship of the Chronicle itself, and its relative merits—one among others which the deceased reserved for himself—the reader is referred to the "Historical Introduction," where it will be amply discussed. Among the numerous loose memoranda left by the deceased as materials for the illustration of his work, one is found in which, after abstracting what Tourtoulon says on the subject, he expresses his opinion that the *Libre dels feyts esdevenguts en la vida del molt alt senyor En Jacme, lo Conqueridor*, is really and truly the work of James, and could not have been written by any one else; also that the arguments produced by Villarroya in 1800 against the generally admitted opinion prove nothing at all. This opinion the undersigned shares also, and therefore, without hesitation on his part, the words (*written by himself*) have been added to the title page according to the translator's desire.

Pascual de Gayangos.

²It is generally asserted that Archbishop Marca, royal intendant of Catalonia for Louis XIV., during the short occupation of that principality by the French, took it away from Poblet.

Historical Introduction

Alfonso I. of Aragon, surnamed “El Batallador” (He of the battles), succeeded his brother, Pedro I., in the kingdoms of Navarre and Aragon in 1104, when no longer young, for he had greatly distinguished himself as early as 1094 in a campaign against the Moors. At his accession, Aragon comprised only the mountainous fringe of the Pyrenean range, and part of those valleys through which the Aragon and other rivers pour their waters into the Ebro to the east of what is now called “Aragon.” A marriage contracted about 1109 with Urraca, the daughter of Alfonso VI., and Queen of Castile and Leon in her own right, promised fairly for the Christians of the Peninsula, for shortly after Alfonso assumed the title of “Emperor of Spain,” and prepared to invade the Moslem territory. Unluckily for the Christian cause a bitter quarrel sprang up between husband and wife, followed by a desultory and cruel war between their respective kingdoms, ending in the total expulsion of Alfonso from Urraca’s dominions in Castile, Leon, and Galicia. Not at all discouraged by this reverse, Alfonso resumed with increased vigour the war against the Infidel, and conquered one by one the petty Moorish kingdoms in Aragon. In 1120 Saragossa, the capital, was taken, and in the ensuing years Calatayud and Daroca. He was prosecuting his successes against the Aragonese Moors, and endeavouring to secure further conquests to the east and south of Saragossa, when a campaign undertaken against Lérida and Fraga—two important cities—ended disastrously for him, he having been defeated close to the latter place on the 17th Of July, 1134. Alfonso died soon after, in September of that year, worn out, as it is asserted, by old age and fatigue, if not in consequence of wounds received in the battle, as generally believed.³

After the foregoing sketch of Alfonso’s field of action, it will seem rather strange—though the fact is recorded both by Christian and Moslem writers—that in 1123, just after his ejection from Castile, he should have personally led a most successful raid into Andalusia; should in his victorious career have approached Cordoba, reached the sea at Almeira, on the coast of Granada, and returned safely to his own dominions. Only by taking into account the distracted state of the Moorish settlements at the time, and the feeble cohesion of their Mohammedan rulers, no energetic hand happening at that moment to grasp the sceptre, can faith be attached to the narrative of Al-makkari and other Arabian historians, describing Alfonso’s successful raid through the thickly populated provinces of Islam.⁴

³The battle was fought under the walls of Fraga, which Alfonso was besieging at the time. The Almoravides being commanded by Aben Gania (Ibn Gháníyah). Whether Alfonso, himself, fell on that day, as asserted by three ancient authorities, or, as we are informed by a contemporary monk of San Juan de la Seña, he retired to that monastery of Benedictines, and died there of grief and disappointment, is doubtful; but the circumstance of his body not having been found on the field of battle, makes us believe that the latter conjecture is more probable, inasmuch as it gave rise to an imposture, which will be mentioned hereafter.

⁴The account of Alfonso’s successful raid to the shores of the Mediterranean is too minutely described by Al-makkari Ibnu-ş-şeyrafi and others to leave any doubt on the subject. The last-named historian says that Alfonso’s raid was chiefly undertaken at the desire of the *Muâhidin*, or Christians, living in those districts under the

One must, indeed, presume that this warrior-prince, one of the most remarkable men the Peninsula produced during the middle ages, must have believed himself invested with a mission from Heaven to restore the whole of Spain to the Christians and free his country from the Moslem invaders, for having no heir to his crown but a daughter, still a child and unmarried, and a brother—a monk, and thereby excluded from the succession—he sedulously looked out for some prince capable of applying the national resources to the prosecution of the holy war, and finding no one to his taste, placed the government of his kingdom in the hands of the Military Orders of the Temple and Hospital at Jerusalem.

The consequences of such a will could not be but disastrous. The administration of affairs by the Military Orders, and the prosecution of the war against the Infidel, might have been carried on by a Council of Regency composed of Templars and Hospitalers during a minority, but who was ultimately to inherit Alfonso's already considerable dominions, comprising almost the whole of Aragon and Navarre? History does not record what steps the knights of those two Orders took to vindicate their right to their at first doubtful inheritance; but neither Aragon nor Navarre paid the least attention to Alfonso's disposition. Immediately after his death Ramiro, his brother, abandoned the cloister, and had himself proclaimed King of Aragon, whilst the Navarrese, whose union to that kingdom had not met with general approval, appointed a monarch of their own at Pampeluna.

Ramiro's reign was not of long duration. At first he had to contend against Garcia IV., the newly-elected King of Navarre, as well as against Alfonso VIII. of Leon and Castile, both of whom molested him on the borders. Indeed, it was probably through disgust with the never-ceasing pretensions of the former and the intrigues of the latter, as well as from the stings of conscience at having broken his vows, that in 1137, in the third year of his reign, Ramiro resolved to marry his niece, Petronila, to the Count of Barcelona, resign his dignity to his future son-in-law, and return to the cloister, where he died in 1157. The choice then fell on Ramon Berenguer, Count of Barcelona and Provence, who immediately after entered on his duties as Supreme Governor and Prince Consort of Aragon.

The energy, self-control, and sacrifice of national vanity shown by the Aragonese barons during that eventful period will appear highly creditable, if we consider that they deliberately consented to place their land under a foreign prince, for such was Berenguer to them. Thus was the union of Catalonia and Aragon effected, though Navarre still continued under Garcia Ramirez till 1150.⁵

In the twelfth century Catalonia was, as it is now, a more important country than Aragon in point of population and wealth. It had a navy, and the trade of Barcelona with the ports of the Mediterranean coast, as far as Italy and Greece, was very flourishing. The same differences of language,⁶ character, and habits, which then divided the two nations, prevailed, and yet the

Mohammedan rule, who, furnished him with provisions and guides. They were, however, well punished for their treason, for by order of Ali Ibn Yúfuf, the Almoravid, thousands of them were transported to Meknesah, Salee, and other places in Africa. Ibnu-l-Khattāb, the historian, who visited the latter port about 1360, bears testimony that the adjoining town of Rabát was entirely inhabited by Christians, the result of that expulsion, whence the name of *Rabatines* given to the corsairs of that coast in the fifteenth century. See Al-makkari, *Mohammedan Dynasties*, vol. ii., p. 305.

⁵Garcia Ramirez, the Fourth, was the son of Sancho. He was succeeded by his son, Sancho V., whose daughter, Berengaria, was married to Richard I. of England.

⁶It is a very remarkable fact, but one that cannot be contested, that though Aragon remained ever since the eleventh century incorporated with Catalonia, the Provençal language did not penetrate north of the Ebro.

Aragonese barons did not hesitate to consent to a union, which could not but be profitable to their country. Not only during Ramon's life did they allow their Queen Petronila to be a mere cipher, but after the death of the Count, on the 7th of August, 1162, an attempt was made to set her entirely aside, and place her son, though a mere boy at the time, on the throne. The Count died at San Damiano, between Genoa and Turin, on his way to meet the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, and ratify the treaty previously made with his ambassadors respecting his own possessions, rights, and conquests in the east of France, which that emperor undertook to recognise and defend, provided the Count engaged himself to support the Antipope Victor against Pope Alexander III., in the great struggle between the Empire and the Papacy (1159). By a nuncupatory will, dated the 6th of August, the Count had made his eldest son, Ramon, heir to his possessions in Spain, and his second son, Pedro, to those in France, *i.e.* Cerdagne and Narbonensian Gaul, these last, however, to be held in fief of the eldest. To his Queen, Petronila, he left the town of Besalú in Catalonia, besides Ripas and the adjoining territory for her residence; his realms, however, and his two sons, he left under the guardianship of Henry II. of England.⁷

On the death of her husband Petronila summoned the Cortes, both of Catalonia and Aragon, to meet at Huesca; and as the Count, her husband, had made no provision for a regency—though his son Berenguer was only eleven years old at the time—the Count of Provence (Ramon Berenguer) was then and there made Governor of Catalonia, whilst Petronila herself, with the consent of the Aragonese barons, assumed the administration of the kingdom. Presently there appeared on the scene an impostor, who pretended to be Alfonso I., dead twenty years before.⁸ The evidence—usual in such cases—was produced in this instance, for the man, whoever he was, could remember and recall to the memory of persons still living many incidents in their past lives. He was, nevertheless, sentenced to death and hanged. What share Petronila herself may have had in this dark affair is not known; but the fraud, no doubt, brought to light her own unpopularity, for on the 18th of June, 1164, she was obliged to abdicate, and her own son Ramon was put in possession of his father's inheritance, the youthful monarch changing his name from Ramon to Alfonso II.

On the death of his cousin, the Count of Provence, to whom his father had granted that fief in perpetuity, Alfonso II., surnamed "the Chaste," re-united to Aragon that lordship and others in France, besides Roussillon, to which he succeeded by inheritance. Following the example of his warlike predecessors, he assailed the Moorish settlements bordering on his dominions, and took several fortresses south of the Ebro (1168–1177). He also assisted Alfonso IX. of Castile, whose niece he had married, against the Almoravides, and though that king's defeat at Alarcos, and his own dissensions with Sancho of Navarre, somewhat retarded the aggrandisement of his patrimonial kingdom, he, nevertheless, was the first monarch of his race to free the whole of Catalonia and Aragon from the Mohammedan rule. He died at Perpignan in 1196, leaving his Spanish dominions, besides Roussillon, to his eldest son, Pedro; Provence and the rest to Alfonso; a third (Fernando) became monk of Poblet, and abbot of Montaragon.

⁷During the war which Ramon Berenguer waged against the Count of Toulouse (Raymond V.), in 1193, he sought and obtained the alliance of Henry II. of the house of Plantagenet, who claimed the Duchy of Aquitaine as the inheritance of his wife Eleanor, the repudiated queen of Louis VII. of France.

⁸Ramon Berenguer died in 1162, leaving only one daughter, Douce (Dulce), who had been promised in marriage to the son of Raymond V., Count of Toulouse. The latter naturally attempted to establish his right to the succession, though in vain, for Provence remained to the house of Aragon.

Pedro II., in the first year of his reign, had some disputes with his mother (Sancha) respecting certain fortresses left to her as a dowry by the late king, her husband. In 1203 he embarked for Rome to be crowned by the Pope. He was well received by the Sacred College of Cardinals, solemnly anointed by one of them, and presented with the crown, the globe, and the sceptre, by the hands of Innocent III. himself, and not only did he do homage on the occasion as a feudatory of the Church, but, by a public instrument, which is still in existence, engaged that Aragon, Catalonia, and the rest of his dominions should for ever remain a fief of the Holy See, and be considered the property of the successors of St. Peter. This disposition, however, did not meet with the approval of the Aragonese barons; in 1205 the States assembled at Saragossa, protested against the act as derogatory to the honour of the nation and injurious to its people, and, consequently, the deed was annulled, and remained without effect.

In 1204 Pedro married Maria, daughter and heiress of the Count of Montpellier, Guillaume VIII. Wishing moreover to secure his dominions in the south of France, already threatened by the Capetian monarchs, and ally himself with the feudal lords of Gascony and Provence, Pedro married his two sisters, Eleanor and Sancha, one to Raymond VI., the other to Raymond VII., both Counts of Toulouse, and prepared himself for the struggle, more political than religious, which, under the name of the "Albigensian War," was inevitably to take place soon in the south of France. In June, 1209, thousands of Crusaders, having at their head two Papal legates, Milon and Arnaud Amalric, the Duke of Burgundy, the Counts of Nevers, Saint Paul, and Auxerre, the ruthless Simon de Montfort, the English Earl of Leicester, two archbishops, eight bishops, and numerous other barons and knights, invaded the south of France, that is the country where Pedro II. of Aragon, his brother-in-law Raymond VI. Count of Toulouse, Raymond Roger Viscount d'Alby, Beziers, and Carcassonne, the Counts of Foix and Comminges, the Viscount of Bearn, ruled, among whom the "detestable and pernicious heresy of the Albigenses," as it is called by the monkish writers of the time, had made and was making great ravages. "It was," as a modern French historian⁹ observes, "the struggle between the North and the South; between the German and the Latin races, between Frank rudeness and Roman civilization." . . . In such a struggle between the sworn enemies of the southern nationality and the rebellious barons excommunicated by the Holy See, Pedro's position must have been a difficult one. What could a monarch, whose orthodoxy had never been suspected, himself a dutiful son of the Holy See, who had accepted the title of "Catholic," and had on a former occasion by his excessive complaisance towards Innocent III. brought on himself the reproaches of his own subjects, do under such circumstances? How could he in the midst of the struggle forget and abandon his position as first national Prince of the South of France, and what could he do, placed as he was, between the standard of the Cross, which he was heroically defending in the Peninsula, and the great national cause of the South, of which he was the natural representative? . . . Though his sympathies seem to have been for the Albigenses he remained neutral. After the taking of Beziers and the indiscriminate massacre of its inhabitants, when the Viscount of Beziers himself (Raymond Roger) had fled to Carcassonne and fortified himself against the Crusaders, Pedro did all he could to save his nephew from their hands. He went in person to the camp of the Crusaders, negotiated with the Papal legates, and obtained a promise that should the Viscount leave the place accompanied only by twelve of his own companions, he would be allowed to depart unmolested, the rest of his force and the city of Carcassonne remaining at the mercy of the conquerors. Such humiliating conditions were

⁹*Études sur la maison de Barcelona. Jacme I., le Conquerant*, by M. Ch. de Tourtoulon; Montpellier, MDCCCLXIII, tom. i. pp. 104-9.

heroically rejected by the Viscount, who remained prisoner in the hands of the Crusaders.¹⁰ The partition, however, of his property was the cause of dissension among the Crusaders. The Duke of Bourgogne, the Counts of Nevers, and St. Paul, honourably refused to take part in the spoliation; most of them separating and returning to their respective estates, only Simon, Count of Montfort, L' Amauri (Amalric), and Leicester accepted from the Papal legates the confiscated domains and continued at the head of the Crusaders, the former fixing his residence at Carcassonne, which was a fief of Aragon. Montfort is known to have been of a stern, rapacious, and remorseless disposition. Most probably the complaints respecting his administration, which daily reached the ears of Pedro, may have been one cause, among others, of the latter refusing to receive the homage of the new Viscount; yet in 1211, Pedro, being at Montpellier, was reluctantly persuaded not only to receive the Viscount's homage but to agree to the proposal of a marriage between his son James and a daughter of Montfort, he, Pedro, going as far as to deliver the young Prince into the hands of the Viscount, both as a pledge of his sincerity and that he might be educated in France according to the manner of the times under so renowned a leader.

After the campaign of 1212, in which the Almohades, under Mohammed An-nasir, were completely defeated at Las Navas, near Ubeda, Pedro was urgently pressed by his brother-in-law, Raymond of Toulouse, as well as by his relatives, the Counts of Foix and Bearn, all protectors of the Albigenses, to arm in their behalf. Pedro had every reason to be dissatisfied with the Crusaders, who in the last war had seized several fortresses belonging to the appanage of his sister, married to the former of those barons; he, therefore, listened to their pressing demands for help, and passed the Pyrenees at the head of a considerable force; yet his object appears to have been rather to act as a mediator than as a belligerent. Whatever his proposals to the two Papal legates may have been on the occasion, certain it is that he formally declared that he could not forsake his allies. At the head of a combined army of Aragonese and Catalonians, Pedro advanced against Muret, a fortified town on the Garonne, about two leagues from Toulouse, where on the 12th September, 1213, he met with his death,¹¹ "for such had ever been," remarks his son James, "the fate of my race, to conquer or to die in battle." (p. 18.)

Pedro had been married since 1204 to Maria of Montpellier, daughter of Guillaume and of Eudoxia Comnène, the daughter of Manuel, Emperor of Greece. It is a singular destiny, that of both mother and daughter. Alfonso II. of Aragon having asked Eudoxia in marriage, she was about to join her future husband, when she heard, at Montpellier, that the king had already married Sancha of Castile. Guillaume then married her, and had a daughter named Maria, but shortly after he repudiated her and married Agnes (Inés), a relative of the King of Aragon. Maria's fate was equally sad; she fell a victim to Pedro's lust of power, as well as to the political views of the people of Montpellier. As Muntaner, the Chronicler, says: "King Pedro lowered himself much by such a marriage; if he took Maria to wife, it was merely for the sake of Montpellier, for she was not of royal descent, though honest and of pleasing manner enough. He,

¹⁰Gomez Miedes, *De vitâ et rebus gestis Jacobi primi*, lib. i. Blancas, *Aragonensium Rerum Commentarii*, p. 650.

¹¹James, himself, alludes to his father's death in a manner that leaves no doubt as to the causes of his defeat. "Don Pedro," says he, "had passed the previous night in debauchery, and was so exhausted by it that he could hardly stand up at mass on the ensuing morning; so much so, that when the priest came to the gospel, he was obliged to sit down. Neither would he wait for the arrival at the camp of several of his knights, who had remained behind, and begged him not to engage the enemy; he would not listen to their prayers, and fought the battle with those few who were with him." This is the only passage of the *Chronicle* where the battle of Muret, or Murel, as it is erroneously called in the two printed editions, is alluded to.

therefore, from the very beginning deserted her, and would never see or hear of her." Such is the account given by Muntaner and Desclot, and confirmed from hearsay by James himself in Chapter V., beginning with the words: "Now I will relate how I was begotten."¹² (P. 9.)

James was only six years of age on his father's death, living at Carcassonne under the keeping of Montfort, whose daughter, it appears, he was to have married according to stipulation. The Count at first refused to surrender him to his subjects; but Pope Honorius III., at the instance of the Aragonese nobles having summoned him to deliver the Royal child into the hands of his legate, Pietro di Mora, the order was promptly obeyed, an assembly of the States convoked for Lérida, and young James recognised and sworn as *dominus* and *hæres* of his father's realms, under the guardianship of the provincial Master of the Templars in the castle of Monzon; the administration of the kingdom during his minority resting in his uncle Don Sancho, Count of Roussillon, assisted by two colleagues, one for Aragon, the other for Catalonia.

We need not record here the various events of James's reign, they will be distinctly set out by his own autobiographical narrative, without dispute one of the most remarkable productions of the middle ages. It will be seen how, with a courage and wisdom hardly credible at his tender age, he contrived to establish his authority over the ambitious and turbulent nobility (*richs-homens*) of his dominions, conquer the Balearic Islands, and drive the Moslems of Valencia and Murcia to their last rampart in the Spanish Peninsula, the beautiful city of Granada, at the foot of Sierra Elvira.

Yet, upon the whole it must be owned that, apart from his brilliant qualities as a ruler, there is little left in James's long reign to command our respect. His private conduct appears to have been exceedingly profligate. Himself the son of Pedro, a prince who revelled in debauchery, and the grandson on his mother's side of Simon de Montfort, said to have been equally licentious, James surpassed those princes in his passion for the fair sex, disregarding altogether, for the sake of its gratification, any tie of honour, religion, and even decency. His marriage with Eleanor of Castile, daughter of Alfonso IX. of Leon, was at his own solicitation declared null by Pope Gregory IX, on account of their being within the forbidden degree of consanguinity, although the Infante Alfonso, issued from the connection, had formerly been declared legitimate.¹³ In 1235 he sued for, and obtained, the hand of Ioland, an Hungarian princess, the daughter of Andrew, at the time that he was about to contract, or had already contracted, a morganatic marriage with Theresa Gil de Vidaure. On the death of Ioland, in 1252, he again took to his bed his discarded wife Theresa, with whom, however, he was soon disgusted, for soon after he himself made pressing solicitations to the Holy See on the plea that some women of her household, and that princess herself, had been attacked by leprosy; but in reality because he wished to make Berenguela Alfonso, a princess of the royal blood of Castile, and the daughter of Alfonso de Molina, son of Alfonso IX. of Leon and brother of St. Ferdinand, his queen.

In 1246, as his confessor, the Bishop of Gerona, a most honourable and learned ecclesiastic who had hitherto enjoyed his favour, undertook to reprimand him for his excesses, or, which is more probable, was imprudent enough to reveal part of his confession, he was punished by the

¹²His birth took place on the 2nd of February, 1208. The circumstances attending it, possibly much adorned by Muntaner, must have reached Boccaccio before 1358, since his *Giletta di Narbona* is evidently based upon it. To say nothing of Shakespeare, who borrowed them as the theme of his *All is well that ends well*, several Spanish dramatists, and among them Calderon, have made use of the story.

¹³The brief dated xii calendas Mai, and year ix of his pontificate (1235) is abstracted in Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, continued by Baronius, *ann.* 1235, No. 32.

loss of the offending member, and had his tongue severed at the root.¹⁴ James, of course, was excommunicated¹⁵ his kingdom placed under interdict, and himself subjected to a penance and to finish at his own expense the monastery of St. Boniface of Morella. Yet the year before his death, the seventy-sixth of his age, he forcibly carried off a married woman, who had the misfortune to please him, and when upbraided in a Papal brief for the unhappiness introduced into her family, and the scandalous example afforded to his subjects, the hoary sinner replied, with unusual bitterness, that he considered he had a right to do as he pleased in such small matters. Neither was he a particularly loving father to the many sons issued from his various morganatic marriages. In 1274 Fernan Sanchez, baron of Castro, his own natural son by a noble Aragonese lady named Blanca de Antillon, after a quarrel with his stepbrother, the Infante En Pere, the presumptive heir to the crown, was surprised at Pomar, and cast into the river Cinca. On the receipt of such intelligence his father coolly observed: "I was glad to hear of that, for it was a very hard thing that he, being my son, should have risen against me, who had done so much for him, and given him so honourable an heritage in my kingdom."!! (P. 663)

The *Chronicle*¹⁶ is a commentary, on the principal events of James's reign (1218-76). It is divided into four parts,¹⁷ the first of which relates to the troubles that followed his accession to the throne down to the final conquest of the Balearic Islands in 1233. In the second, the stirring events which preceded the invasion and conquest of Valencia, and the surrender of that capital, are graphically narrated. The third refers to the war of Murcia (1266), undertaken entirely for the benefit of his kinsman Alfonso, surnamed "the Learned," (*El Sabio*); whilst in the fourth and last, the embassies received from the Khan of Tartary, Abagha-Khan, and from the Emperor of Greece, Michael Paleologus, as well as his own unsuccessful attempt, in 1268, to lead an expedition to Palestine, are recorded.,

An Abstract of the *Chronicle*, or rather of that part of it, the second, which, as above stated, relates to the conquest of Valencia, was published as early as 1515 in that city,¹⁸ the first in Spain,

¹⁴As James himself does not mention the fact in his *Commentari*, the evidence rests entirely on the authority of Muntaner, Desclot, and the chroniclers of Aragon. Raynaldus (*Annales Ecclesiastici, ad annum 1246*) copies the letter written by James on the occasion—or rather the brief of Innocent IV, in reply to it—in which the king, in justification of his conduct, says that Father Castellbisbal, already Bishop of Gerona, had conspired against him, "Alias complura contra se gravia machinando." There can be no doubt, however, that the cause of the bishop's ill-treatment was his espousing the cause of Theresa Gil de Vidaure, James's mistress, who, having learned in 1234, that James was about to contract a marriage with Ioland, daughter of Andrew, King of Hungary, applied through him to Gregory IX., then Pope.

¹⁵In 1237 James had been excommunicated by Pope Gregory IX. on account of certain injuries done to the Bishop of Saragossa. What those injuries were, which caused the Papal anathema, is nowhere specified, that we are aware. We only know that at the king's own request an absolution was granted, of which the bearer was St. Raymond de Penyafort.

¹⁶The original title was *Commentari dels feyts esdeuenguts en la uida del molt alt senyor, &c.* Instead of "Commentari" one of the copies preserved at Barcelona has *Libre, &c.*

¹⁷The division, however, is not observed. The chapters follow each other numerically, and have no headings at all. Only on two occasions, after Chap. 289, and after Chap. 456—and that only in one of the copies—is something added to indicate the beginning of a new subject. The chapters have no titles of any sort, though in the Valencia edition the deficiency has been supplied by a Table of Contents which might well have been added to this translation had it been considered of any use to the readers. Another table of *vocables obscurs* at the beginning, doing very little honour to the Valencian editor in 1557, has likewise been suppressed, and replaced by a Glossary of antiquated words used in the royal book.

¹⁸In the *Aureum Opus, privilegiorum Regni Valentiae*.

as generally acknowledged, to receive the admirable invention of typography;¹⁹ the complete work, however, did not make its appearance till 1557, to satisfy, as it is emphatically stated in the preface, a “craving and requisition of Philip II.” The edition, however, though handsomely printed, is anything but correct; passages and even chapters are frequently omitted indeed, had it not been for a second one made at Barcelona within the last three years, many passages would have remained for ever unintelligible.

As to its merits, this much can be said about it. It is written in a simple and manly style, which, without any pretension to elegance, sets before us in living reality the events of a long and agitated reign, frequently exhibiting a happiness of manner and phraseology which a monkish scholar of those times seldom could attain. Whether the work was undertaken in consequence of the impulse given by Alfonso the Learned to vernacular stories, and in imitation, as it were, of the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, and the *Cronica General de España*, or whether the idea originated in Catalonia or Aragon, then the residence of the exiled Provençal troubadours, it is not easy to determine.²⁰ Most probably both James’s *Commentari* and Alfonso’s *Cronica* were produced in obedience to the demands of their age; but as the Aragonese king was by many years Alfonso’s elder, and on more than one occasion his wise and efficient counsellor, it may be conjectured that he was the first on the field.

Was the *Chronicle* written by James himself, or was it the work of a contemporary historian? It has already been stated elsewhere, that the late Mr. Forster, its translator, firmly adhered to the almost general opinion, in and out of Spain, that the *Commentari dels feyts, &c.*, was the work of that king, and that the arguments produced by Villarroya against that assertion had no weight at all in a question of this sort.²¹ Such is also the editor’s opinion. Both Marsilio, who wrote before 1314, and Muntaner (Ramon), whose chronicle bears the date of 1325, must necessarily have known in their youth King James, who died in 1276, on the 26th of July, and they agree in ascribing the authorship to him.²² Various passages of the *Chronicle* give besides evidence of the fact, as, for instance, that of chap. xvi. (p. 29) where, whilst treating of the siege of Albarracin, in the confines of Aragon and Valencia, the King says: “I had with me at the time ... Don Guerau de Poyo (Pueyo), father of En Guillen de Puyo (Pueyo), *who is with me at the time that I am writing, this present book.*” The charming story of the “horeneta,” or swallow, that came to rest on the top of the royal tent (p. 122) on the road to Burriana, is for us another evidence of it; no one but James could have recorded the fact. True it is that the last chapters of the *Chronicle*, in which the king himself speaks of his last illness, cannot be attributed to him; they are no doubt the work of some monk of Poblet, or scribe of the Royal *Chronicle*, who having heard of James’s illness, voluntarily recorded its fatal progress, and noted the king’s death. As to other kinds of argument founded on occasional anachronisms, such as the wrong date assigned to the conquest of Valencia, and other mistakes of minor importance, they have been sufficiently refuted by M. de

¹⁹Barcelona has disputed for some time the priority, but on such feeble and unsupported foundations that the best Spanish bibliographers have not hesitated in giving that honour to Valencia, where the *Certamen Poetich* was printed in 1474, in 4to.

²⁰Alfonso X. was born in 1221, on the 23rd of November; James thirteen years before, in 1208 (the 2nd Feb.); but as the latter began certainly to write before the conquest of Valencia (1238), and the *Cronica General* comes down to the death of Ferdinand III. in 1252, it is hard to decide to which of the two kings the priority of composition is to be ascribed.

²¹*Pref.* p. x.

²²Of the former author (Marsilio) we only have the Spanish version by José Maria Quadrado (Palma, 1850, 4to.). Muntaner’s *Cronica* was printed twice—Valencia 1558, and Barcelona 1562, fol.

Tourtoulon. The taking of Valencia, says the *Chronicle*, happened on Saturday, the 9th of October, 1239, whereas the date of its capitulation and surrender is 1238; but the difference of one year in so remarkable an event can easily be explained by the king adopting indiscriminately the two eras then in use, the Incarnation and the Nativity, the former of which ought logically to have preceded by nine days that of the latter, and his believing that the month of September, A.I. 1239, coincided with September, A.D. 1238.

Occasional mistakes of this sort prove nothing against James's authorship; on the contrary, they constitute a further argument that the *Chronicle*, or *Commentari*, was entirely the work of that king, though we admit that the same monk of Poblet, who, as before stated, added the final chapters, may possibly have put it into its present form, either from James's dictation, or from loose materials in his own handwriting.

1. My Lord Saint James declares that Faith without works is dead; our Lord wills that that saying be fulfilled as to our deeds: and though Faith without works be worth nothing, when both are joined they bear fruit which God will receive in His mansion. And although it was that the beginning of our birth was good, yet improvement was needed by our works; not that there was not faith in us to believe in our Creator and His works, and to pray His mother that she should pray for us to her dear Son, to forgive us our sins towards Him: wherefore for the faith we had, He leads us to true salvation. And as our Lord Jesus Christ, who knows all things, knew that our life would be prolonged so that we should make addition of good works to the faith we had, He did us so much grace and mercy that, sinners though we were, both in mortal and in venial sins, He would not that we should come to evil or harm to our shame either in court or elsewhere; neither would He that we should die till we had fulfilled our task.²³ And the grace He did us was such that He ever procured us honour from our enemies in deed and word, and gave us in our life health in body; if sometimes He sent us maladies, He did it by way of chastisement, like a father who chastises his son; for Solomon says that he who withholds from his son the rods of chastisement does him hurt, and it appears not that he loves him well. And yet our Lord did not chastise us so strongly that He did us hurt, wherefore we thanked Him when He chastised us, and more now, when we see that He did it for our good. And we remember well a saying that Holy Scripture declares, which says, "*Omnis laus in fine canitur;*" meaning this, that the best praise that a man can have is that at the last of his days. And the grace of the Lord of Glory has done to us in such wise that the word of Saint James is fulfilled: at the last of our days He brought it to pass that the work befitted our faith. And we, regarding and considering what this world is, in which men live after their fashion, and how small and short this life is, and how weak and full of scandal, and how the other life has glory without end, and how our Lord gives it to those who desire it and pursue it; considering also how great is His power, and how weak and little we all are; knowing and understanding fully that true saying of Scripture, "*Omnia pretereunt preter amare Deum,*" which means that all the things of this world pass away and are lost, save only the love of God; knowing also that that is truth and the rest a lie, we turned our thoughts and gave our works to do the commandments of our Saviour, and left the vain glories of this world that we might attain to His kingdom; for He says in the Gospel, "*Qui vult venire post me, abneget seipsum, et tollat crucem suam et sequatur me,*" which means in our vernacular tongue, that who will follow Him, must leave his own will for His. Again, we remembering the great favours that He many a time has done us in the course of our life, and especially at the last of our days, determined to leave our will for His. And that men may know when we have passed from this mortal life, what we have achieved by the help of the powerful Lord, in whom is true Trinity, we

²³Here the original has the word *aço*, which means "thus" or "in this manner."

leave this book for a memorial to those who desire to hear of the favours our Lord did us, and for an example to all the other men of the world that they may do what we have done, that is put their faith in that Lord who is so powerful.

2. True thing and certain is it that my grandfather, Don Alfonso [of Aragon]²⁴ treated of a marriage alliance to the Emperor of Constantinople, whose name was Manuel;²⁵ that the said Emperor should give him his daughter²⁶ to wife. And while parley and treaties and agreements were in hand between the two, that is, between our grandfather and the Emperor, our grandfather [Don Alfonso] made a marriage with Queen Doña Sancha, who was a daughter of the Emperor of Castille.²⁷ The Emperor of Constantinople, not knowing of this marriage, sent his daughter to King Don Alfonso of Aragon, who was [also] Count of Barcelona and Marquis of Provence. A bishop and two nobles who came with her, when they got to Montpellier, learned that our grandfather, King Don Alfonso, had taken to wife Queen Doña Sancha, the daughter of the Emperor of Castille. They saw themselves in great embarrassment and in great doubt as to what to do, since he (the King) had already taken another wife. At this time En Guillen was Lord of Montpellier, and the surrounding territory. The nobles who had come with the Emperor's daughter asked him what they should do after this deceit and disappointment that had befallen them; they had come to Montpellier with the daughter of the Emperor Manuel to have her married to King Don Alfonso, and he [the King] had taken another wife! They asked him to advise them how they should act in the emergency. En Guillen de Montpellier replied that he would take counsel on it. When, therefore, he had assembled his Council, all the nobles, the knights, and the men of wealth and importance in the city advised him to keep her for his wife. Since God had done him that grace, that the daughter of the Emperor Manuel (at that time the first man among Christians) had come to the city and place where he actually was, and she (the daughter) had been disappointed of the husband she was to have; he, En Guillen, should take her to wife, and not let her go back [to Constantinople] on any account. Thereupon En Guillen framed his reply to the bishop and the nobles who came with her; and the reply which he sent them by his messengers was to this effect: that since God had done him that grace, that the Emperor's daughter should come to Montpellier, and there learn that she was not to have the husband she should have had, he himself would take her to wife. When the Emperor's envoys heard this message, the discomfort and sorrow they had at first experienced was increased twofold, that the Emperor's daughter should take a husband who was not a King nor an Emperor; for no other man was fit for her. They, therefore, prayed him very earnestly, for his own worthiness and for God's sake, to let the Emperor's daughter go back to Constantinople, for they had promised that if the marriage were not made they would take her back to her father by land or by sea; and not to hinder them in that, for there was no just cause to do it, and she had not come there for him. Thereon En Guillen de Montpellier and his Council answered them: That it should be no otherwise.

When the Emperor's envoys perceived this their will and determination, and that it would not be otherwise, they asked for time to consider the matter; they were allowed till next day. Whereupon the bishops and nobles who had come with her, seeing that the will of En Guillen de

²⁴Alfonso II., el Casto, or the Chaste, King of Aragon from 1172 to 1196.

²⁵Emmanuel Comnene, from 1143 to 1180.

²⁶Eudoxia.

²⁷That is, Alfonso VIII. of Castille, born in 1106; he married, in 1128, Berenguela, or Berengère, daughter of Raimon Berenguer, Count of Barcelona. His daughter (Sancha) was married in 1174 to Alfonso II. of Aragon.

Montpellier, and of his Council, would ultimately prevail, they thought that they would make the marriage with this condition: that if there was a son or a daughter, begotten of En Guillen de Montpellier and the Emperor's daughter, and he or she should survive, he or she should be Lord of Montpellier. They therefore went back with this answer, and told Guillen de Montpellier and his Council that they might do them hurt, or imprison them, or take her from them, but neither with their will nor with hers would they make that marriage except in this wise: That he (En Guillen), should promise them on oath and doing homage,²⁸ and all the men of Montpellier of ten years and upwards should also swear to it, that any son or daughter that might be born of the said marriage, should be Lord of Montpellier, whether a man or a woman. These terms were put down in writing, whereupon En Guillen de Montpellier, having first taken counsel of his nobles and of his Council, granted the terms, and thus was the marriage made. And En Guillen de Montpellier had by that lady a daughter named Mary.²⁹

3. And in after time there was a treaty of marriage between my father, King Don Pedro,³⁰ and the daughter of En Guillen de Montpellier, who was Lady of that city and of all its appurtenances, it being stipulated that she should give herself and Montpellier and all its appurtenances. And so was the marriage made, and her title increased, for she was henceforward called Queen Doña Maria.

4. And then En Guillen de Montpellier, she living, took another lady, who was from Castille. The name of the father of that lady I do not remember, but she was called Doña Inés (Agnes), by whom the Count had that son, En³¹ Guillen de Montpellier, who held Peyrolla³² till the hour of his death, and another, En Burgunyo, and En Bernard Guillen, to whom I gave a heritage and a wife, by name Na Juliana, by descent from the mother of the name of Entença, daughter of En Pons Huc, brother of the Count of Ampurias, whose name was Huch, and one other brother whom my father brought up, whose name was Tortoseta. And that Guillen de Montpellier, the eldest son of En Guillen de Montpellier, pretended to become Lord of Montpellier, because he was a man. And contention came before the Pope, so that our mother, the Queen Dona Maria, had to travel to the court of Rome to maintain her rights, and demand that I, who was her heir, might be Lord of Montpellier. And Doña Maria's claim was contested before the Pope till His Holiness sentenced in her favour, as is written in a Decretal, and declared the children of En Guillen de Montpellier and of Na Inés (Agnes) not to be born in lawful wedlock, since they were begotten in adultery, he (En Guillen) having another wife at the time. Montpellier and its country was, therefore, adjudged to Queen Doña Maria, and to me, who was her son.

5. Now I will relate in what wise I was begotten, and how my birth was. Firstly, in what manner I was begotten. Our father, King En Pedro, would not see our mother, the Queen, and it chanced that once the King, our father, was in Lates, and the Queen, our mother, in Miravals: and a nobleman, by name En Guillen Dalcalá, came to the King, and besought him till he made him

²⁸“Ab sacrament e ab homenatge,” says the text.

²⁹This account of the marriage of William of Montpellier, in 1174, with Eudoxia, the daughter of the Emperor of Constantinople, Emmanuel Comnenus, is accepted by history.—*Hist. du Languedoc*, tom. iii. p. 376, tom. iv. p. 263, and Zurita, *Anales de Aragon*, lib. ii. cap. 33 and 54.

³⁰Pedro II. of Aragon, son of Alfonso and Sancha, and father of Jacme or James. He was born in 1176, became king in 1196, and died in 1213. He was married in 1204 to Maria of Montpellier, who died in 1214.

³¹*En* is equivalent to *Don* in Spanish, and was always prefixed to the proper names of nobles in Catalonia. *Ena* ó *Na* being used for the ladies.

³²Peyrolla says the text, but it must be a misprint for Peyolla, as in the Spanish translation.

go to Miravals, where the Queen, my mother, was. And that night that both were together at Miravals, it was the will of our Lord that I should be begotten. And when the Queen, my mother, perceived that she was with child, she and my father went to Montpellier. And thus it was the will of our Lord that my birth should be in the house of the Tornamira, the eve of our Lady Saint Mary, Candlemas day.³³ And my mother, as soon as I was born, sent me to Saint Mary's; they carried me in their arms; matins were being said in Our Lady's church, and as they took me through the porch they sang *Te Deum Laudamus*. The clergy did not notice the arrival of those who carried me, as when they entered they were singing that canticle. And then I was taken to Saint Fermin, and when those who carried me entered the church the priests were singing *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*. And when they took me back to my mother's house, she was very glad because of those prognostics that had happened. And she made twelve candles all of one weight and one size, and had them lighted all together, and gave each of them the name of an Apostle, and vowed to our Lord that I should be christened by the name of that which lasted longest. And so it happened that the candle that went by the name of Saint James lasted a good three fingers' breadth more than all the others. And owing to that circumstance, and to the grace of God I was christened "En Jacme." And thus am I descended on the side of my mother and that of King En Pere, my father. All this seemed the work of God; for the agreement which our grandfather made to marry the Emperor's daughter was virtually carried out by the marriage of the descendants of that Emperor and of my father, King En Pere, and the breach of promise of the former marriage was thus repaired. And after this, as I lay in the cradle, there dropped through a trap-door over my head a great stone which fell close to the cradle; but it was our Lord's will to save me from certain death.³⁴

³³From the various dates mentioned in the chronicles, and from other authentic sources, the birth of James must be assigned to the 1st of February, 1208.

³⁴The marriage of Guillen, or Guillaume de Montpellier, with Eudoxia, daughter of Manuel Comnenus, Emperor of the East, was in 1174; and the account given, in explanation of it in the text is accepted by historians. Only one child, Maria de Montpellier, was born of it, about 1182 (she stated herself in 1197 to be upwards of fifteen years old). No cause but the want of a male heir was avowed by Guillaume for driving away his wife, in 1187, and entering into a pretended marriage with one Agnes, of whom it seems known only that she was of the royal house of Aragon. (*Histoire du Languedoc*, t. v., p. 534.) His marriage contract with her appears to make no mention of his previous marriage, and declares that this was for the sake of male issue (*amore procreandorum filiorum*, *Hist. Lang.*, t. iv. p. 115). Having two sons by his new companion, he extorted from his daughter Maria a renunciation of her inheritance of Montpellier, on marrying her to Barral, Count of Marseilles; this must have been when she was not ten years old, for her husband died in 1192. His death seems to have been considered as annulling her renunciation; and her father forced on her another marriage, in 1197, with Bernard, Count of Comminges, when another renunciation was made by her, in favour of her two half-brothers successively; she being therein made to declare emphatically that she made it knowingly, being more than fifteen years old. (*Hist. Lang.* t. v. p. 59.) Two daughters were born of this marriage, within two years; but within that time also strife arose between husband and wife. Bernard, after failing in an application for a divorce, so treated his wife that she fled to her father, in 1200. (*Hist. Lang.* t. v. p. 69.)

Guillaume de Montpellier died in 1202, after in vain urging Innocent III. to declare legitimate his sons by Agnes (Innocent III. *Epist.* lib. v. ep. 128): a measure without which Maria's renunciation in their favour was of no avail. She thus became the lawful Lady of Montpellier, and as such Pedro II. desired to marry her. Through his brother-in-law, the Count of Toulouse, he promoted the Count of Comminges' repudiation of her, on the ground that when he married her there were living two ladies with whom he had gone through the ceremony of marriage as well as on the usual pretext of affinity; and in 1204 the King became Maria de Montpellier's third husband, and, consequently, stepfather of her two daughters.

A daughter, Sancha, was born to them in the next year; but Maria, in this marriage, was as unhappy as before. Pedro II. (whose conduct was licentious, even for that age) ceased to live with her, and his aversion was such, that an especial representation of the importance to Aragon of a male heir was necessary to restore a temporary

6. My father, the King En Pere, was the most bounteous king there ever was in Spain, the most courteous and the most gracious, so that he gave away much treasure, through which his revenue and lands were diminished. He was a good man at arms, as good as any in the world. Of his other good qualities I will not speak, not to lengthen this writing.

7. Of the Queen Doña Maria, my mother, I will say thus much, that if there was a good woman in the world it was she, in honouring and in fearing God and in other good ways that in her were. And much good could I say of her; but let me sum up by stating that she was beloved by all who knew her good qualities; that our Lord loved her so, and gave her such grace, that she is called the Holy Queen, not only at Rome, where she died, but all over the world besides. Many sick are to this day cured by drinking in water or in wine the dust scraped from her tombstone in the church of Saint Peter at Rome, near Saint Petronilla, the daughter of Saint Peter. And look ye who peruse this writing. Is it not a miraculous thing that my grandfather, King Don Alfonso, promised that the Emperor's daughter should be his wife, and yet he took afterwards Queen Doña Sancha? And it was the will of Our Lord that that promise that the King had made first, that is, that the daughter of the Emperor Manuel should be his wife, should come round, that it ended in that the granddaughter of the Emperor Manuel was afterwards wife of our father, of whom I myself came. And thus it was the work of God that that agreement which was not completed in that time was fulfilled afterwards, when my father took to wife the granddaughter of the Emperor.

8. And after my birth, En Simon de Montfort, who had the land of Carcassonne and Badarres,³⁵ and of Toulouse, what the King of France had conquered, desired to have friendship with my father, and asked for me, that he might bring me up at his court. And my father trusted so much in Montfort and in his friendship, that he delivered me to him to bring up.³⁶ And being in his (Montfort's) power, the people of the above-named countries came to my father and said to him that he might well become the lord of those countries, if he would only occupy them. And King En Pere, my father, was liberal and compassionate, and for the pity that he had of the deputies, said that he would take possession; but they deceived him with fair words, for if on one hand they gave him promises, on the other they were deficient in deeds. And I afterwards heard it

union, such as was brought about by a knight of the name of Alcalá. But even the birth (2d February 1208) of the desired son did not restore peace to their household. Pedro instituted a suit for nullity of marriage against the Queen, alleging that that between her and the Count de Comminges was a valid marriage after all; she went to Rome to plead her own cause.

On the 19th February, 1213, Innocent III. decided it in her favour, giving reasons for holding that she had not been duly married to the Count de Comminges, and commanding the King to take her back to his hearth; but she lived only a few weeks longer, dying at Rome in April following. (Innocent III. *Epist.* lib. xv. ep. 221; *Hist. Lang.* t. v. pp. 207–209.)

The statement that a daughter, Sancha, was born to Pedro and Maria in the year after their marriage, rests on the authority of a treaty between the King and Raymond VI., Count of Toulouse, betrothing her, with Montpellier as her dowry, to the Count's son, afterwards Raymond VII. (*Hist. Lang.* t. v. p. 89.) But other documents show that Raymond VIII., in 1211, married another Sancha, the sister of Pedro II., from whom he separated in 1230, and whom he formally repudiated in 1241 (*Hist. Lang.* t. vi. P. 328.) And, besides, the present history of King James makes him solemnly declare, in a speech in Cortes (fol. xviii.), that his father and mother had no child but him.

The historians of Languedoc reconcile the conflicting documents under their eyes (the King's own declaration not being among them), by supposing the Sancha, Pedro II.'s daughter, to have died young; to which must be added the supposition that she died so mere an infant that even King James had lost sight of her existence, which is not wholly improbable.

³⁵Bedarrioux (Biterre) in the county of Béziers.

³⁶Zurita, *Anales*, II. c. 63, explains this, by stating that Simon de Montfort was to marry his daughter and heiress to the young prince Jacme.

said by En Guillen de Cervera, and Arnau de Castellbó, and En Dalmau de Crexel, and others, who were then with my father, that the deputies said to him, “My lord, here are our castles and our towns; take possession of them, and put your own officers (*batles*) in them.” And when my father was about to take possession of the land they said, “My lord, how will you turn our wives out of our houses? We and they will be yours; we will do your will.” But they did nothing they had promised him. And they showed him their wives and their daughters, and their kinswomen, the fairest they could find; but when they knew that he was a woman’s man, they took away his good thoughts, and turned them to what they wished.³⁷ However, as it would take me too long a time to relate those things, I will pass on to more important matters.

9. En Simon de Montfort was at Murel with from eight hundred to a thousand horsemen and my father came on him there. And there were with him from Aragon Don Miguel de Luzia and Don Blascho de Alagon, Don Roderich Liçana, Don Ladron and Don Gomes de Luna, Don Miquel de Rada, Don Guillen de Puyo, Don Açnar Pardo, and others of his household, besides several more whose names I cannot remember, though I recollect very well hearing some of them say that, with the exception of Don Gomes, Don Miquel de Rada, Don Açnar Pardo, and some of my father’s household who were killed in the battle, all the rest abandoned him and fled. There were from Catalonia, En Dalmau de Crexel, e Nuch (En Huch) de Mataplana, En Guillen Dorta (de Horta), and En Berenguer de Castel Bisbal, who also fled with the others. I also recollect hearing, and indeed know well, for certain, that Don Nuno Sanxes and En Guillen de Montcada, the son of En Guillem Ramon de Montcada and of Na³⁸ Guillema de Castelvi, were not in the battle; they sent a message to the King that he should wait for them; but the King would not wait, and fought the battle with those few who were with him. The night of the day that the battle was fought the King had passed in debauchery, so that as I afterwards heard his own seneschal, called Gill (who became afterwards Knight Hospitaller), and many other eye-witnesses say, the King was so exhausted by the preceding debauch, that he could not stand up [at mass], when it came to the Gospel, but kept his seat all the while it was read.³⁹ And before the battle, En Simon de Montfort wished to put himself in his power, and do his will. He wanted to come to terms with him, but my father would not accept of them. And when Count Simon and those within (Murel) saw that, they confessed and received the body of Jesus Christ, and said, “We will rather die in the field than here, shut up in this town.” And thereon they came out to fight in a body. On my father’s side the men did not know how to range for the battle, nor how to move together; every baron fought by himself and against the order of war (*natura darmes*). Thus, through bad order, through our sins, and through the Murelians fighting desperately since they found no mercy⁴⁰ at my father’s hands, the battle was lost. There died my father, for such has ever been the fate of my

³⁷“Com gitarets nostres mullers de nostres cases, mes nos e eles ne seren vostres, en faren vostra volentat. E per aquesta manera noli atenyen ço que li prometien, e mostrauen li llurs mullers, e llurs filles, e llurs parentes les plus belles que podien trobar. E can sabien que ell era hom de fembres tolien li son bon proposit, e feyan lo mudar en ço que ells volien.”

³⁸*Na* is the feminine for *En*, a prefix then much used in Catalonia, equivalent of *Don* and *Doña* in Castillian.

³⁹“Havia jagut ab una dona, si que nos hoym dir puix a son reboster qui hauia nom *Erf*, e puix fo frare del Spital, qui auia stat en aquell consell, e de altres que ho verem per sos ulls, que anch al Evangeli no poch star de peus, ans se assecha a son siti mentre quel deyen.” The name of Jacme’s steward (*reboster*) is said in the *Chronicle*, c. viii. f. 4, to have been *Erf*, as in the above text, but he is called elsewhere Gil.

⁴⁰“E per la merce que noy trobaren aquels que eren de dins.” Refers, no doubt, to the refusal by the King of Montfort’s offer to treat. The Spanish version omits this sentence.

race, to conquer or die in battle. During this time I was at Carcassona, in the Count's power, for he was, as I said, bringing me up, and had possession of that place.

10. And thereupon my born subjects [of Aragon] demanded me, and made war on the French, and on the lands they occupied: that is, Don Nuno Sanxes and En Guillen de Cardona, father of En Ramon Folch [de Cardona]. Besides carrying on war from Narbonne and other places, a mission was sent to Pope Innocent III., begging he should take council and put pressure on En Simon de Montfort by interdict or otherwise, that he might give me up, since I was their liege lord, and there was no other son of my father born in lawful marriage but me. That apostolic Pope Innocent was the best of Popes. For a hundred years before the time that I am writing this book, there had not been so good a Pope in all the Church of Rome, for he was a good clerk in that sound learning that a Pope should have; he had a good natural sense, and great knowledge of the things of this world. He sent such strong letters, and such sturdy envoys to Count Simon, that this latter had to consent to restore me to my subjects. The French brought me as far as Narbonne, whither many of the noblemen and citizens of Catalonia went, and received me. I might then be six years and four months old. When they got to Catalonia, a consultation was held as to who should bring me up. All agreed that the Master of the Temple should bring me up at Monzon. The name of that Master was En Guillen de Montredon; he was a native of Osona,⁴¹ and Master of the Temple in Aragon and Catalonia.

11. An order was then issued in Council, in my name and under a new seal made expressly for me, convoking Cortes at Lerida, for the Catalans and Aragonese; at which the Archbishop [of Tarragona], the bishops, the abbots, the noblemen of each kingdom, and ten men from each city, were to be present, furnished with powers from the rest to approve that which might be done by all. All came on the day fixed for the Cortes, save Don Fernando and Count Don Sancho, each of whom hoped to be King.⁴² All swore to protect my body and my limbs, and my lands, and to keep and defend me in everything, and against every one. The place where the Cortes were held was the Archbishop En Asparech's palace; he, who was of the house of Barca, and our relative; he held me in his arms. The palace, which is now vaulted over, was then built of wood, the ceremony of the oath taking place under the window where the kitchen now is for those who eat in the palace.⁴³

The oath being taken, the Cortes separated. The Master of the Temple then took me to Monzon, and I stayed there two years and a half uninterruptedly. All the revenues my father had in Aragon and Catalonia were pledged to the Jews and Saracens, as also all the fiefs (*honors*)

⁴¹Vich, in Catalonia, called Ausona during the Roman domination.

⁴²Zurita, *Anales* ii, c. 66, explains that "Don Sancho, Count of Roussillon, and the Infante Don Fernando, uncles of the King, went out alienating and stirring up the people of the kingdom, each thinking that the succession belonged to him, *notwithstanding it had been declared that the marriage of the Queen Doña Maria had been according to the rules and direction of the Church.*" What has been said of the marriage well accounts for attempts to throw doubt on the legitimacy of King James. Fernando, the third son of Alfonso II., and brother of Pedro II., had been brought up as an ecclesiastic, a Cistercian monk and abbot of Montaragon, but had of his profession only the revenues. Pedro II. gave him, in 1204, the countship of Roussillon. Sancho was the King's *great* uncle, being the third son of his great grandfather, Ramon Berenguer, the *Prince* of Aragon—Zurita, *Anales* ii. c. 25, c. 50, c. 66, c. 76.

⁴³"Sus el palau de uolta qui ara es, e laores era de fust, a la finestra on ara es la cuyna per on dona hom a menjar a aquels qui mengen en lo palau."

which rented at that time seven hundred “cauallerias” or knights’ fees.⁴⁴ My father, King Don Pedro, had given away or sold them all except one hundred and thirty of them, and when I entered Monzon I had no food for one day, the land being so wasted and mortgaged.

12. And while I was in Monzon, there were bands and feuds among the noblemen of Aragon: Don P. Ahones⁴⁵ and Don Atorela Palasin, Don Exemen Dorrea and Don Arnau Palasin, Don Berenguer de Benavent and Don Blasco Maça, and others, whose names I do not remember now. Some noblemen and knights made band and party with the Count of Roussillon Don Sancho, their chief, and followed his leading, whilst Don Pedro Fernandez de Albarracin, and Don Rodrigo Liçana, and Don Blasco Dalagó held with Don Fernando, and made him their chief. Don Pedro Cornel, and Don Valles⁴⁶ Dantilló had no land or *honor* yet, because they were too young; they sometimes sided with one party, at other times with the other. And Don Exemen Corneyl was already an old man; he grieved for the evils that he saw so great in Aragon, for he was the wisest man in all Aragon, and the best adviser. And at times, several of the above-named came to Monzon, and entreated me to go out of the castle with them, that I might go to their side and destroy the other.

13. And when I was nine years old, they could not keep us in Monzon, neither me nor the Count of Provence⁴⁷ my cousin, who was also there; as I, considering it was necessary for the country, wished to go. It was then agreed by the Master and the others that they should let me leave the place. And, accordingly, full seven months before I left Monzon, there came a message to the Count of Provence from the noblemen of his country, that on a certain day they would come with a galley to Salou, and secretly take him out of the castle of Monzon, and that they would go with him to Provence; and as it was planned by them, so it was done. And when the Count had to leave, he said that he wished to speak to me; and he disclosed his secret, and took leave of me, weeping, as did also those who came for him; and I wept with him and with them for grief of our parting; and yet I was very glad that he went away. And next day, at dusk, the Count left the castle with En Pere Auger, who brought him up, and two squires of his, and they passed that night and went through Lerida in disguise, and next night went to Salou, and the Count went on board the galley, and got away to Provence. And that men may know my age and his at this juncture, the Count was then two years and a half older than I was.

14. And when the Templars saw that the Count of Provence had gone away without their knowledge, they perceived that my stay in the place was no longer good for them. On the other hand, when Count Don Sancho heard of the departure of the Count of Provence, it vexed him much; and when he and those of his party in Aragon knew of it, they wished to take possession of the kingdom. Whereupon I sent a message to Don Pedro Fernandez, and to Don Rodrigo Liçana

⁴⁴“Honors” in the old feudal language of France was often synonymous of *fief*, and served to designate all manner of land property.

In Aragon *honors* were the towns or estates, the revenues of which were by the King given to the “ricos-hombres” or barons, who in their turn distributed them to *caballeros* (knights). The revenue was then called “cavalleria;” it was a true military benefice, and represented what might be called the honorary of a knight. A large portion of the towns and villages of Aragon was thus distributed among the barons, and held “in honour” under certain conditions, either directly from the barons or from the knights themselves. The *honors*, however, were not hereditary like the “fiefs,” properly so called; at the beginning of each reign the King could re-take them, and make a new distribution. The right, however, was not exercised with great regularity.

⁴⁵En Pere Ahones, also written Aones and Aunes.

⁴⁶In the Spanish translation Don Volés, which is decidedly a misprint.

⁴⁷Ramon Berenguer descended from the Counts of Barcelona, and cousin of James.

and their party, and to En G. de Cervera, to come to me at Monzon, as for every reason I wished to leave that town immediately. They assured me that they would help and support me with all their power. And when Count Don Sancho heard this he made a compact with those on his side, and said that he would willingly cover with scarlet silken cloth⁴⁸ as much ground as I, and those with me, went over in Aragon beyond the Cinca. And I left Monzon at dawn, and when I got to the bridge my company was waiting for me, and they told me that Count Don Sancho was at Selgua with all his forces, and that he would fight me. I was not more than nine years old at the time, and for the battle that was expected a knight (whose name I do not recollect) lent me a light coat of mail or hauberk (*gonio*), which I put on, and that was the beginning, the first arms that I ever took. And I went that day to Berbegal without meeting with any opposition on the road; and next day I entered Huesca; thence I went to Zaragoza, this being the first time that I was in Aragon.⁴⁹ The people were very glad at my coming.

15. And when in Zaragoza, Don Pedro Fernandez and those above-named being with me, a message came to say that Don Rodrigo Liçana had taken prisoner Don Lope de Alvaro,⁵⁰ a relative of Don Rodrigo Liçana, and that Don Pelegrin de Trosillo⁵¹ had taken the daughter of Don Lope de Alvaro to wife. And Pelegrin and his brother, Don Gil, asked and besought me for love and mercy's sake that I should give counsel and aid as to the imprisonment of Don Lope de Alvaro, inasmuch as Don Rodrigo Liçana had taken him when he was not on his guard against him, and without having first defied him, and had taken from him the castle and town of Alvaro and fully ten thousand "cafizes"⁵² of grain, besides doing him other harm, as well to the Christian as to the Saracen inhabitants of Alvaro. And all those who were with us at the time thought the thing ill done, and also all the Aragonese who knew of it. And it was resolved by my Council, for I had not yet judgment enough to advise myself and others, that I should march against Don Rodrigo, assist Don Lope de Alvaro, release him from prison, and repair all the damage done to him. And so I did, for I marched against Alvaro with a "fonevol"⁵³ that I had caused to be made at Huesca. And when the "fonevol" had battered the castle for two consecutive days, those whom Don Rodrigo had put in for garrison surrendered. I then departed thence, and went to Liçana, where Don Rodrigo held Don Lope de Alvaro prisoner, and the castle was also besieged. And inside were Don Pedro Gomez and another knight, whose name I forget, and several esquires and other company; Don Pedro Gomez was chief of all of them, and governor of the castle, and the greatest and best man of them all. And I set up the "fonevol," and that was in May; and when it was ready it threw no less than five hundred stones in one night, and one thousand more in one day. And about the time of vespers the stones had broken down so much of the wall that a great breach had been made. And the cry for the assault went through the army. Every one armed

⁴⁸"Perset vermeill" are the words. Perhaps "perset" is meant for silken cloth manufactured or coming from Persia. Raimond de Miraval, a troubadour of the twelfth century, says:

"Mantel non es de *pesset* ni de saia."

⁴⁹Monzon is, however, in Aragon.

⁵⁰Lop Dalveró, or d'Alveró, seems to have been his right name.

⁵¹Elsewhere d'Atrocil and Atrossil. Pelegrin is generally written Palegrí, which is the Catalanian form of that name.

⁵²*Cafiz*, in Castillian *cahiz*, is a nominal measure, equivalent to twelve *fanegas*, or English bushels. Both *cafiz* and *fanega* are derived from the Arabic; the former from {arabic}, the latter from {arabic}, a sack.

⁵³*Fonevol*, from the Latin *fundibulus* or *funnibulus*, was a sort of war-engine, which threw out very large stones as a *funda* honda, or sling would do.

himself and the fight commenced; and those of the army outside fought the enemy with lance and shield, and so did the crossbowmen, who were there, in my camp. The “fonevol” did not cease throwing stones; it shot in such wise, and the fight was so hard, that many of the squires and others in the place were wounded. When Don Pedro Gomez saw that the castle which he held for his lord was being lost, he himself, clad in armour, his shield on his arm, his iron cap on his head, and his sword in his hand, took his stand on the breach like a man who wished to die rather than live. Meanwhile the “fonevol” was doing great execution,⁵⁴ and Don Pedro was up to his knees in the earth and dust which had been raised by the crumbling of the wall. But still the fight was maintained so that no one could mount the breach, though there were men good enough for the task, and who wished to do it. There was among them a squire, whose name I do not remember at the present moment, but believe it to have been Don Pedro Games de Alfaro. He had put on a hauberk (*gonio*) and an iron cap on his head, and taken a sword in his hand. Thus armed he went as far as his feet could carry him, and began to mount the breach, so that Don Pedro Gomez could not prevent his mounting, for he could not help himself, so buried was he in the earth of the ruined wall. In this manner the army mounted the breach, and the castle was taken. And I got possession of Don Pedro de Alvaro, who, as above-stated, was a prisoner inside. After this Don Rodrigo Liçana, who was a friend of Don Pedro Fernandez de Açagra, spoke to Don Pedro Gomez and advised him to depart from the castle, and thus escape the calamities of war, offering, if he did so, to receive him and give him shelter at Santa Maria de Albarracin. And so Don Pedro Fernandez, who was with me at my entry into Aragon, joined Don Rodrigo, and both renounced my allegiance, and did me all the harm they could from that hour ever after. On the other hand Don Pedro Aones⁵⁵ and his party joined our side, and were with me at the capture of those two castles (Alvaro and Liçana), and Don Exemen Corneyl; the greatest person in Aragon (except my uncle Ferdinand) was also on my side at that time, because he was wiser than the rest.

16. There was at this time talk of a marriage between the niece of Don Exemen Corneyl, sister of Don Pedro Corneyl,⁵⁶ and Don Pedro Aones, who was to take her to wife. And I, therefore, summoned my army in the summer and went against Albarracin. I pitched my tents in front of the Andador tower, on a hill commanding it, and I think I was at that siege about two months, a little more or less. And I had there a “mangonel”⁵⁷ made, which battered the Andador tower, and besides that had the “fonevol” surrounded by palisades for greater protection. And inside the town there were fully a hundred and fifty knights, Castellians, Aragonese and Navarrese, commanded by Don Pedro Fernandez [de Açagra] himself, the lord of the place, and by Don Rodrigo Liçana. I had with me Don Exemen Corneyl, and En Pere Corneyl, and En Guerau de Cervera, and Don Vallés [D’Antilló], and Don Pedro Aones and Don Pelegrin, his brother, and Don Guerau de Puyo, father of that G. de Puyo, who is with me at the time that I am writing this present book. And there were there men from Lerida, Zaragoza, Calatayud, Daroca and Teruel. All the noblemen, who then followed my banners, did not exceed the number of one hundred and fifty knights, for I was still a child, not more than eleven years old at the time. And all that I then did was done by the advice of the noblemen who were with me. For reason was it

⁵⁴“El fonevol que feya de grans errades;” so in both the printed editions. I think the meaning must be that given above.

⁵⁵See above, Ahones and Aunes.

⁵⁶Elsewhere Cornel and Corneil, and Pedro for Pere, according as the author chose the Castellian or Catalonian appellative.

⁵⁷The “mangonel,” also called *Almanjanech*, was a kind of “fonevol” or war-engine, as immediately appears.

that, since I knew not how to govern my own land or give advice as was needed, others should advise me. So it was that the relatives and friends of Don Pedro Fernandes, who were then with me, kept sending messages to the besieged, informing them of our plans; day and night knights and squires went away from our camp in sight of our army, entered Albarracin, told the besieged what we were doing, besides carrying crossbows and supplies into the town. And except Don Pedro Aones and his brother Don Pelegrin and Don G. de Puyo, all the rest served me badly and acted so treacherously as they could. In this way those who were with me made known to those, who were in the town, the night that Don Pelegrin would guard the “mangonel.” And he and En G. de Puyo were on guard that night. And when midnight came the besieged prepared their torches, and came out to the palisades with all their power of knights and squires, and all the footmen they had in the place. And they brought out burning torches to fire the “fonevol” with. And Don Pelegrin and Don G. de Puyo, who were on guard, went out to attack them; but those who were with them seeing the great numbers of the enemy coming from the town abandoned them and fled. And Don Pelegrin de Aones⁵⁸ and Don G. de Puyo were slain there, for they had more dread of shame than the rest, and would not run away. The “fonevol” was burnt, and yet none of the army would give help. And, thereupon, when my Council saw that I was betrayed and ill served by my own subjects, they advised me to raise the siege; and so it was done, for there were as many knights in the place, or more, than I myself had outside. And I could not take council about it, nor had I any one to consult, being only eleven years old at the time.

17. So was the siege of Albarracin raised.⁵⁹ One year and a half after this Queen Doña Berengaria, the mother of King Don Ferdinand,⁶⁰ proposed to me a marriage with a sister of hers, whose name was Doña Leonor. Both were daughters of King Don Alfonso,⁶¹ who had the following sons and daughters, namely: Queen Doña Blanca, who was married to King Louis of France, son of King Philip; Doña Beranguela (Berengaria), wife to the King of Leon, father of King Don Ferdinand, whose name was Don Alfonso;⁶² another was Doña Urraca, who was Queen of Portugal; and another was Doña Leonor, whom I myself afterwards took to wife. Besides these daughters, King Alfonso of Castille had two sons: the Infante Don Fernando and the Infante Don Henrique, who afterwards became king of Castille. The Infante Don Fernando died before his father, King Don Alfonso, whereupon, on the death of Don Alfonso, Don Henrique was made king. And in play with some lads of his age, one of them struck him with a tile on the head, and he died. The thing happened thus: the Infante had divided the lads, some on one side, some on the other. He himself put himself on the side of those who fought on a hillock to represent a castle; he was struck by a tile on his head, and died of the blow.⁶³ And so the

⁵⁸Elsewhere “Ahones.”

⁵⁹Albaraccin (Albarraci) had been taken from the Moors by the father of Don Pedro Fernandes de Azagra, who acknowledged no sovereign, saying that he was the vassal of Saint Mary, to whom he dedicated the principal church.

⁶⁰Ferdinand III., or Saint Ferdinand, of Castille.

⁶¹Alfonso VIII. of Castille. The kings of Leon and those of Castille, before the union of the crowns, were nevertheless numbered as if of the same dynasty. Thus Alfonso VI. was so called because he was the *sixth* king of that name in Leon, though the *first* in Castille; and this king Alfonso VIII. was so styled, though he never reigned in Leon, and was only the third of the Alfonsos who reigned in Castille. So there reigned at the same time, in Castille and in Leon respectively, one Alfonso VIII. and another Alfonso IX.

⁶²Alfonso IX. of Leon.

⁶³Don Henrique died on the 6th of June, 1217.

kingdom fell to Doña Berenguela (Berengaria) whose son, Don Ferdinand, became king of Castille.

18. And thus, by advice of my great vassals, I took to wife the Infanta Dona Leonor, for my father had left no son but me. They advised me to marry while still young, because they said they were in great anxiety for my life, either from maladies or from poison. And likewise because they wished on my account that I should leave an heir, so that the kingdom might not go out of the royal line; for Count Don Sancho, son of the Count of Barcelona, and Don Fernando, my uncle, son of King Don Alfonso, wished each to be king, and had both tried for it in my childhood whilst I was at Monzon, as before related. And from apprehension of that evil, they advised me to take to wife, as aforesaid, the daughter of King Alfonso of Castille. Such was the advice of En Exemen Corneyl, and of En G. de Cervera, who were then my head councillors, and of En G. de Montcada, who was killed in Mallorca, and of others whose names I do not remember now. And I married her, the Infanta Doña Leonor, at Agreda [in Castille].

19. And then I was made a knight in Saint Mary's of Orta, off Tarazona,⁶⁴ where having first heard the mass of the Holy Ghost, I girt myself with a sword, which I took from the altar. At that time I had completed my twelfth year, and was entering upon the thirteenth: I was, however, one whole year with my wife before I consummated the marriage, for I was not old enough for that.

20. The marriage done, I went into Aragon and Catalonia, and my wife, the Queen, with me, when all the barons⁶⁵ strove with one another to become my confidants, in order that what I did should be done on their advice. And it came to pass that Don Nuño⁶⁶ Sanchez, son of Count En Sancho, to whom my father had given Roussillon and Conflant and Cerdagne for life, had once had great friendship with En Guillen de Montcada; but, owing to a quarrel which the said Don Nuño Sanchez picked with En Guillen de Cervello about a falcon, which the latter would not give or sell to the other, both became angry, and spoke ill to each other. Upon which En Guillen de Montcada said to Don Nuño that thenceforth he would not be his friend, and Don Nuño replied that since he (Montcada) did not desire his friendship, so he did not desire his. He told him besides not to trust on him any longer, as he would not thenceforwards be his friend. And thereon En Guillen de Montcada made up friendship and alliance with Don Pedro Fernandes [de Açagra] and with his party, whilst Don Nuño contrived to make, and actually made friendship and alliance with Don Fernando and with Don Pedro Ahones⁶⁷ and with their party. And some time after this En G. de Montcada and En Pere Fernandes prepared to come to Monzon for the Cortes, which had been convoked of such prelates and knights as could there be assembled, and there came full three hundred of them; and they all came to a town belonging to the Temple, which is called Valcarca. And Don Fernando and Don Pedro Ahones got together their retainers and came to Castejó del Pont de Monzon.⁶⁸ And as I was going from Lerida to the said Cortes at Monzon, Don Nuño met me on the road, and asked me for assistance and advice, telling me that if I

⁶⁴On the western frontier of Aragon. Agreda, where he married Queen Leonor, is in Castille at a few miles distance.

⁶⁵The word rendered here and elsewhere by "barons" is *rich homes*, in Castillian *ricos hombres*; *rich* being taken for "powerful," rather than for "abounding in riches."

⁶⁶Nuño (*sic*) is the Castillian form of this name. In Catalonia and Valencia it would be written Nunyo, as Munyoz instead of Muñoz, &c.

⁶⁷Elsewhere written Aunes, and Aones. Pere Fernandes is for Pedro Fernandez de Azagra.

⁶⁸Castejon de S. Juan (?), a short distance to the north of Monzon. Valcarca, or Valltarcha, is a few miles south-east of Monzon.

refused, he would infallibly meet with great dishonour or death at the hand of his enemy. And upon my asking what dishonour that might be, he said to me: "My lord, there is Don Guillen de Montcada, who is coming here, and Don Pedro Fernandes [de Azagra] with him; and, as you know, I and Don Guillen have fallen out of friendship. They will be to-morrow at Valcarca with full three hundred knights, and they want to pick a quarrel with me, and in some way or other give me the lie, or utter words of dishonour, which I cannot but return. And if I do return them, I apprehend that they will kill me or do me some affront as bad as death."

At that time I was only fourteen years old. I told Don Nuño that his words had grieved me immensely, inasmuch as I considered an affront done to him equal to an affront to my own person, owing to the close relationship there was between him and me. And as to what he had complained of, I answered him that I would take such counsel as to prevent that harm and affront he was afraid of. And that I would do thus: As soon as I had entered Monzon, I would send for the chief men of the town to come to me, and would say to them this much:—"I pray and command you that you guard the town and bar all the gates, and keep porters and armed men at them, so as to hinder any baron or knight from entering it by day or night, without your first letting me know of it. And if they insist upon coming in, let only one knight enter with a couple of mounted retainers at a time, and no more." And so it was. And when Don Nuño heard what I had done for him, both for the sake of his honour and my own, he said that he thanked me as much as he could, and knew well that I loved him, and was confident that I had formed such a resolution as would spare him affront and death. And upon this there came to the gates of Monzon En G. de Montcada and Don Pedro Fernandez with all their power, but neither of them was allowed to enter the town save with two retainers each, as had been ordered, whilst Don Fernando and Don Pedro Ahones entered with as many more. And when En G. de Montcada and Pedro Fernandez saw that they could not carry out their plan, they had to desist and go away. Many injurious and threatening words did Montcada and Fernandez utter on this occasion, but I forbade it, and told them that if they said anything injurious to Don Nuño they would pay for it; and so Don Nuño went away in honour, and they, having failed in their attempt, also departed.

21. After that I went into Aragon. And soon after En Guillen de Montcada began to assemble his men in Catalonia, and Don Nuño was informed thereof, I was then at Huesca, and the Queen also; and Count Don Sancho and Don Nuño came to me, and told me, in the presence of the Queen, that En Guillen de Montcada was about to enter Roussillon at the head of considerable forces, for the purpose of doing harm to the latter, and wasting the land that my father had given to him, and was ultimately to revert to me. And he prayed me, and called on me for love and grace, that I should help him against those, who were trying to bring harm and shame on him, as he and his father (he said) had no relations and friends in Aragon and Catalonia but me. He was quite ready to do right to any man who had complaint to make of him, but he entreated me to help and protect him, so great was the faith and hope he had in me; for, while En Guillen de Montcada had plenty of relatives and friends to do his bidding, he himself had no friends to defend him but me. And Don Nuño besides, then and there pledged his most solemn word and that of Don Ato de Foces and Don Blasco Maça, and his own holdings in Roussillon, as well as theirs, which my father in his time had given him, that he would do full right to En Guillen de Montcada or any other man who should bring complaint against him. And upon this I sent my letters to En Guillen de Montcada, commanding him not to do Don Nuño any harm, since he had put security in my hands that he would do right to whomsoever asked him for it. But Montcada cared little for all this, and did not desist from his undertaking; on the contrary, he entered Roussillon with his followers, and took with shield and lance a castle called Avalri, which belonged to one En Ramon de Castell Rosello, and thence went to Perpignan, wherein was one

En Jaçpert de Barberá, who had thrown himself into it to do service to Don Nuño; but Muncada so harassed the people inside that they made a sally and were defeated, and in that raid En Jaçpert de Barberá⁶⁹ was taken prisoner. Seeing that my letters to En Guillen de Montcada were of no use at all, that he would not obey my orders, but went on doing hurt to Don Nuño, and had entered Roussillon against him, I summoned my forces in Aragon, and went against him, and took one hundred and thirty fortresses, castles, and towers from him and his supporters. I also took Cervellon,⁷⁰ the siege of which lasted thirteen days. And thereupon I went to besiege the castle of Montcada, and En Guillen threw himself hastily into it, and Don Pedro Cornel, and Don Rodrigo Liçana, and Don Vallés Dantilló, and En Bernat de Sancta Eugenia, brother of En Ponç G. de Torreela,⁷¹ were with him; and I was then not more than fourteen years old. And there were with me Count Don Sancho, and Don Nuño, and Don Fernando, and Don Pedro Ahones, and Don Ato de Foces, and Don Artal de Luna, and some of my own great vassals of Aragon; and there might be in all four hundred knights, whilst those inside the castle might be about one hundred and thirty knights. And I summoned En Guillen de Montcada to surrender his castle; and he answered that he would willingly have given it to me had I asked for it in another way; but whereas I had done him great wrong by coming down with such a strong force against him, he thought that it was dishonourable for him to surrender his castle, and would not, as in fact he did not. And I encamped with my force on a hillock against the town, on which the market was held, and remained there three months, a little more or less. And had it not been for the supplies the besieged obtained from our own camp by the connivance of the Aragonese, who were with us (the Catalans from Barcelona also furnishing them with provisions against the money of the Aragonese in our camp service) the besieged would have surrendered, as they had not food for three days. Being yet a child, I really knew not how to obviate this, all those who were with me, excepting only Don Sancho and Don Pedro Ahones, being then much displeased at my trying to do harm to those inside the castle, which is certainly one of the strongest in Spain, and one which, being well garrisoned, could not be taken save by famine, for it has water enough from a spring rising on the side towards the north, and this no man could take from the besieged unless the castle itself was first taken. And so I was obliged to raise the siege and return to Aragon; upon which En Guillen de Montcada sallied out against Terraça, which he took, its garrison taking refuge in the castle; and went thence to Sarboç which he also took and destroyed; and came lastly to Piera, which he could not take. And he and Don Fernando and Don Pedro Ahones came to an agreement; and En Guillen de Montcada entered Aragon and came to Tahust,⁷² which Don Pedro Ahones held of me as an “honour;” and in that agreement between them were included Zaragoza, Huesca, and Jaca. I was then in Alagon, and on my side were Don Nuño, and Don Pedro Fernandez, and Don Blasco d’Alagó,⁷³ and Don Artal, and Don Rodrigo Liçana; in Alagon itself were only Don Nuño and Don Pedro Fernandez, and Don Ato. And thereon there was negotiated a compact of friendship between Don Fernando and Don Guillen de Montcada and Don Pedro

⁶⁹The text, which is rather obscure, has, “E era en Gisbert de Barbará llains que sen era mes per fer seruici a don Nuno: e broca en aquells de la vila, si que exiren de fora, e hauerense a venere aquells de Perpinyá.”

⁷⁰Cervelló according to the Catalanian form.

⁷¹En Ponce de Torredel says the Spanish version.

⁷²Tauste.

⁷³Alagon, a town of Aragon, in the province of Saragossa, twenty-one miles to the north-west of that capital. Don Blasco d’Alagó, or Dalagó, was at this time the lord of it; for in Catalonia proper names ending in *on* lose generally the final *n*, as Cervelló, Antilló, Rosselló, which in Castilian would be Cervellon, Antillon, &c.

Ahones, that they would stand by Don Nuño and Don Pedro Fernandez against all men; and Don Lop Xemenis de Luziá, vassal of Don Nuño, brother of Ruy Xemenis, negotiated that. And they sent me a message saying that they would willingly come to me, and would do in everything my will, but that they had made agreement by oath and by writing; so Don Nuño and Don Pedro told us on their behalf. And therefore they prayed me to go out and receive Don Fernando, who was my uncle, and En Guillen de Montcada, who was an honourable man, and Don Pedro Ahones. I accordingly went out, and told them that it was winter and late in the day, and that they should come in with only four or five knights, and leave their companies in the villages outside. And thereupon it was settled that I myself should go home to my own house, and so I did, whilst they remained, as agreed, at the gates of the town, which I had ordered to be closed behind me. But Don Nuño and Don Pedro, to whom I had given charge of the gates, let in as many as wished to come in, without my knowledge; and in this manner there entered fully two hundred of the knights, who had come with them into Alagon. And I was then a boy, not more than fifteen years old; and I said to the Queen Doña Leonor, “Know ye that all the knights who came with Don Fernando and with En Guillen de Montcada and with Don Pedro Ahones, are already inside the town?”⁷⁴ Great indeed was my astonishment thereat. I asked those who guarded the gates why had they allowed them to enter the city, and who had let them in. And they told me that Don Nuño and Don Pedro Fernandez had let them enter. I then said to myself, “By St. Mary! great treason is this; that those in whom I trusted should thus betray me, bringing my enemies inside the town!”

22. And when morning came, I went to hear mass in the great church of Alagon; and above, in the choir, where the priests chaunted, were Don Fernando, and Don Guillen de Montcada, and Don Pedro Ahones and Don Pedro Fernandez de Azagra and Don Nuño, who was supposed to be of my side; but they all seemed then to be of one mind. And Don Fernando stood up and said: “Sir, you know well how near of kin I am to you, and that I am a brother of your father. I will not do anything to displease you, and therefore am I come here with Don Guillen de Montcada and Don Pedro Ahones, to obey your commands as our Lord; as to war with you we will have none.” And, thereupon, En Guillen de Montcada⁷⁵ stood up and said: “Sir, what men say that you wish us ill, is great evil to us; and pray bethink you come to Zaragoza and enter into our city and our homes; there you can better say and act as you please; we are all prepared to do your bidding.” And Don Pedro Ahones said: “Enter Zaragoza; we are ready to do towards you as towards our Lord.” And thereupon they cajoled me so with fair tales and words, that I entered the city next day. And when I was inside and in my own palace, called La Suda,⁷⁶ at the Toledo⁷⁷ gate, they came and told us after sunset that there were fully one hundred armed men between the aforesaid gate and a postern there was close by, through which one got to the city wall. Soon after Guillen Boy and Pere Sanz de Martel came, sent by the people of Zaragoza, and entered my house; they had their beds made, and laid down where the women usually lay. Meanwhile, the Queen, hearing the noise of the armed men who remained outside, and of those who had entered the

⁷⁴“Sapiats que tots los cauallers son entrats qui venien ab don Ferrando e ab en G. de Muncada, e ab Don Pero Ahones. E vels vos aqui en Alago, e marauellam nos molt de aquesta cosa.”

⁷⁵The name of this nobleman is variously written throughout this *Chronicle*: Montcada, Muncada, and Moncada.

⁷⁶Sudda (in Castillian *azuda*) was the name for the Moorish Alcazar or palace at Saragossa. {arabic} in Arabic, *Porta domus, vestibulum*.

⁷⁷Thus in the edition of 1557; Tudela?

house to lie down before us, took to weeping very bitterly. I comforted her as well as I could. And there came in before me the said Guillen Boy and Pere Sanz de Martel; and Guillen Boy said to the Queen, “Lady,” said he, “do not weep; for soon you will be comforted; tears destroy reason; and all those tears of yours will turn to joy, and your anger will pass away.” This state of things lasted fully three weeks; the guard, and they (Boy and Sanz) lying down before us. Then came Don Ato de Foces, who had lately got into Zaragoza; at first they would not let him come in to me to advise, nor have private communication with me, little or much. At last he came and told me that since his stay at Zaragoza with dishonour he was there, and he was not called into Council, perhaps it should not grieve me if he retired and went home. I replied, “Go, for it is not to our honour nor to yours, that you are here.” He therefore departed and went to the country of Huesca. And thereupon I took Don Pedro Ahones apart, and said to him: “Don Pedro Ahones, much have I loved you, and caused you to be honoured by Don Artal d’Alagó; and yet you now take part in this great dishonour that I am now suffering. I therefore, from this moment, cast myself loose from your love, and while I live will love you not.” And he said, “For what cause?” “Because,” said I to him, “you behold my dishonour and my hurt; if it were not for you, this dishonour and hurt could not have befallen me; and because you could remedy it, and did not.” Don Pedro argued with me about that, and said that in what he and the others were doing there was no dishonour nor hurt; and that he cared little for my words.

23. And after that talk I went to the Queen, and said to her: “Well do I know and see the hurt and dishonour that you and I are suffering; and though I am still a child, I intend having my revenge, and you will also, if you will only follow my advice.” Then I said to her: “In this house there is a trap-door leading to a subterraneous passage; I will get two ropes; I will seat you on a board, and lower you down; then I will send for En Artal (d’Alagó),⁷⁸ that he may come here with his men the very night that we are to do this; and when we know that he has arrived, you will go out [of the house] by the door below, and Don Artal will go away with you, and I will remain here at Zaragoza. I dare not attempt anything for fear of their hurting you; but as soon as you have gone away. I will address Don Fernando, or Don Guillen de Montcada, or Don Pedro Ahones, and will tell them that they all did treason in what they did against me. I will then mount a horse, which I will have in readiness, and this they cannot prevent, because if any of them attempt to stop me, I will kill him. I do not believe that they can overtake me; I will have such a swift horse that I have no fear of their coming far after me.”

And she replied: “Know ye that for nothing in the world will I be lowered down from this on a board with ropes.” And I begged and entreated her much, but she would not do it. I, therefore, let the thing rest, and did nothing on account of her fears.

24. And then came En Guillen de Montcada and made Don Fernando beg of me that for the harm that I had done him (Montcada) in Catalonia, I would make amends to him. I replied that what I had done, I had done rightfully, and that I would make him no amends. And they both said that indeed I should; that the amend would be much to him and little to me; that I should give him twenty thousand morabatins;⁷⁹ and I persisted that I would not. At last, in the expectation that the

⁷⁸“E dixem li be conexem e veem lo dan e la onta que vos y (*sic*) nos prenem, e jatsia que nos siam infant nos ne vengarem siu voleu vos. E dixem li en esta casa ha una trapa e haurem dos cordes, e seurem vos en una taula, e auallar vos hem de aqui enjus, e enviarem la nuyt que aço deurem fer per don Artal Dalago,” &c.

⁷⁹The original gold coin of that name, struck by the Sultans of the Almoravide dynasty, in imitation of the Roman Aureus, seems to be meant. It was about the seventh of an ounce, and would be worth now about 11s. This was the “*maravedi de oro*,” or *morabetinus aureus*. There was another called “*maravedi de plata*” (*argenteus*), which by successive expansion of the currency has, like the Portuguese *reis*, become a coin of nominal value.

aforesaid knights would leave the traitorous ways that they were in, I yielded and promised them the twenty thousand morabatins. And when I had stayed at Zaragoza for a while, I went to Tortosa, and the Queen went to Burbaguena. And Don Fernando and Don Guillen de Montcada and Don Nuño began to distribute the fiefs and “honors” of Aragon among their friends, pretending that they were bestowing them with my sanction; but the truth is that they divided them as they liked best.

25. After that I left Tortosa without their knowing of it, and came to Orta, which belongs to the order of the Temple; whereupon I summoned the barons and knights holding land in fief from the crown to come to me at Teruel, for that I intended to enter the kingdom of Valencia and make war on the Moors, and that they should do service for the land they held of me, and accordingly named a day for their being there. And, thereon, I made contract for supplies with Don Pasqual Monyos, who had been a great favourite of my father, and one of the best townsmen in the whole country in those days. Monyos told me that he would supply very willingly, and for nothing, as much as he could of his own and of his friends’ wealth; and so he supplied for three weeks all that was wanted. And when the day arrived that they, that is, the barons of Aragon, were to come to me, there came only Don Blasco d’Alagó, and Don Artal de Luna, and Don Ato de Foces; and I saw plainly that the rest would not come on the day fixed for the meeting. And in consequence of this their absence, I had to consume the supplies that had been stored up to invade the country of the Moors. And, therefore, I resolved to make a truce with Seit Abuzeit,⁸⁰ who was then King of Valencia, the truce to last three weeks, after which he should give me the fifth of all his revenue from Valencia and Murcia, excepting the “zeka.”⁸¹ And Seit bound himself to that in writings, and by deeds and agreements which he signed; and so the truce was made with him. And when the three weeks aforesaid were passed, I, who had by that time consumed the supplies that should have been employed in the raid, left Teruel, and entered Aragon. And when I got to the second village below Calamocha, I there met Don Pedro Ahones who was coming with fifty or sixty knights, and I asked him whence he came, and where he was going. And he told me that he was going to enter the country of the Moors, he and his brother the Bishop of Saragossa.⁸² And I said to him, “Turn back with me, for I wish to speak with you about that.” And he begged me not to delay him on his journey, as he wished to go on. And I said to him, “Don Pedro Ahones, I will not delay you much if I ask you to ride one short league with me, for I wish some of the Aragonese barons to be present when I come to speak my mind to you.” And he said that he was content; and so I went to Burbaguena, to a house belonging to the order of the Temple, which is on the Daroca and Teruel road, at the entrance of the village as one comes from Daroca; and there were with him Don Blasco de Alagon, Don Artal de Alagon, Don Ato de Foces, Don Ladron, Don Assalit de Gudar, Don Pelegrin de Bolas, and himself, with his purpoint⁸³ on, and his sword

⁸⁰Abu Zeid. Seid, {arabic} was his real name.

⁸¹The words of the original are: “after deducting the zaká, or contribution for the poor.” Zaka, in Spanish *azaque*, is from the Arabic {arabic}.

⁸²The Bishop of Saragossa at this time was Sancho de Ahones, from 1216 to 1236.

⁸³“E ell vestit son perpunt e sa spassa cinta, e un bauyt de malles de ferre al cap.” *Perpunt* (pourpoint) was a thick quilted vest to wear under the armour; in old French *gambesson*, *gambison*, and *gambosson*. (See Lacombe, *Dictionnaire du vieux Language François*, vol. i. p. 238.) As to *bahuyt*, it is explained as follows in the “Tavla de les paravles difícils” prefixed to the *Chronicle de En Jacme*: “armadura de cap feyta de malle, de la qual abaxaua malla fins a la cara e al coll.” I doubt, however, from the explanation given if *bauyt* or *bahuyt* be the true reading. Why not *babuyt* (babera)? At any rate it seems equivalent to the Spanish *almofar* from the Arabic, {arabic} *cassis*, *galea* of a peculiar form.

girded, and a hood of mail on his head. And I was then entering upon my seventeenth year. And I said to him, “Don Pedro Ahones, I waited for you at Teruel fully three weeks from the day I had appointed for you and the others to come, intending, as I published in my ban, to make a good raid against the Moors with you and with the barons of Aragon; and when I say a good raid I mean this, that I have not yet seen Moors in war, and it would have pleased me much to see them in their own country and fight with them; but for want of you especially, and because I was told at the time that with so few knights as I had at Teruel, I should not enter the country of the Moors (for if God did not help me I might there meet with disgrace or death), I desisted from the undertaking, and thereon Seit Abuzeit sent word to me that he would willingly give me the fifths⁸⁴ of Valencia and Murcia if I made a truce with him, and I accepted; wherefore I pray you, Don Pedro Ahones, and command you, that you keep that truce, and do not break through it.” And he said to me, that the preparations that he had made for the undertaking had cost much money both to himself and to his brother, the bishop; and that I could not really wish for him and his brother to lose their cost, and be thereby impoverished. And I replied: “Don Pedro Ahones, very wrongfully speak you to me; the truce I speak of was entirely made through your default, and through your not coming to me on the appointed day. Now you tell me that you will not give up this expedition as I command you. See what you are doing; you go against my sovereignty, and I certainly did not expect that of you. I therefore wish to know if you will give up your purpose for our prayers and commands.” And Don Pedro replied that he would do everything for my prayers and commands; but this thing he could not do, for it cost him so much money that he could not give it up; and that he entreated me to let him enter into the Moors’ country, he and his brother, the bishop, and that he would do me good service therein. And I said: “Rather bad service would that be, if you broke the truce that I have granted. I wish therefore to know if you will obey my orders or not.” And he said to me that he could do nothing else. And therefore I said to him: “Then since you wish to break what is so dear to me as my word and promise of this truce, know ye that I resolve to take you prisoner.”

26. Thereupon no more words were said. Don Pedro stood up; and those who were about me, that is, the above-named knights, left the room, and all went to the top of the house, and took their swords in hand, rolling their cloaks about their arms, with their quilted coats on, and left me alone with Don Pedro. And Don Pedro was a good knight, and very good at arms, and he put his hand to his sword, but I held the sword and the hand, so that he could not draw it. And Don Pedro’s retainers were still outside of the house, and had not dismounted from their horses; and when they heard the noise that was made inside the house, fully thirty or forty of them at once dismounted. Don Pedro, in the meanwhile, hearing his people come up stairs, tried to get his sword out of the scabbard, but I hindered him, and he could not draw it. His men, however, came into the room, and as my own were in their quarters at the time, and could not help me, they had it all their own way; they released Don Pedro, and took him away from me by force, for I had secured him, and he could not help himself.⁸⁵ On this occasion those of my men who were with me in the house did not help me in the least, but looked on at my struggle with Don Pedro. And after that Don Pedro’s men mounted him on his horse, and sent him away; and they themselves,

⁸⁴“E sobre aço, feu nos parlar Zeytabuzeit quens donaria les quintes de Valencia e de Murcia, e que aguessen treua ab ell.” The word quintes, in Spanish *quintos*, means the fifth part of all the revenue of Valencia and Murcia. Seit Abu Zeit, or Zeytabuzeit, is the name of the king who then ruled over those countries; but it is badly spelt, for {arabic} are his title and his *kunya* (alcuña). His real name was Abde-r-rahman.

⁸⁵“Que el no hauia poder de si ques partis de nos.”

with his armour,⁸⁶ went after him. I then told a knight of Alagon, named Miquel Dagues,⁸⁷ who happened to have his horse at the door of the house, to let me have it; he did, and I mounted it. I had then a quilted coat on, and they brought me my arms, and forthwith I went in pursuit of him. But, before all these preparations could be made, Don Ato⁸⁸ rode off, followed by four esquires of his on horseback; and shortly after Don Ato, Don Blasco and Don Artal also rode off with their respective followers, all of them in pursuit. Don Ato was the first to overtake Don Pedro at the end of some walls inclosing the vineyards of Burbaguena. And one of Don Pedro's men said to him, "Here comes Don Ato, who is following you." And Don Pedro Ahones said, "Let us turn, and let not the villain strike us in the back."⁸⁹ But Don Ato was not a villain, nor basely nurtured, yet those who were with him gave way, and, instead of keeping close to him, made room for Don Pedro's men to attack him; and so they did, for two of them approached Don Ato and wounded him—one struck him below the mouth on the left side, and the other struck him on the shield. Then Don Ato, for fear of another blow that was aimed at him, and lest he should not be able to withstand the full force of it, let himself fall on the right side of his horse, and threw himself on his shield, for fear of being killed. Meanwhile Don Blasco de Alagon and Don Artal Dalagon came up along the road; and I, passing by Don Ato, asked him how he was, and what had happened. And he said, "I am wounded, and behold those who wounded me, where they go." And there were with me at the time only Don Assalit Daguda[r] and Domingo Lopez de Pomar. And I saw Pedro Ahones, with twenty of his mounted followers, pushing up a hill to my left; he wished, no doubt, to take shelter in a castle of his brother, the bishop, called Cotanda.⁹⁰ And Don Blasco de Alagon and Don Artal de Alagon went after him, about a cross bow-shot off. And Don Pedro Ahones got to the top of a hill with his men, and halted there; and Don Exemen Lopez de Rigols dismounted, and told Don Pedro Ahones to mount his horse, as his own was tired, and to think of getting into shelter at once. And while doing that, they threw stones, great and small, at those below, that they might not push up the hill behind them; and Don Pedro Ahones then changed horses as above said. And when he saw that we were in pursuit, he said to Don Assalit and Don Domingo Lopez de Pomar, "I know of a short cut that will enable us to get to them." "Let us go," said I; and I myself went considerably in front of the other two, for my horse was faster than theirs. And when I got up the hill, Don Pedro's men began throwing stones at those of Don Artal and Don Blasco's; and they stopped, and did not push up the hill. But I, followed by some of my own men, pushed on, and arrived at the top, and then cried, "Aragon! Aragon!"⁹¹ upon which Don Pedro's men began to abandon him, except one, called Martin Peris Desquita,⁹² who came in my suite, following his lord. Meanwhile Sancho Martinez de Luna, elder brother of Martin Lopez, came up, and struck Don Pedro a blow with his spear, and put half a foot of it into

⁸⁶His arms or his armour, for both may be meant: "E sobre aço caualcaren lo en lo cauall seu, e meteren lo dauant ells, e apres avec ses armes anarense ab ell."

⁸⁷Also written "Daguas."

⁸⁸Ato, sometimes Atho de Foses or Fosses.

⁸⁹The Spanish translators have rendered this passage by "Vamos, pues, hácia el; no sea que se nos escape el villano." The original text has, "E dix don Pere Ahones tornem a ell, e nous pague detras lo vila, ço que ell no era vilá ne mal ensenyat," which is rather obscure.

⁹⁰Now Cutanda, which was then, as it is now, within the see of Saragossa.

⁹¹The original has: "E al venir que nos fem cridam Aragó, Aragó!"

⁹²The *Chronicle* has, Marti Peris de Mesquita.

his right side, through the opening of the quilted coat just under his arm. And Don Pedro was riding in front of us, no man riding between him and me, so close was I to him.

When he felt himself wounded, he stopped, and threw his arms round the neck of his horse; I was then close to him, and saw him slide from his horse, and fall; I dismounted, and put my arms over him. And, pitying him, I said, “Ah, Don Pedro Ahones, in evil hour were you born; why would you not believe the advice I gave you?” And he answered not, for he could not say a word to me, but he looked me fully in the face.⁹³

27. And on this Don Blasco came there, and said: “Ah, my lord, leave that lion to us, that we may take revenge for the harm he has done to us.” And I said to Don Blasco: “God confound you, that at this time you should say such things! I tell you that if you strike Don Pedro Ahones, you shall have to strike me first. I forbid you to touch him.” I then had him mounted on a beast, with an esquire to support his body; but he died on the road before we got to Burbaguena. I thence went to Daroca;⁹⁴ and I carried thither Don Pedro Ahones’ body in a coffin, and had it buried in Saint Mary’s of Daroca. And when I left, the people of that town (Daroca) insulted my men, namely those who had remained behind, and were to follow me; and they struck one of my esquires, a relation of Don Pelegrin de Bolas, in the mouth⁹⁵ with a stone, because of his calling them liars.

Don Pedro Ahones, whilst he lived, had held in pledge both Bolea⁹⁶ and Loarre,⁹⁷ which my father had pawned to him for a sum of money; and he had held these pledges so long that he must have thought himself fully paid for his loan. I, therefore, went thither, but found on my arrival [at Bolea] that Don Fernando and Don Pedro Cornell had thrown themselves into it, and that they had with them from seventy to eighty knights. I really thought, when I went thither, that I should find no one inside the town to oppose me, and that the inhabitants would be in my favour as good and loyal subjects; but I was mistaken; they had agreed to take the others’ side against me, and do me all the harm they could, as if I were not their natural lord. Perceiving, therefore, that the castle was strong, and defended by a numerous garrison of knights and footmen, and that there were provisions inside the town for fully a year,⁹⁸ I thought it better to move away, and depart therefrom, and so I did.

28. And when I had departed thence, the cities of Aragon rose against me, with Don Fernando and with Don Pedro Cornell and the party of Don Pedro Ahones at their head. And thereon I sent for En Guillen de Moncada to come to me, and he came with all his power. And the cities of Aragon were all against me, save only Calatayud. I went to Almudevar, and stayed there for three weeks; then I removed to Pertusa, and sent for En Ramon Folch de Cardona, who came to my aid at the end of a month, with good sixty knights—he and his brother En Guillen de

⁹³According to Zurita, ii. p. 80, a new confederation, of which Pedro Ahones was the leading spirit, had been formed to control and turn to their own advantage the government of Aragon, and the knowledge of this determined the king’s vigorous action on this occasion.

⁹⁴“E lleuam don Pere Ahones en un *taut* a Daroca.” *Taut*, in Spanish *atahud*, comes from {arabic} *tabút*, which means a coffin.

⁹⁵“Ab una pedra en les barres,” literally on the cross-bars of the vizor.

⁹⁶“Tenia en penyora Bolea,” &c. *Penyora*, from the Latin *pignus*, in Spanish “enpeño.”

⁹⁷Here the Spanish version has: “Tenia don Pedro Ahones empeñados (?) Bolea y Loarre,” instead of which the original has Sobrarbe, which is decidedly a mistake, for Sobrarbe is the name of a county, not of a town.

⁹⁸“E que hi havien que menjar de go que trobaren en la vila be per un any.”

Cardona. I then sent to the front, against them of Zaragoza, Don Blasco Dalagó⁹⁹ and Don Artal de Luna; and there remained with me only Don Ato and Don Rodrigo Liçana and Don Ladró. Meanwhile the Bishop of Zaragoza,¹⁰⁰ brother of Don Pedro Ahones, sent his men on a foray; and they came after sunset to Alcovera, which they took and sacked completely. This happened during Lent, yet the good bishop gave his men absolution for the evil they had done, and besides gave them licence to eat meat, to whoever would eat it. After this the people of Zaragoza, whilst Don Blasco and Don Artal were in Alagon, went again to Castelar. But the two above-named knights crossed the Ebro, and attacked the Zaragozans on the hills opposite Castellar, when there were fully three hundred of them killed and taken prisoners. And En Ramon Folch came meanwhile to Pertusa; and I was enabled with his assistance to get hold of the provisions which the people of Zaragoza and of Huesca, and the knights who had come in their aid, had bought at Monzon, fully two thousand cafizes¹⁰¹ of wheat, Aragonese measure. After that I made a “mangonel,” went to Ponsano,¹⁰² and took its castle.

29. And thence I removed my camp to Cellas,¹⁰³ and set up the “mangonel”¹⁰⁴ against that town, and, on the third day that it had battered the castle, an esquire, who was inside, opened a parley, and asked me to appoint a day at which, if he were not succoured, he should surrender the castle. It was the opinion of En Ramon Folch, and of Don Rodrigo Liçana, and Don Ato, and Don Ladró, and Don Pedro Pomar, that I should give the esquire time, but that it should be short; he asked fifteen days, I gave him eight, and the agreement was made accordingly. Don Ato, moreover, said that he would cross the river, and if he perceived any one coming against us, he would at once come and let me know of it. On the eighth day, accordingly, I returned to Pertusa, and held a council there early in the morning. And I ordered the people of the town, in virtue of the dominion I had over them, that early next day they should go to Cellas with their arms, on pain, for him who should not be there, of losing all he had in that district. And I ordered letters in like style to be written to the inhabitants of the towns of Barbegal and Barbastro, summoning them to be all there with us on that day.

And, surely, when I had had my dinner (it happened to be a fast-day), there came by the road from Huesca Don Pelegrin Datrosil¹⁰⁵ and Don Gil; they came by themselves, without followers, but armed with lance and shield, trotting, and even galloping as hard as they could. They pointed them out to me, but I could not recognise them at first, till they got to the Pertusa bridge, whereupon I went to the foss¹⁰⁶ close to St. Mary, and waited for them to hear what their errand was. And they came, and said to me: “God protect you! Behold, here come Don Fernando and Don Pedro Corneyl; and they of Zaragoza and of Huesca with them; they come to succour Cellas; we left them near Vilella, and they are coming here as fast as they can.” Hearing this, I gave orders to saddle. There were with me at the time only four knights; but I ordered the townsmen [of Pertusa] on pain of treason to come and follow me; similar orders were sent to Barbegal and

⁹⁹Dalagó (de Alagó), Ladró, and other names ending in ó, are meant for Alagon, Ladron, &c.

¹⁰⁰Don Sancho Ahones from 1216, to 1236.

¹⁰¹On the meaning of the word *cafiz*, see above, note 52.

¹⁰²Ponzano in the Upper Aragon.

¹⁰³Cellas and Las Cellas, now called “Las Ciellas” in the province of Huesca.

¹⁰⁴The *Manganellus*, a war engine.

¹⁰⁵The original has Atrofil.

¹⁰⁶“Speram los aqui a la sglesia de Sancta Maria en lo fossar.” Fossar, in Spanish “osario,” is properly speaking a cemetery.

to Barbastro. I then went to Cellas, and found there En Ramon Folch and En Guillen de Cardona and Don Rodrigo Liçana and my own train, yet in all there were not more than from sixty to seventy knights. I told them to arm and get their horses ready, as Don Fernando was coming, as well as those of Zaragoza and Huesca who followed him; and all, accordingly, set themselves to arm and prepare their horses. And whilst I was giving the above-said orders, En Pere Pomar, who was an old knight, and one of my own train, addressed me in these words: “My lord, I will give you good advice: here is a hill,¹⁰⁷ very strong, almost impregnable; take possession of it, and whilst you are there, the towns will hear of it and flock round you.” And I replied: “Don Pedro Pomar, I am King of Aragon, and I defend my right; those who come against me are my subjects, and they do wrong in coming to fight against me; I am in my right, they are wrong, and God will help me. I will not leave the town alive; I will conquer them, and not do as you advise this time.” I, therefore, waited for them, and took the Castle of Cellas after all, for they never came to its relief.

30. After this I returned to Pertusa; and the Archbishop of Tarragona, by name En Esparech,¹⁰⁸ and a kinsman of mine, when he saw Aragon in such bad state, and my subjects doing against me what they should not do, came to Pertusa, and begged hard of me, for his and for God’s sake, that I would make terms with my subjects, and let him treat between them and me. I consented, and the Archbishop, having my word to that effect, opened parley with them. Yet he could not make any arrangement, for they demanded things against my sovereignty; and consequently the parley was broken off. And when the people saw that Cellas¹⁰⁹ had been taken, they of Huesca sent message by Don Martin de Perexolo, who was my merino,¹¹⁰ and by other friends I had in that town, that if I went to Huesca, they were sure I might do what I pleased there. And so I went, and I would not on the march thither put any of my knights into armour, for fear those of Huesca should take alarm. And before I got there, about twenty of the chief men of the town came out to meet me to Saint Mary de Sales, and I spoke with them, and said that I wondered much at their coming out to meet me, as I never intended doing them harm—on the contrary, nothing but good; and that if my ancestors had done them good, and had loved them, I would certainly love them as much or perhaps more. And when the people of Huesca heard that, they thanked me much for it and bid me welcome into their town, and, moreover, said that they would do for me what faithful vassals should do for their natural lord. And on my making entry into the town, the children and the common people showed great joy at my coming. I entered Huesca at the hour of vespers, and there entered with me Don Rodrigo Liçana and Don Blasco Massa, and my train, Don Assalit and Don Pelegrin de Bolas, and many others. And they did not invite me [to eat], and when I had eaten I began joking, and told them in jest that it was very plain that I might do what I pleased in the town, since they had received me so well.

31. And when I and all those who usually slept about me had lain down, there came my porter and said that there were full a hundred armed men before the door [of the house]. I said to him: “Go away! I have just put off my armour, and you want me to get into it again: those men you speak of are no doubt the watch of the town.” He said: “My lord, send one of your own

¹⁰⁷“Puig,” pronounced *puch*, as in Puig Cerdá, Puig d’Ollers, &c., is a hill; in *Latin* “podius.” The word translated by “train” in this and other instances is *maynada*, in Spanish “mesnada,” equivalent to, and evidently derived from, the French “mesnade.”

¹⁰⁸Esparago, or Sparago de Barca or de la Barca.

¹⁰⁹Las Celles. See above, note 103.

¹¹⁰Merino, from “Majorinus,” the officer now called in Spain *alcalde mayor*.

esquires, and I will show him.” And I said: “Let me go to sleep; it can be only as God wills.” When morning came, and I rose and had heard mass, I proclaimed a council to be held in the open space¹¹¹ between my house and that of Montaragon.¹¹² And I being on horseback, and they all standing before me, I held a great council; and said to them: “Men, I believe indeed that you know, and ought to know, that I am your lord by birthright, and that of long standing; that with me there have been no less than fourteen kings in Aragon, and the longer the loyal connection between you and us has been, the closer should it be now, for in proportion as kindred is extended, and connection becomes more intimate, loyalty is strengthened. Hitherto I have done you no harm, nor do I intend it to you, but rather have at heart to love and honour you, and to preserve all the good customs and usages under which you have hitherto lived, and all the privileges granted to you by my ancestors. If any more are required, I will grant you fresh and better ones; but I marvel much at this, that I should have to guard against you, and dare not enter your town, and the others that God has given me, and which I inherited from my father. It grieves me much, indeed, that there should be war between me and you; and I pray and command you that it be not so, for war is a thing that grieves me most. This you can very well imagine, when you see me thus coming alone among you. I trust in you, and in your love, which I prize above all things, and wish to keep.” And with that my speech ended, and they replied and said that they thanked me much for what I had said, and that the Town Council would assemble and deliberate, and would reply to me. They accordingly went to the house of Montaragon to deliberate, but were a long while about it.

32. And while I was waiting for the result of their deliberations, there came word to the Town Councillors that En Ramon Folch and the companies, who were outside, were surrounding the town on all sides. The councillors were alarmed, and I sent them word: “Have no fear, and hear what I will say to you when you come.” And I sent for those who were assembled in the Town Council; part of them came, but made no reply to my message. I then said: “Good men,¹¹³ I marvel much that you take alarm at nothing; it cannot be that while I am with you any man dare do anything against you; for every penny you lose (what cannot happen) I will willingly forfeit ten to you.” And the councillors replied: “You say well; but let the order be given as if it came from you.” And I said: “So it shall be; from this moment I, the king, forbid any harm being done to you.” And I sent immediately some one to ascertain the cause of the rumour, and found that there was nothing at all; yet with all this the councillors returned no answer to my message, but got up from their seats and went away.

And I went into my house, and there went in with me Don Rodrigo Liçana and Don Blasco Maça and some of my own train, and Don Assalit, and Don Rabaza, my notary; and it was said that the townsmen were actually barring the streets with chains, and closing the gates. I said to Don Rabaza: “Have you any law that is good for me and you at the same time?” and he replied: “My lord, neither law nor right is here of any avail.” And I said to him: “Know ye aught else to advise?” He said, “No; but ye may take counsel of these nobles.” And I accordingly asked the

¹¹¹Corral is, properly speaking, a courtyard, an enclosed piece of ground at the back of a house; Spanish, “patio” and “corral.”

¹¹²The convent of that name, being a league away from Huesca can hardly be meant. Montaragon seems to have been the title of the Town Hall.

¹¹³“E dixim los: Barons marauellam nos molt,” &c. The word *barons*, from the Teutonic *bahr*, cannot be translated in this instance by barons in English, since they were townsmen or citizens, and did not belong to the nobility of the land.

advice of those present, and they said, "Great treasons are being concocted;" but nothing more would they explain. Thereon I said: "Since no one will give advice, I will explain my own as best I can. Let us send to the shambles (said I to the notary) to buy sheep; that will make them believe that we are preparing dinner; meanwhile do you all get to saddle and go with the rest. When that is done, I will send for my horse, my quilted coat (camisole), for my coat of mail, and for my arms; and you be all ready, and wait for me in the square."

And the thing was done as I said; there came En Rodrigo Liçana and Don Blasco Maça, and three more, for we were only five in all. I went down to the gate which goes out to the Isola¹¹⁴ and the road to Bolea; but, finding the gate shut, inquired who had shut it. A woman there was, who said the Town Councillors had ordered it to be shut. And I said to an esquire of mine: "Where is the porter?" And he said: "He is usually up there." I sent two of my esquires for him, and they brought him down; and he came, all pale, and I asked him, "Who has the key of this gate?" He said: "The Town Councillors have it." I said to him: "Now give it me instantly, or else I will lay thee dead with a sword cut on thy head." I made the esquires go up with the porter; they soon brought down the key, and the porter also a prisoner. I made him open the gate, and waited till all the knights came in. When they all had come, I went outside; but news came that some esquires of my train and some baggage-mules had been retained inside, upon which I told twenty or thirty men of Huesca, who were with me outside: "You send one man to the town, and see that all my belongings be allowed to quit unmolested." Having said as much, I went down to the Isola, crossed it, and found there En Ramon Folch and En Guillen de Cardona, with all the other knights, and with their train, besides Don Ato, all of whom were lamenting my loss, for they thought that we had all been kept prisoners. Those of Huesca, in the meantime considering me in their power, had sent word to Don Fernando and to those of Zaragoza to come.

33. After that I went to Pertusa. And being there, Don Fernando and Don Guillen de Moncada and Don Pedro Corneyl came to Huesca, and they had among themselves some talk of coming to terms with me. They would admit that they had acted wrong, and would send me, as they did, a messenger acknowledging their error. This pleased me and my Council much, and the message was very acceptable to all of us. I then asked the messenger: "What sort of agreement is it that you propose?" He replied that they would go out to the mountains above Alcalá, and that I and my company might go thither also; that I should go out with seven of my Council, and that they should come with six or seven of their chief townsmen, and that the rest of the company should be left behind. The messenger said also that they would gladly come to me to Pertusa, only they were afraid that some bad man might pick a quarrel with them; and that they wished to speak with me as vassals ought to speak with their natural lord, and that before they separated from me they would so act that I should be content. And, as it was said, it was done. We went out to meet them, with coats of mail on and swords girt. There went with me En Ramon Folch, En Guillen de Cardona, Don Ato de Foces, Don Rodrigo Lizana, Don Ladró, the son of the other Don Ladró (En Pere), a knight of noble and great lineage, Don Assalit de Gudá, and one knight more besides Don Pelegrin de Bolas. On their side there came Don Fernando, my uncle, En Guillen de Moncada, father of Don Gastó, Don Pedro Corneyl, Fernando Perez de Pina, and others of their party, whose names I do not remember. Don Fernando was the first to speak, and began thus: "My lord, we have come here before you; we grieve much for the war that has been between us and you, and we fully intend to put an end to it; we pray you to pardon us, for it is our wish to serve you, I and En Guillen de Moncada, and Don Pedro Corneyl, and as many as belong

¹¹⁴Isuela.

to our party; for though we have suffered harm by you, we acknowledge having done you harm, for which we are very sorry. Had we to make amends for the harm we have done, we could in nowise make the compensation required, for certainly the harm done has been very great, and no reparation can be made for our faults; wherefore we implore your forgiveness, and your mercy, and humbly beseech you to take good care of us, and treat us well; towards me, in particular you are bound to do so on account of the relationship that I have with you, and towards Don Guillen de Moncada, for no king in the whole of Spain had ever so good a vassal as you have in him, or who can do so good service." And with that he ended. And then spoke Don Guillen de Moncada, and said: "My lord, the obligation in which I stand to your royal person, no one knows it better than you do, for the Counts of Barcelona from whom you descend, gave my ancestors large domains and lands, whereof I, by the grace of God, have more than others of my race, for I possess the domain of Bearne in Gascony, which no other [of my ancestors] had. All that I have, and can have, I will put at your service. God, Who knows all things, knows that what I did was intended for your advantage, and your honour; but since my doing does not please you, it does not please me either. I am not ashamed to say that I was mistaken, and did wrong to you; be merciful and forgive me and those who were with me in this business, for you may be sure that never more will I war with you, holding it as certain that you will not willingly do wrong to me, nor to my friends, nor to my relations; and if you should, I am sure, by supplications, and with love, to overcome any bad feeling you may entertain towards me and mine, and to conquer your affection through the good service I intend to render you in future, and which I hope will avail me with you." And so their speech ended. And thereon I told him and them that I would consider the matter, and return an answer. So I left them, and they went away. The barons who were with me said that well and nobly had they (Don Fernando and Don Guillen) spoken, and that they had shown great submission. And upon that I made them come back, and said: "What you have stated with such humility, and with such submission to me, I am content with; I take your good will as amends for the past, and am willing to keep you in my love and grace." And thereupon the knights on each side who were at a distance came on and inspected the settlement and agreement that had been made, at which all were joyful and content. And after that I went to Lérida.

34. More than a year and a half after this, being at Lérida, there came the Countess of Urgel, daughter of Count Ermengol,¹¹⁵ and of the Countess of Subirats, who had been wife of En Alvar Perez (they were now separated on account of consanguinity to each other, and she had no child by him); her name was Na Arambiays.¹¹⁶ I received her well, and when she had been two days at Lérida, went to see her. En Guillen de Cervera,¹¹⁷ Lord of Juneda, was with her as counsel, and certainly she did more through him than through any one else in the world; he advised her in her difficulties, because he had had her mother to wife, and also because he was an old man, and one of the wisest in all Spain; all that the Countess proposed to me, and to others, she did by his (Servera's) advice; and he did in her business, and in everything, whatever she needed done. And she said to En Guillen de Cervera, to propose the business for her. And En Guillen de Cervera said, "Lady, propose it yourself, for you know how to propose and state your own business better than U' SO they made her propose it: and she said to me: "that she had come to ask a favour of me, in as much as she knew, and so people said, that she would find justice and grace in me; she had come to Lerida because she suffered great wrong; all the land knew that she was the daughter

¹¹⁵Armengol.

¹¹⁶Aurembiaix. *Na* is the feminine for *En*.

¹¹⁷Sometimes written Servera.

of the Count of Urgel, En Ermengol, and that the county belonged to her rather than to any other, because of her being the Count's daughter, and of there being no son nor daughter but she; and that she called on me for love and grace to do justice to her, since from no man in the world could she get the same, save from me." And En Guillen de Cervera and En Ramon de Peralta took up her case, and promised to help her. En Ramon de Peralta, however, had refused to surrender Montmagastre till the Countess herself came; when she came he gave it up, and likewise the dues the Count had in the place, though he kept four castles for himself. The two [knights] came to me, and Cervera said, "My lord, it is a king's office and duty, that those who cannot have right by any other means should apply to him, and obtain justice at his hands. God has put you in His place to do right; this lady who has come before you is of great lineage by father and mother, as you know. She has been disinherited of her father's estates within your own dominions, and she comes to you for grace, that you cause to be returned to her the property which her father left her; she is so good in herself, that her virtues alone might prevail with you; help and assist her, as we beg and entreat you, and as she herself can and will do better than we." After Servera, En Ramon de Peralta said words to the same effect. I said to them: "Your prayers are just; consult on the matter, and do what ought to be done." I then took council of the bishop whose name was En Bng (Berenguer) Daril,¹¹⁸ of En Guillen de Moncada, of En Ramon Folch, of En Guillen Ramon, brother of En Ramon de Moncada and father of En Pedro, of Don Assalit, of Don Garcia Perez de Meytats,¹¹⁹ and of the principal inhabitants¹²⁰ of the city of Lérida. And they asked me to appoint En Guillen de Çasala to defend the Countess' suit, and so I did, and the Countess granted him for life the dues known as "Caldera de Lérida"¹²¹ which at that time were not worth more than two hundred sols a year, and have since risen to three thousand.

35. En Guillen de Çasala having been appointed for the defence, and having pleaded the Countess' case before the above-mentioned bishop and barons, they decided that the Count of Urgel, En Guerau de Cabrera,¹²² should be summoned to appear at Court, and do right to the Countess, and that all the three [customary] summons should be made as was proper. The Count did not come on the first summons that was made. And, therefore, before giving sentence against him or proceeding by form of law, I addressed myself to the Countess and said, "I cannot sentence this case unless the formalities of law are complied with; you and your advisers must wait." En Guerau was then summoned a second time, and on the day fixed, not before, En

¹¹⁸Berengar, or Berenguer de Erill. He was bishop of Lérida from the 22nd of December, 1205, to the 7th of October, 1235.

¹¹⁹Meitats.

¹²⁰Prohomens.

¹²¹A tax paid by the dyers of Lérida on each vat or pan they used. *Caldera* in Spanish means a "caldron." By "derecho de Caldera," or cauldron's dues, a tax is meant which the dyers of Barcelona and other towns of Catalonia used to pay on each vat or copper pan used. It is reported that in 1270 the amount of tax thus collected in the city of Lérida amounted to 15,000 sols.

¹²²En Guerau, son of Ponce, or Pontio, Viscount of Ager and Cabrera, had already, upon the death of Armengol, Count of Urgel, in 1208, laid claim to his estate, owing to his having left no male issue. The Count's widow, Doña Elvira, contrived during her life to maintain her right, but at her death, in 1220, Or thereabouts, En Guerau invaded the county of Urgel, and took possession of it on the plea that the last count having left no male heirs, the succession belonged to him.

Guillen de Cardona,¹²³ brother of En Ramon Folch, at that time Master of the Temple, appeared as proxy and representative for En Guerau, and alleged before those sitting in Court, that “En Guerau, Count of Urgel, marvelled much, as did all those who had heard of the summons, that what he (En Guerau) had held for twenty or thirty years without opposition of any sort, the pretended Countess being alive, and yet making no claim on him, should now be put in question and disputed. He was not bound to answer such a preposterous demand, and he begged me desist therefrom; for the Count, my brother (he said), is not a man upon whom such an unfounded claim, and so discourteous a demand should be made.” Then En Guillen Çasala spoke as follows for the Countess: “My lord, En Guerau de Cardona, who certainly is a man of dignity and honour, of illustrious descent and much respected, shows wonder at this our demand! A much greater wonder it is in my opinion that he should refuse to do right to so good a lady as the Countess is, and that whilst he himself is suing for justice in this your court, he should say that he is not prepared to do it to others. This is enough to prove that he acts and speaks by proxy against all reason; and God, my lord, put you in His place that to those who have not met with right or justice, you should administer it; and the Countess prays you to give her her right.” And then En Guillen de Moncada said, “Have you brought powers from the Count?” “No, I have not,” answered Cardona. “I came not here to plead, nor for aught else, but to say what was given me in charge, and therefore will now go away.” En Ramon de Moncada said, “Wait then till the King has deliberated, and he will reply to what you have said.” They accordingly left, and the Council met to deliberate. It was decided that I should tell Cardona, when he should come back into the room: “En Guillen de Cardona, you have brought here no power of attorney from En Guerau; further, you refuse to answer the claim and demand made in form of law; I wish to know whether you will or will not make answer to the demand that En Guillen Çasala makes of you.” Cardona answered and said, that he would give no further answer. And I said to him: “Then I will do my duty; I will summon [the Count] once more, and that will be the third summons, and if he will do right, I will accept it; if not, I will proceed as law requires.” Thereon he went away: and the third and last summons was made, after which En Guerau de Cardona came on the day fixed.

36. At the time that Guillen de Cardona, in obedience to the summons, appeared again, I was with all my court, and many nobles (*ricoshomes*), in the house of En Ramon Raboster, and all the Court and the barons heard what was said. En Guillen Sasala¹²⁴ was also there, who rose and said, “My Lord, I pray you and those present to listen to me; God willed that in this world there should be kings, and He gave them this duty to perform, to do justice to those who needed it, and especially to widows and orphans; and inasmuch as the Countess has no one to resort to but you, she has come to your court for two reasons; one because the claim she makes is in your land; the other because you can give her counsel and advice in the matter, and no one else in the world can. Therefore, the Countess beseeches you for grace, and as a subject would his good lord, that you should compel En Guerau, or En Guillen de Cardona, to answer the demand that has been made, because this is the third summons, and owing to En Guerau’s default the proceedings are stayed and nothing is being done. Now this is the last day; wherefore the Countess prays you as her lord, of whom she expects justice, that she may get it from you in this wise; that if En Guillen de Cardona has not come duly prepared to meet the claim, you do at once proceed against En

¹²³Instead of Guillen de Cardona, as printed, the Chronicle reads En Ramon; but it is evidently a misprint, for everywhere, in the following chapters, the nobleman who appeared at the court of James, as his proxy, is called *En Guillen*. Flotats and Bofarull, the translators of James’ Chronicle, fell into the same mistake. (Page 57.)

¹²⁴The name of this lawyer, for such he was, is sometimes written Çasala, at others *Sazala*, and even *Savala*.

Guerau and his property, so that the Countess may have rightful satisfaction of the claim she makes against him." En Guillen de Cardona then said: "Listen to me, En Guillen [Sasala]. Do you suppose for a moment that through your specious pleading, which you learned at Bologna, the Count will lose his countship?" And En Guillen Sasala said: "I only ask right for the Countess; and if our claim be a just one, we have confidence in my lord the king that he will give it us. I will not leave defending my lady's right for you and your threats." And En Guillen de Cervera said: "Have you something more to say." And En Guillen de Cardona took no notice, and said: "My lord, give me a safe conduct, and I will go." "What else do you intend to do?" said I. He replied, "Nothing." And En Guillen de Cervera observed: "I am very much afraid, En Guillen de Cardona, that your intentions are different." And Cardona replied: "We shall see! it will be as God pleases." And he bade us adieu, and went away.

37. And meantime letters were despatched to Tamarit, for the townsmen to be on a certain day with their arms and with supplies for three days at Albelda, as I would certainly be there with my own train: and I said to En Guillen de Moncada, and to En Ramon, and to En Guillen de Cervera, to come to me with all their followers, as I wanted to go against En Guerau. While the letters were on their way, Don Pedro Corneyl came to me, and I, finding that there were already thirteen knights in the camp, went to Albelda. On my arrival there I did not find there those of Tamarit nor the others, but only En Bertran de Calassans and En Ramon de Calassans with sixty or seventy footmen. It vexed me much to find that those of Tamarit were not there; for they of Albelda held the town, and were prepared to defend it with shields and crossbows and other arms. And I said to those who were by me, "So it appears that they hold the town against us? Do they? We shall see." I dismounted, left the horses in charge of the esquires, took my arms, assailed, fought with them, and took the town. Shortly after some of the Tamarit people made their appearance, and at sunset a capitulation was signed. The people in the castle also sent a messenger to say that if I promised not to hurt them they would give it up, and it should remain in my subjection. And when the morning dawned, they surrendered the castle to me.

38. After this I moved thence, and said to my men: Let us go to Menargues, for before they know of our coming I will have secured much of their country." Some knights of my train had come to me, so that I had fully thirty knights; and I went with them to Menargues. I said to those who were with me, "You wait here, whilst I send forward three or four knights." En Rocafort went accordingly on with three other knights, whose names I do not remember at present. The men had all gone up to the castle with their arms and with all the supplies they could get in the town. I went to the gate of the castle, and said: "Men, you know well that the Countess is your liege lady, and she does not desire your destruction, nor that you die here, nor lose anything that is yours; go down to your houses, and I will assure you, in my royal name and in hers, that no harm will be done unto you, but that you will be defended against all men." One of them then said: "My lord, what are we to do with the castle that En Pons de Cabrera [the Count of Urgel] gave us in charge?" I answered: "You know well that our sovereignty prevails over that of any one else. I will be warrant that you shall not do anything against your duty; go down in peace, and I take your trust upon myself." Since the King says it, so will we do," said one of them. Before, however, they opened the gate they again said to me, "And you really say that we may go down, on your word?" "Yes," said I. And they actually came down with their arms and their goods; and I sent for the knights to come forthwith. When the people saw how few knights I had with me, they were greatly discomforted. Though we had no meat in our camp, I would not take any from them; and sent about twenty horsemen to make a foray in the environs of Balaguer; they brought us as many as sixteen cows and calves; we bought bread and wine, and thus prepared food for three days.

39. And presently companies from Catalonia and Aragon came to me, so that we were in all two hundred knights, and had besides up to a thousand footmen. I went against Linesola (Liñola), and arrived there after the third day. And while I was before Linesola, the day after our arrival there came R. de Moncada, upon which all the army got ready to fight; and they (the enemy) entered the town and took possession of it. And En R. de Cardona came to me and said: "I would counsel you, my lord, not to fight; there are good soldiers there inside the town, and its capture would not really be worth the harm that you and yours might receive. Let me parley with them, and see if I cannot get good terms, for you?" But I would not listen to him, and went up to the town and fought with those inside, and on foot, as I was, with my own men I took the town. Upon which the besieged barricaded themselves in the fortress, where there was a very good tower and several outworks;¹²⁵ but the same day they surrendered to me, and the day after I established my camp there.

40. Thence I went to Balaguer to besiege it; I crossed the river at a place called Almata, and there ordered two "fonevols" to be made. Then came En Guillen de Moncada, En Guillen de Cervera, and some other barons of Aragon, and we were in all up to three hundred knights. And when we had been eight days at that place, a messenger came from Menargues and besides him¹²⁶ from En Pere Palau, two of the chief people in the town, saying that, if I wished to finish the work at Balaguer I should send for the Countess, who was then at Lerida, as she should summon them on their allegiance to her, having been once her father's subjects, and she was their lady, to surrender the town to her. And as I saw that these words were important and had a hidden meaning, and that they could not, for fear, send me such an answer as they wished, I sent them a message, thanking them much, and assuring them that I would repay the love they showed me, in such wise that it should profit them and their houses. And thereon, after a few days, the messenger returned to me; he was a young scholar, whom I did not hold in much account, and he repeated to me the very same words formerly uttered on their behalf. And I said to myself, "Of two things one: either they do this of themselves, or by the advice of others; it is so important a thing that if there be a party against them [in the town] they may yet not be strong enough to carry their point." I then asked the messenger: "When do your people wish the Countess to come to the camp?" And the messenger said: "I will send to them, and ask." He sent, and a day was fixed for her coming, and on that day the Countess came. At the end of four or five days the people of Balaguer sent to me again, to ask that I should bid a number of men with shields and in armour go before the Countess for protection and approach the wall, so that those on it might hear her speak, and that with the will of God they would comply with her demand, and do what they had said to me. Thereon I did as I had arranged with them. And so the Count [of Urgel] heard that there was some parley between us and those in the town.

¹²⁵"Els homens embarrarense en la força hon hauia una torra molt bona e albacar."

¹²⁶The Valencian edition of 1557 omits from this point to "we have heard your words and will deliberate on them," in c. 42. Evidently the copyist who prepared the book for the press turned over two or more pages of the MS. instead of one, the result being in the printed copy as follows, in two consecutive lines:—

Que havien ab ella, car eren stats de son pare, que li retessen la vila car lur dona. Acorde farem ço que far deurem, e no res als. E respos un cavaller de part de la.

It is strange that such nonsense can have passed under the eye of a *reader* or editor without being observed, and the omission detected and remedied.

I need scarcely add that the omission has been supplied, by the help of a Spanish friend, from one of the two copies of this Chronicle preserved at Barcelona.

41. En Ramon de Moncada had guard by day and night of the fonevols [war-engines], and one day between nones and vespers he was on watch, and with him were En Sancho Perez de Pomar, son of En Pere de Pomar, En Bardoyl, who was his bailli or governor at Castelsera, and A. de Robio, a knight. When the men of Balaguer saw how few they were, they and En Guillen de Cardona, who was also in the town, came in armour, on horseback, through an opening they had made in the wall, and into the ditch, unobserved, with dry faggots soaked in grease. I happened to be at the time in the tent of En Guillen de Cervera, whom I had gone to visit. I was talking with him, when there was a cry: "To arms, to arms! They are coming to set fire to the fonevols, and are bringing burning faggots for that purpose." And En G. de Cardona had with him as many as twenty-five knights in armour, besides two hundred footmen, including those who carried the faggots. And there came out with him Sire Guilleumes, the bastard son of the King of Navarre by a certain woman, and others. And Don Sancho Perez de Pomar had not courage to stand the attack; and he ran away towards the camp; so that there remained with En Ramon de Moncada only A. de Robio and En Guillen Bardoyl. En Guillen de Cardona came lance in hand against En Ramon de Moncada, and said to him: "Surrender, En Ramon, surrender." And En Ramon said: "To whom am I to surrender, foul minion—to whom am I to surrender?" Meantime Cardona's men approached the palisade and set fire to it, but could not get to the "fonevol," for I came up with the men and prevented it. On this occasion Blasco Destada, a young knight, made trial of his arms; and went up with the rest, helm on head and lance in hand, and fought with the people of Balaguer; and followed by Joan Martinez Dezleva on foot, with shield on arm and sword in hand, both attacked the Balaguerians as they were re-entering [the town], overtook them in the moat of the castle, and wounded one of the horsemen who had attempted to burn the fonevol.¹²⁷ Blasco de Estada himself went a stone's throw into the moat, wounded there a knight with his lance, and got away without receiving a blow from any one of them, nor from stones which they threw from the top of the wall.

42. On the third day the Countess came, and in presence of En Guillen de Cervera I told her of the parley with those in the town. She said that she would do whatever I might bid her, and would willingly repeat the words I wanted her to say; she only asked to be protected from the arrows of the Balaguerians. I said to her: "That you shall." Accordingly I caused upwards of fifty knights, with their coats of mail and shields, to go with the Countess and protect her: and she riding up, dismounted and approached the wall within a stone's throw, and one of the knights spoke for her. "Are you there, people of Balaguer?" As nobody answered the first time, she herself said to them, "The Countess is here; are the chief men of the town there?" Some one said: "Yes, they are; what do you want of them; and what is your errand?" Then one of the knights said: "The Countess prays you to listen to her for a little while: she is a woman, and cannot speak loud." Then the Countess said: "Good men, you know well that you were my father's men, his born lieges; and as you were his you are my liege men, for I am his daughter; wherefore I pray and command you, by the sovereignty I have over you, that you surrender Balaguer to me, your liege lady." And they replied: "We have heard your words, and will deliberate on them,¹²⁸ and do our duty, and nothing else." Then another knight replied on behalf of the Countess and said:

¹²⁷The original here is rather confused: "E Joan Martineç Desleva exi a peus escut abraçat e lespan en la ma, e al entrar que els faeren conseguí aquel de caual de laigns (lains?), e esgarra un caual al tornar que ells sen fayen can volgueren cremar lo fonevol." The Spanish translators seem to have been as unable as the present writer to give a clear translation of this passage.

¹²⁸To this point, from "your liege lady," is omitted in the edition of 1557.

“Good men, the Countess thanks you much for saying you will do your duty, and hopes that of you.” Thereon the Countess returned to the camp. And at vespers the student who had been carrying on messages between me and the town came and said that my plans had met with complete success. The Balaguerians sent word that if I and the Countess agreed to the terms they proposed, the town would be ours immediately. She would with my consent appoint a baron to hold Balaguer for En Pons¹²⁹ and for the Countess conjointly until such a time as the dispute was settled. They did not dare to stir because there was a great power in the castle, and they could not complete the business, but if they only could get the Count’s forces out of the town on any pretext, they would manage that both town and castle should be surrendered to the Countess.

43. And one morning, whilst the chiefmen of the town were talking together on a terrace, En Guerau¹³⁰ made a cross-bowman of his bend his bow and shoot an arrow into their assemblage, but he hit no one. “And so,” said they, “he shoots arrows at us, while we are defending the place and doing what we ought not to do, for his sake.” They sent to him two chiefmen to say they wondered much at him that he shot at them while they were in danger of death from the king, who had come against them and was laying waste their country; if he did so, they must protect themselves and take another course. When this message was received En Guerau (the Count of Urgel) and En Guillen de Cardona and their Council saw that the Balaguerians wished to submit to the Countess, and as they knew nothing of what had been planned in the town, they sent to me and offered terms. They would surrender the castle to En Ramon Berenguer Dager, and the question between the Count and Countess should be judged by my authority. And they of the town sent word agreeing to that; for I would (they said) get everything I wanted the moment the Count left the place. I spoke to En Guillen de Moncada about this, and said to him that I was willing to subscribe to those terms; that is, that the castle should be surrendered to En Ramon Berenguer Dager,¹³¹ for him to hold it in fealty and trust, and that whichever of the two, En Guerau or the Countess, won the suit, should have it. En Guillen de Moncada replied: “I do not hold that advice to be good; you should not do that. Since you have come as far, you should carry out your first intention, and not leave this till the castle is yours.” I had not yet disclosed to En Guillen what they in the town had communicated to me; so I said to him: “En Guillen, skill in most cases is better than strength. Now that you have spoken what you thought it your duty to speak, I will tell you the secret reason I have for wishing to do what I tell you. The chiefmen in the town have treated with me; they have sent me messages that they are quite willing to surrender both the town and the castle. The Countess came here because of that; and so I tell you that if the castle comes into the power of En Ramon Berenguer Dager, as soon as En Guerau is out of it, you may consider both castle and town as mine; and need not pay attention to the conditions under which he (Berenguer) may receive it, for, as I say, he will lose possession of it at once.” And En Guillen said: “You tell me that?” “Yes,” said I; “and you will see immediately that it will be as I say.”

44. Meantime I sent word to En Guerau de Cabrera and to the townsmen, that I agreed to the condition that En Ramon Berenguer Dager should hold the town and castle in trust, for whomsoever had better right to it. Hearing this, En Guerau, who had not the wisdom of Solomon, and who was afraid of the townsmen, took a very good and fine falcon he had, placed it on his

¹²⁹The Count of Urgel, who held the castle, or a son of his? The Count’s name was En Guerau, and he was the son of Ponce or Pons.

¹³⁰Here the edition of Barcelona has En Pons.

¹³¹De Ager, or from Ager, a town of Catalonia, in the bishopric of Urgel.

hand, crossed the bridge, and sent a message to me by En Berenguer de Finestres, saying that he was prepared to give up the castle to En Ramon Berenguer. The townsmen also sent word, that if I sent my standard, they would have it hoisted on the top of the castle. And thereupon I sent a knight and five esquires with the Royal standard, which they were told to keep concealed, and also with a lance on which to fix the said standard when they would get into the castle. Meanwhile En Berenguer de Finestres talked to me, and begged that I should send En Ramon Berenguer Dager forthwith to receive homage, and take the castle in trust, as everything was ready for that. Having already done that, and sent my standard to the castle, I kept Finestres in parley for some time; he pressed me to despatch him, as the Count (he said) wished to leave; but I did not grant his request, and kept all time watching for the sight of my standard on the castle. When I saw it I said to him: "En Berenguer de Finestres, you can go now; for I see that Balaguer is already mine." "How, yours?" said he. I said to him, "Look yonder, and you will see my standard waving on the battlements." He (Finestres) was astonished, and experienced great shame and confusion thereat; he went away forthwith without saying another word, whilst the Count himself went to Montmagastre.

45. The Count's friends, however, resolved to send [messengers] to Agramunt, and see what they could do there. He himself went thither; En Guillen de Cardona, and some fifteen knights accompanied him. When the people of Agramunt heard that there had been negotiations between Balaguer and me, they made an agreement with En Ramon Jafa de Agramunt and others of the town to this effect, that should the Countess present herself at Agramunt they would surrender it to her. That had been agreed on before Balaguer was taken. And so En Ramon de Moncada held a parley with En Berenguer de Perexens,¹³² the result of which was that he said to me, and to the Countess, and to En Guillen de Moncada, and to En Guillen de Cervera, and to my Council, that immediately after the taking of Balaguer, I should go to Agramunt, for En Berenguer de Perexens had come to him, and settled that they would surrender. So, after handing over the castle of Balaguer to the Countess, I went with her to Agramunt, and encamped on the side of the Dalmenare¹³³ hills, in sight of the town. When En Guillen de Cardona saw that he left the town, at dusk, and marched all night; and when in the morning I heard that he had left, and that the camp was raised, Agramunt was entered by my men, and the Countess was put in possession of its castle.

46. And the people of Pons having sent me a message for the Countess to go also thither, I determined she should go. I myself would not accompany her because I had not defied En Ramon Folch, who held the castle; I had not defied him, nor had he defied me, and we were friends.¹³⁴ The Countess, however, went, accompanied by En Guillen and En Ramon de Moncada and the whole of my force, save five knights who stayed behind with me, as I would not go for the above-mentioned reason. The Countess found the town deserted, but the warder of the castle came out with all his men on horseback and ready. They who were with the Countess set spurs to their horses and charged, and drove them at the point of the lance under the castle. And as I was told afterwards, En Bn. Dezlör, brother of the Sacristan of Barcelona, was he who most distinguished himself on the occasion. The same day, at vespers, En Guillen and En Ramon de

¹³²Agramunt and Perexens are also written *Agramunt* and *Peraxens* in this chapter.

¹³³Dalmenare is for *d'Almenara*, the name of a village in Catalonia. *Menâra*, {arabic} in Arabic, is a watch tower, on the top of which a fire is made.

¹³⁴At this time, if a feudal lord wished to proceed by way of arms against any of his liege men he was bound to defy him, i.e. to declare the friendship existing between them as dissolved and broken.

Moncada sent me word, that I ought without fail to go there; if I did, they said, the Countess would get possession of the castle; otherwise, she would not. And I said: "How can I go there when I have not defied En Ramon Folch, and he is holding the castle?" They said: "Know, that if you do not go the Countess will not have the castle." I said: "What am I to do when I am there?" And they said: "If you summon them to surrender the castle to the Countess, they certainly will." "Very well," said I, "I will do that, saving the right of En Ramon Folch, if right he have." And thereon I went there: but I ordered those who accompanied me up to the castle to leave horses and arms behind. The morning that I got there some twenty of the townsmen and the Castellan himself came down; and I asked them, "Why have you sent for me?" They said: "To ask your advice as to what we shall do with the castle." I said: "My advice is that you surrender it at once. I and the Countess promise you, and the castellan also, that En Remon Folch's rights in the castle shall be reserved; and you shall give assurance that since she obtains the rest of the county by judgment of our Court, and by law and justice,¹³⁵ these other possessions in your hands shall go to her, and that you will surrender her castle." And straightway they surrendered it. After this the Countess's people sent to Oliana, and when the inhabitants heard that the castle of Pons had surrendered, they also surrendered to the Countess. And they did not ask from me anything in return, for it was by her right that she obtained it.¹³⁶

47. Half a year afterwards I went to Tarragona. And it was the Lord's will that, without my having summoned Cortes, the greater part of the nobles of Catalonia went thither with me, notably Don Nuño Sanchez, son of the Count Don Sancho, who was a son of the Count of Barcelona; En G. de Moncada, the Count of Ampurias; En R. de Moncada, En Guerau de Cerveyló, En Ramon Alamany, En Guerau de Clermunt, and En Bernart de Sancta Engenia, Lord of Torroella. En Pere Martel, a citizen of Barcelona, who had great knowledge of the sea, invited me to dinner one day, and all the barons who were with me. Towards the end of dinner a conversation began among them. And I asked: "What kind of country is Mallorca, and what is the extent of that kingdom?" They asked En Pere Martel, because he was a shipmaster; and En Pere Martel said that he would give an account of it, as he had been there once or twice. He supposed the island of Mallorca to be about three hundred miles round. Minorca was on the side of Sardinia, facing the north-east (*a la part de Grech*); and Iviça was towards Morocco. Mallorca ruled over the other neighbouring islands, and they did what the Lord of Mallorca commanded. There was another island inhabited by Saracens, named Formentera, near Iviça, from which it was separated by a strait a mile wide. When dinner was over, they came before me, and said: "My lord, we have asked En Pere Martel about Mallorca, and he has told us what we think will please you. It is a good-sized island, in the midst of other smaller islands, called Minorca, Iviça, and Formentera, all of which are subject to the King of Mallorca. What is God's will, no one can take away or change; and, so please you, we hold it right that you conquer that island for two

¹³⁵"E no volien res demanar en lloch de nos pel dret que ela hi avia." This statement assumes what is not said elsewhere, that King James's Court had decided in favour of the Countess.

¹³⁶Zurita, *Anales* II., c. 57 c. 77 c. 86, enables us to add to the king's own account the following particulars. Guerau, Viscount of Cabrera, had been in possession of Urgel from the beginning of James's reign, but always with reserve of the question of the claim of Aurembiax, daughter of Armengol, the last count. In 1228, when Guerau had been twenty years in possession, the king recognised the lady's claims as entitled to a hearing; but after she had undertaken to give up to him the important town and fortress of Lerida, and to acknowledge him as her suzerain, and bound herself to admit him, in peace and war, into nine of her castles, if she ever found the rightful heiress. Then followed the operations described by the king in his chronicle. At their close Don Guerau became a Knight Templar; his son Pons was made, after all, count of Urgel, Aurembiax dying without children.

reasons: the first, that you and we will thereby increase in power; the other, that those who hear of the conquest will think it a marvel that you can take land and a kingdom in the sea where God pleased to put it.” This speech of theirs pleased me much. I answered: “I am much indebted to you for the thought that you have given me: what I can do in that matter shall not be wanting.” There, at once, it was settled in Council that general Cortes¹³⁷ should be held at Barcelona, at which the Archbishop of Tarragona, the bishops, abbots, and the nobles of Aragon, as well as the citizens of Catalonia,¹³⁸ should appear on a certain day.

48. And on the day fixed for the meeting of the Cortes, the archbishop [of Tarragona], the bishops, and the nobles came to Barcelona; and the day after they all met in the palace built by the Count of Barcelona. And when all were before me, I began my discourse in this manner: “*Illumina cor meum, Domine [et verba mea de] Spiritu Sancto*. Wherefore I beseech my Lord God and the Virgin Saint Mary, His mother, that I may speak words to my honour, and to the honour of you who listen, and that they be pleasing to God and to His mother our Lady Saint Mary; for I would speak of good works, for good works come and are of Him; and the words I intend saying to you shall be of good works. May it please Him that I can bring the said words to performance.

“Certain is it that my birth was through God’s interposition, for my father and mother did not love one another, and so it was by the will of God that I was born into this world; and if I were to tell you the circumstances and marvels that attended my birth, great would be your astonishment; *but I will omit them, because of their having been narrated at the very beginning of this book.*¹³⁹ Nor do you ignore that I am your liege lord, and am alone, without brother or sister, for my father had no child but me by my mother; and I came to you a child of six and a half years old, and found Aragon and Catalonia in confusion, man fighting against man, and not agreeing on anything; that which some would have done, others would not; and you were in ill-repute in the world for the things that had passed. And that evil I could not remedy but in two ways; by the will of God that directed me in my work, and makes me undertake such things for you and for me as were pleasing to Him, so great and good as to take away the ill repute that is on you; for the light of good works dispels darkness. Wherefore I pray you very earnestly for two reasons, the first for God’s sake, the second for your allegiance to me, that you give me counsel and aid in three things: the first, how am I to put my land at peace? the second, how may I serve the Lord in this expedition that I mean to make against the kingdom of Mallorca and the other islands that pertain to it? the third, how and whom am I to consult so that that action shall be for the honour of God?” Saying which I ended my speech.

49. And the Archbishop of Tarragona, En Esparech, arose at the prayer of the barons, who wished him to speak first; and his answer was: “My lord, we know well that you came young among us, and that you have need of good advice on such great matters as you have brought before us here; we will give such advice to you, and make you such answer as shall be for the honour of God and of you and of us.” En Guillen de Moncada then answered for the barons and for himself, and said that he gave great thanks to our Lord for the good intent that He had given me; but because the thing was of great importance, they (the barons) could not reply without

¹³⁷The term general Cortes was usually applied to Cortes of all the realms of the king: these appear to have been of Catalonia only.

¹³⁸“Ciudadans de Catalunya,” or deputies from the towns of Catalonia.

¹³⁹“Car al començament de aquest libre hauem parlat.” The sentence in *italics* stands in the original as part of the king’s speech! This strange confusion argues in favour of the Chronicle being James’s own composition.

much counsel; “this however we say before you all, that the advice shall be such as you should take and we give.” And they of the cities spoke next, and En Berenguer Girart, who was of Barcelona, answered for them; he rose and said, “The Lord, who is your Lord and ours, has put into your will those good things that you just said to us; and may it please Him that our reply be such that you may fulfil your wish to God’s honour and your own. We will hold our consultation with the nobles, and will reply to you.” The Archbishop then said, “The Clergy will deliberate apart, and the nobles apart, and the men of the cities by themselves.” And all assented to this. In that way, on that day the Cortes were divided; and they deliberated, and on the third day made their reply. And then we all were in secret council apart, and the barons were there, and spoke to me before the archbishop and the bishops. And the Count of Ampurias arose and said: “I will tell you, before the answer your barons make; if any men in the world have evil repute, we have, instead of the good repute we once used to have. You have come among us as our liege lord, and it behoves you to do such works, with our help, that the good name we have lost we do recover it; and we will recover it in this way: if you conquer a Saracen kingdom in the sea with our help, all the bad repute that we have will be taken away from us, for it will be the greatest deed that Christians have done for a hundred years; it is better that we die and regain the good name that we were wont to have, and the esteem that our lineage used to have, than to live in this evil repute in which we now are; wherefore, I say that on every account in the world, by my advice, this enterprise should be done.” All agreed with the speech of the Count of Ampurias, and every one said such good words as he could for the promotion of the undertaking. That evening it was settled that in the morning there should be general Cortes, and that they (the barons) should first speak, to lead on the clergy and the men of the cities; and a message was sent by the barons to the archbishop, the abbots, and the bishops to be before me, in the morning, to make answer.

50. And in the morning, when morning masses were said, all came to Cortes, and entrusted G. de Moncada to speak what they had agreed on. He rose and said: “My lord, true thing is it that God made you to rule us, and made us that we should serve you well and loyally; but we cannot serve you well and loyally if we do not raise your reputation and honour with all our power, for your rise is our rise, and your welfare falls also on us: so good reason is there that we should wish what is good for both. And as it seems that the enterprise of which you have spoken to us, *i.e.* conquering the kingdom of Mallorca in the sea, will be a greater honour than if you conquered three kingdoms on land; and as we ought, my lord, to strive for your honour above all things in the world, therefore we speak to you on the three things on which you asked our advice, that you make peace in your land, and that we [the barons] help you so that this action may be performed to your honour and ours. First, that you make peace and truce throughout Catalonia, putting down in your writings and deeds all those who will be in it; and Don Nuño here, who is grandson of the Count of Barcelona, shall be included in the peace for two reasons, one for the good kindred he has with you, the other for the good works you wish to do; and if any one of Catalonia will not be in it” (the peace) “we will make him be, whether it please or displease him. And also we will that you levy ‘bovatge’¹⁴⁰ on our men; this we give to you as a gift, for once already you have taken it of right, as is custom of the kings to take it once [during their reign]; but this we give you of grace and love that you may do well your enterprise. As to myself, I offer to you that I and my lineage will serve you in it with four hundred armed horse, and that until God have given you the island of Mallorca, with the lordships of the other islands that are around it, Minorca and Iviça, we will not leave you till the conquest be complete. Don Nuño and the others will each for

¹⁴⁰Feudal tax levied on each yoke of oxen.

himself say what aid he will bring; and we pray you that, since we do those three things for you, you do give us a share in the conquest that you make with us, a share of the movables as well as of the immovables; for we will serve you well, and we wish to have such a share that for all time shall be a memorial of the service that we do you.” So he ended his discourse.

51. And Don Nuño Sanchez, who was a son¹⁴¹ of the Count of Barcelona, rose and said, “My lord, the discourse that En G. de Moncada has addressed to you is very good, and he speaks well for himself and for his lineage. I will make answer for myself; the Lord who made you willed that you should be our lord and king, and since it pleased Him so, it should also please us, and me more than all because of the kindred I have with you, and the sovereignty you have over me. If you get honour and advancement, I shall have my share also, for it was the will of God that I should be of your lineage; it is a good and meritorious work, for it is the work of God, and he who works with God cannot work ill. I pledge myself and the land your father gave me to peace and truce, that is to say, Rosellon, Conflent, and Cerdagne, and will keep peace in my days. I grant you the right of levying a ‘bovatge’; moreover, I will accompany you with a hundred armed knights at my own expense. Do you give me a share of land and movables according to the horse and foot I bring, and to the ships and galleys that may be, fitted out by me, and I will serve you in that land till God shall give you to gain it.” And when Don Nuño had finished his discourse, the Count of Ampurias rose and said, “My lord, one cannot praise too much the enterprise you intend, for the honour and advantage it will bring are clear; and I promise you to go with sixty knights on armoured horses. And although God made me Count of Ampurias, yet En G. de Moncada is the foremost man of our lineage and the noblest, for he is Lord of Bearn and Moncada, which he holds of you, and of Castelvi, which is his own; and I give the same pledges that he has given. To that number of four hundred knights I put my sixty, for he shall lead there for you all our lineage; and from the share promised to him and to the others do you give to me according to the horse and foot I take; and the knights that we and others take will all have armoured horses.”

52. And then the Archbishop of Tarragona rose and said, “‘Viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum.’ Those are the words of Simeon when he received our Lord in his arms and said, ‘Seen have my eyes thy salvation; [so do I say] my eyes beheld your salvation.’ And I add, though Scripture does not, that since we see your salvation we see our own. Our salvation is, that you begin the work of setting your heart to good works. And that is ours, when you advance in repute and honour and power; for if your power and your advancement are works of God, we consider yours as ours; and the intent that you and the noblemen who are with you have formed and mean to begin to execute is to the honour of God and all the court of Heaven, and to gain that you and your men receive and will receive in this world, and in the other which is without end; and so may it please God, who has thus assembled this Cortes, that it be to His service and to your gain, and that the barons here assembled may all do you such service that you may thank them much for it. When God shall give you that kingdom that you have in your heart to conquer, and they with you, may you do well by them, and divide the lands and movables with those who will help and serve you. For myself and the Church of Tarragona I tell you this much; that for myself I never yet bore arms, and I am of an age at which I could ill bear them; but as for my goods and my men I give you power to use them as you could use your own. And if any bishop or abbot wishes to go with you and serve in person, it will please me well, and I give him licence to do it in God’s name and in mine; for in so good a venture as this every man should aid in word and

¹⁴¹Grandson, not son, of Remon Berenguer, great-grandfather of King James.

deed; and God, who came on earth for our salvation, let you end that enterprise to your and our content.”

53. And then arose the Bishop of Barcelona, En Berenger de Palou, and said, “To you one may apply the vision that the Father sent to our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, whose name was [in] Excelsis, for there was our Lord the Son of God, and Moses, and Elias, and Saint Peter. I And Saint Peter said, ‘It would be a fit thing that we made here three places of tabernacles; the first for our Lord Jesus Christ, and the other for Moses, and the other for Elias.’¹⁴² And thereon came a great thunder from heaven, and all fell on the earth, and when all had fallen fear seized them. And the cloud from heaven came, and lowered on them and spoke, ‘*Ecce Filius meus dilectus qui in corde meo placuit.*’ Such a vision can one apply to you, for you are a son of our Lord, when you resolve to pursue the enemies of the faith and of the cross. I trust in Him that, for this good intent you have, you may gain the kingdom of Heaven. And I offer you for myself and the church of Barcelona a hundred knights or more to be maintained by me till God gives us to conquer those islands of Mallorca; and do you give me my share, according to the men I take, for seamen as well as for knights.” And then the Bishop of Gerona said, “I give thanks to our Lord for the good intent that God has given to you and to your Cortes, and if I would I could say much in praise of that good work; but that our Archbishop, the Bishop of Barcelona, En Guillen de Moncada, Don Nuño, and the Count of Ampurias have already said so fully what I meant to say. But I offer you for myself and for the church of Gerona that I will go with you with thirty knights; and do you give me a share according as you give it to the others.”

54. And the Abbot of Saint Feliu de Guixols rose and said, that he would accompany me with five well-appointed knights. And then the Provost¹⁴³ of Tarragona rose and said, “I have not so many knights as they have; but I will follow you with four knights and an armed galley.” And after those En Pedro Grony¹⁴⁴ arose and said, “My lord, all we of the city of Barcelona give thanks for the good intent God has given you, and we have trust in the Lord that you will complete it to your wish; we offer you first the light barques and the ships and the vessels of burthen¹⁴⁵ that are in Barcelona to serve you on this meritorious expedition, undertaken for the honour of God; and we will so do that we may have your thanks for ever for the service that we shall now do you; and we will not say more for the rest of the cities, for only Barcelona is [represented] here.” And Tarragona and Tortosa made the same engagement as the chief men (prohomens) of Barcelona.

55. After these addresses they asked me to prepare a writing, setting forth the division to be made of the lands I might conquer with their help, as well as of the movables; and the purport of the writing was, that according to the knights and the armed men, and ships and galleys and vessels, and the equipments in them, I, when the Lord had given us victory, would give to them a share, and to those who went with me, horse and foot, according to the munitions they brought. And that division of the booty would be made as to everything captured in the expedition after the army started; and so I promised them, on God’s faith, that I would keep it without fail; they on the other hand promised that they would serve me well and loyally, and would not put down more men than actually went [to the expedition]. That was the beginning that I made of the

¹⁴²“Car hi era nostre senyor Jesu Christ, fill de Deus, Moysen, Elias, e sent Pere.” The bishop or his reporter, not the present translator, has to account for this extraordinary sentence.

¹⁴³“Lo Provost” (præpositus?) appears to be some ecclesiastic of rank.

¹⁴⁴Desclot calls him En Pere Groyn.

¹⁴⁵“Los corsos e las naus e els leñys.”

crossing to Mallorca; and I appointed a day in the middle of May for all to be at Salou. So the Cortes separated, and every one thought of his preparations. And the barons all took an oath to be at Salou on the 1st May, with all their equipments, without fail. On that day I myself was there, and remained till the beginning of September waiting to cross, and for ships and galleys to come to me; and so I waited till the fleet was complete. Part of it was at Cambrils; the greater part, with which I was, in the port of Salou and on the shore; the rest at Tarragona, for most of the ships belonged to that place. And the fleet was this: there were twenty-five full sized ships, and eighteen *taridas*,¹⁴⁶ and seventeen galleys, and a hundred *brices*¹⁴⁷ and galliots; and so there were in all a hundred and fifty large vessels, besides small barques.

56. And, before starting, I ordered how the fleet should go: first, that the ship of En Bouet, in which Guillen de Moncada went, should lead, and should carry a lantern as light; and that that of En Carrós should take the rearguard, and carry another lantern as light. And that the galleys should go round the fleet, so that if any galley [of the enemy] came to the fleet, it should first encounter our galleys. And I started on a Wednesday morning from Salou with a land breeze. I had stayed there so long that any wind was good for us that could move us from the land. And when at Tarragona and Cambrils they saw that the fleet moved from Salou they too made sail; and it made a fine sight for those who stayed on land and for us, for all the sea seemed white with sails, so large a fleet was it. I myself sailed in the rear of the whole fleet on the galley of Montpeslier;¹⁴⁸ and I collected fully a thousand men in boats who wished to go with us, and would not otherwise have gone. And when I had gone twenty miles of sea, the wind changed to the southwest,¹⁴⁹ and the sailing masters¹⁵⁰ of my galley came to me, in concert with the sailors, and said, “My lord, we are your subjects, and are bound to guard you life and limb, and to give you good advice, as well as we know. This south-west wind is not good for us nor for your fleet; rather it is so against you that you cannot make the island of Mallorca with it; by our advice you will put about and go back to land. God will soon give you a wind for crossing.” When I had heard their words and counsel, I told them that I would not do so on any account; for many were in the ships who, for the harm the sea did them, would willingly run away from it, and dared not cross over with us, and if we put back to land would most certainly leave us, for they were not men of courage. I further told them that I was going on that expedition for the love of God, and against those who do not believe in Him, and that I went thither against them for two reasons, either to convert them and turn that kingdom to the faith of our Lord, or destroy them; and since I went in His name, I had faith in Him that He would guide us. When the masters of the galley heard that such was my will, they told me that they would do what they could in the matter; and that they had no doubt the faith I had must guide us. The hour of vespers had come; and in the

¹⁴⁶*Taridas*, tartans, large open vessels used especially for carrying horses. Some such: craft appear in the Bayeux tapestry. The word seems of Arabic origin, {arabic}.

¹⁴⁷“E entre *brices* e galeases C. E axi foren CL lenys capdals menys de les barques menudes.” *Brices*, pl. of *brica*, are said to be flat-bottomed vessels, destined for the transport of horses and engines of war. But then what are *tarides* or *terides*? The meaning of *lenys*, elsewhere called *fustes*, is, literally speaking, “woods.” About this time *leño* and *fusta* served in Castille and in the rest of Spain to designate any kind of vessel.

¹⁴⁸“E nos moguen en darrera del stol en la galea de Montpessler, a faem be M. homens recullir en barques, que volien anar ab nos, que nangu no hi passara.”

¹⁴⁹“Mudas lo vent a llabeig.” Llabieg, in Span. *lebeche*, is the wind from the south western coast of Africa. At Marseilles and in the Provence it is still called “labech” from *Lybicus*, and “garbin” from Garb (Algarbe), or Western Africa.

¹⁵⁰Comit, in Span. *comitre*.

first hours of night I overtook the ship of En Guillen de Moncada, who had the lead; and I went to the lantern and hailed him, and asked, "What ship is that?" And the men asked in return, "What galley is it?" and my men replied, "It is the king's galley." Whereupon they told us, "You are a hundred thousand times welcome: this is the ship of En Guillen de Moncada;" and we sailed away. So that though I sailed last from Salou, by the first watch of the night, my galley was in the morning of next day before all the other ships. In this way we went all night with the south-west wind, my galley, I, and all the rest as close hauled to the wind as we could; and so ran all night before the fleet without shifting or shortening sail as fast as my galley could run. And between nones and vespers, as the wind rose the sea got higher and higher; so high was it that a third of my galley forwards went under water when the heavy waves of the sea came upon her. Towards vespers, before sunset, the wind abated, and we saw in the distance the island of Mallorca, and could distinguish La Palomera and Soller and Almerug.¹⁵¹

57. And thereon they said to me, that as we came in sight of the island it would be well to lower sails, if I pleased, that we might not be seen from the land. I said that it might be done so, and accordingly the sails were lowered. The sea was calm when we did so. Then they said that they would light a lantern, but that they feared the watchmen on the island would see it. I told them, "There is a plan to adopt. Put a thick cloak on the side towards the island, and the lantern on the poop, covered on the side of the high land by the cloth, so that the fleet might see it, and your object will be attained." They said they thought that plan good, and did as suggested. And I then could see lanterns on ships and lanterns on galleys; I knew that they had seen us, and that the fleet was coming. And when it was nearly the first watch two galleys came to us, and I asked them for news of the fleet. And they said that all were coming as they best could. At midnight I could see and count from thirty to forty ships, galleys, and transports. The moon was bright, a breeze had sprung from the west, and I said, "By that breeze we can reach Pollença," which had been from the beginning fixed as the place of landing. We therefore made sail for it, as well as all those who were on the sea at the time. As we were sailing thither in smooth water and with fine weather, there came a cloud against the wind from Provence; and a seaman on my galley, En Berenguer Sagran by name, who was sailing-master, said, "I do not like that cloud that comes from the quarter of Provence wind." And he ordered sailors to be ready at the ropes, some forward, some aft; and when they were ready, and the galley in good order, the wind came taking the sails aback; and when it came the master called out, "Lower, lower!" And all the ships and vessels about us were in great confusion, and had great difficulty in lowering sail. And there arose great clamour among them, for the wind came suddenly on them; indeed, it was a white squall.¹⁵² We furled sails, as did the rest; and a bad sea got up as that Provence wind drove back the south-west wind. The ships and galleys and vessels around us in the fleet were under bare poles. And there was a bad sea with that Provence wind, and no one in my galley spoke a word; all were quiet, and the vessels were driving round us. I saw the danger we were in. I was greatly discomfited, but I turned to Our Lord and His Mother, and prayed thus: "Lord God, I know well that Thou hast made me king of the land, and of the goods that my father held by Thy grace. Until this time I had not begun any great or perilous enterprise, seeing that Thy help has been felt from my birth up to this time, and Thou hast given us honour and help against our bad subjects, who would overthrow us. Now, O Lord my Creator, help me, if it please Thee, in this so great

¹⁵¹"Soyler e Almaluig" in Desclot. A hundred and twenty or thirty miles in a straight line from Salou.

¹⁵²"Cala, cala! Carga, carga!" would be the cry in Spanish. "Carguer voiles," said the French sailors about the same time. See Jale, *Dict. Naut. v. Cargar*.

danger, that so good a work as I have begun may not be lost, for I alone would not lose, but Thou wouldst lose more; for I go on this expedition to exalt the faith that Thou hast given us, and to abase and destroy those who do not believe in Thee; and so, O true and powerful God! you can guard me in this danger, and fulfil my will, which is to serve Thee. And I should remember Thee, for as yet no creature ever called to Thee for mercy that did not find it, and especially they who have it in their heart to serve Thee and who suffer for Thy sake, and I am one of them. And, O Lord, remember so many people who go with me to serve Thee; and Thou, Mother of God, who art a bridge and a pathway for sinners, I beseech Thee, by the seven joys and the seven sorrows that Thou hadst for Thy dear Lord, to remember me, by praying to Thy dear Son to take me from this affliction and danger in which I am, and those with me.”

58. And after that prayer the thought came to me how it had been previously agreed between the barons and those who were expert in sea matters that we should land at Pollença. I asked, “Is there in this my galley any one who has been in Mallorca and in the island?” And En Berenguer Gayron,¹⁵³ master of the galley, replied that he had been in the country. And I asked him: “What harbours are there near the city, on the side towards Catalonia?” And he said that there was a hill three leagues from the city by land and twenty miles by sea: the hill was called Dragonera; it was not on the mainland of Mallorca, but separated from it by an arm of the sea; that there was a spring of fresh water on it, and that when he himself was there with his ship his men got water from it. And that near it was another hill, not connected either with the mainland, the name of which was Pantalere, and it was a long cross-bow shot from the mainland to that hill. And I said to him, “Why should we seek any place but that to land at, since we have there fresh water and a good harbour, where the horses can rest, despite the Saracens; and all our fleet will come, and we can attempt to advantage what we choose?” So I told them to sail before the Provence wind, and that they could get in with that wind. We therefore made sail for it, and told the people of the galley to tell all other ships to make sail also, and that it was by my command; and every ship and galley to follow us to the harbour of Palomera. And so all made sail when they saw my galley make it. And behold the goodness of God, what it is! With that wind, which took us to Mallorca, we could never have taken Pollença as intended; that which we thought was against us helped us on, for all and every one of the vessels that were to leeward went with that wind to the Palomera, where my galley was; so that not a vessel or barque was lost or missing from the whole fleet. We entered the harbour of Palomera on the first Friday in September,¹⁵⁴ and by Saturday night all the fleet had anchored in its harbour.

59. And on that same Saturday I sent for the barons and nobles of my court, that is for Don Nuño, for the Count of Ampurias, and En Guillen de Moncada, and for the others; and I sent also for some of the shipmasters of most authority in the fleet, and consulted them as to what had better be done first. The advice given was this: to send Don Nuño in his own galley, and En Ramon de Moncada in the galley of Tortosa, to go along the coast as if they were going to Mallorca; and we all would land wherever they thought the fleet should stop. They found a place called Santa Ponza, and they thought it a good one to land at; there was a hill near the sea, on which hill, if five hundred men¹⁵⁵ were put, there was no fear of their being dislodged before the rest of the fleet arrived. So it was determined that on Sunday we should rest on that hill of

¹⁵³In Desclot, “Guayron.”

¹⁵⁴7th September, 1229.

¹⁵⁵The edition of 1557 has one hundred men: the Spanish version “quinientos hombres.” No reason, however, is given for the alteration.

Pantaleu, and so we did. At mid-day on Sunday a Saracen, named Ali, came from La Palomera, swimming, and told us news of the island, of the king, and of the city. At midnight I ordered the galleys to weigh anchor, and that no one should cry *ayós*,¹⁵⁶ but that in order to keep time at weighing anchor, they should strike with a stick on the prow of the transports and galleys. It was a good harbour, and vessels required only one anchor down. And that was done so, for before us, on the shore, were no less than five thousand Saracens, and fully two hundred horse, and their tents pitched. And when midnight came, you would say that not one man spoke in all the fleet. Each of the twelve galleys towed a transport,¹⁵⁷ and went towing them gently out of harbour. The Saracens perceived this, and roused themselves; our people, who towed transports, stopped rowing, and listened, but went on towing gently. And after a bit, the Saracens shouted loud for a time, and I saw that we were completely discovered. They shouted; and we shouted, "Let us go, and good luck be with us." The Saracens went by land, horse, and foot, watching well where we should land; and our twelve galleys and twelve transports made such exertions that they actually got to the landing before them.

60. And those who landed first were Don Nuño, Don Ramon de Moncada, the Master of the Temple, En Berenguer de Santa Eugenia, and En Gilabert de Cruyles. Before they arrived on the shore, there were fully seven hundred Christian footmen on the hill near the sea; the cavalry¹⁵⁸ might be a hundred and fifty. The Saracens were ranged in battle before them; and they were fully five thousand foot and two hundred horse. En Remon de Moncada came up and said that he would reconnoitre them; he went alone, saying, "Let no one come with me." And when he got near the enemy, he called for our people, and when they got up to him, he said, "Let us charge them, for they are good for nothing." He was the first to reach them; when the Christians were within four lance lengths of them, the Moors turned their heads and fled. They did their best to reach them, and more than fifteen hundred Saracens were killed on this occasion, for our men would take no prisoners. When they had done this, they returned to the sea shore. When I landed, I found my horse saddled, and I heard one of the Aragonese knights, who had just landed from one of the transports, say, "Ill luck for us! that the first battle in Mallorca is already won, and we were not in it." I then said, "Are there any knights who will go with me far into the island?" And those who were already armed went along with me, about twenty-five of them. And we all went trotting¹⁵⁹ towards where the battle had been. And we saw on a hill there from three to four hundred Saracen foot. They saw us also, and went down from the hill on which they were, and made for another hill there was farther off. And a knight, one of the Ahe of Tahust, said, "My lord, if you wish to overtake them, let us be quick." So I made haste, and on reaching them killed four or five of them; and as my people continued to come up they overthrew and killed the Moors as they encountered them. I, and three more knights with me, came against a dismounted knight,

¹⁵⁶"*Ayós*," pronounced *Aaa-yós*, is the monotonous and prolonged cry uttered by sailors in the act of drawing up anchors.

¹⁵⁷The word translated by transports is *terides*, which is another form for *tarides*. See above, note 146, "E lu galeas que hi hauia carsuna tiraua sa terida e anauen traent les terides del port guit e suau."

¹⁵⁸Each knight or man-at-arms had four or more squires and servants under his orders; this must be well borne in mind throughout this narrative of James's campaigns, or else the number of knights must appear exceedingly small.

¹⁵⁹*Darlot*. "E ixquem trotant e *darlot* contra alli hon era stada la batalla," says the text (fol. xxiii.). The word "darlot" is entirely unknown to me, nor is it to be found in any of the Provençal dictionaries that I have consulted. *Arlot*, in old French, meant a camp-follower, a worthless fellow. *Exir d'arlot* might therefore mean "ride fast though without orders."

who had his shield on his arm, his lance in his hand, his sword girt, his Zaragoza helmet on his head, and a coat of mail on. We summoned him to surrender; but he turned against us with his lance, and would make no reply. I then said, "Barons, horses are of great value in this country; each of us has but one, and one horse is worth twenty Saracens. I will show you how to kill this one; let us surround him, when he thrusts at one of us with his lance, let another strike him in the back, and send him down; so he will hurt no one." As we were about doing that, Don Pedro Lobera came, and ran at the Saracen; the Saracen, who saw him, thrust his lance into the chest of the horse so that it went half a fathom in. The horse, however, went up against him (the Saracen), and threw him down; he tried to rise, and put his hand to his sword. Thereon we all fell upon him and told him to surrender. Still he would go on and die rather than surrender. We again said to him, "Surrender." He said 'Le,' which means "No."¹⁶⁰ Some eighty besides him were killed. And we returned to the camp.

61. As I entered it (it might then be near sunset), En Guillen de Moncada, En Remon¹⁶¹ de Moncada, and other knights with them, came to greet and welcome me. I dismounted and went towards them on foot; En Guillen de Moncada smiled; I was glad, for I had been afraid of his scolding me for my rashness, and perceived that he would not be so hard upon me as I had thought. En Remon de Moncada said "What have you been doing? Did you want to kill yourself and us all? Had we by ill luck lost you—and you have no doubt run risk of it—the army and all else would have been lost; and then this good work we have in hand would never have been done by any man on earth." En Guillen de Moncada said, "Remon, true the king has done a very foolish thing; nevertheless we may hold it for a good deed of arms; it was right well of him to be so angry and impatient at not being in the battle. And, my lord," continued he, addressing me, "restrain yourself, for in you lies life or death for us; comfort yourself with one thing, that since you have set foot on this land you are henceforwards king of Mallorca; if you die in the attempt, you die as the best man in the world; and even if you lie disabled in bed you will hold this land for your own, for yours it is." En Remon de Moncada then said: "My lord, we must now consider how we are to guard ourselves to-night, for in this night will be the greatest danger that you will encounter in this country; for if we do not keep good watch, so that we may arm ourselves before they get at us, all of us will be lost." And I said to them: "You, who know better than I, say at once what to do; what will be our next step?" They said, "Then, my lord, arm a hundred horse to-night, and let them be on the lookout so far off that the camp can be under arms before the Saracens get at us." My answer was that he spoke well. I had not yet eaten any dinner, and I said that after it I would send messages to the nobles, for each of them to arm the third part of his retainers, horse and foot as well, and send out scouts to bring in news if they heard any. And so, after I had eaten a morsel, I sent my porters to each of the barons, but found they could not send out any people, owing to the disorderly state of their bands, both men and horses, owing to the sea and the battle that had been fought on the coast. I relied, however, on their sending out scouts, and went to sleep. Our ships, with full three hundred knights and their horses on board, were then at the Cape of La Porrassa; and at vespers they saw the army of the King of Mallorca on the hill above the harbour of Portupi. Then Don Ladron, an Aragonese noble in my suite, who was on board one of the ships, arranged with the knights inside of her to send a barque by sea to tell me

¹⁶⁰Lá or lé is the negative in Arabic.

¹⁶¹Ramon, Remon, Raymundo, are only varieties of the same name. *Ramon* is the Castillian appellation, and it will be observed that *Don Ramon de Moncada* is often used in these pages instead of *En Remon de Muncada*, which was that of the Catalonian baron.

of the King of Mallorca and his army being on the hills above the harbour of Portupi with their tents pitched, and that I should keep on my guard. That message came to me at midnight before Wednesday. I then sent a messenger to En Guillen de Moncada, Don Nuño, and the nobles of the army, but for all that they did not rise till daybreak. When day broke we all rose, and heard mass in my tent; and the Bishop of Barcelona preached the following sermon.

62. “Barons, this is not the time for a long sermon, the occasion does not allow it; the enterprise in which the King, our lord, and you are engaged, is the work of God, not ours. You should reckon upon this, that whoever should die in this meritorious work will die for our Lord, and will have Paradise and everlasting glory therein for all time; and they who shall live will have honour and praise in life and a good end at death. And, barons, strengthen yourselves in God; for our lord, the king, and we, and you, all desire to destroy those who deny the name of Jesus Christ. Each man should and can trust, that God and His Mother will to-day not depart from us, but rather will give us victory; so you should have good heart, and trust that we will overcome everything, for the battle will be this day. And comfort you well and rejoice, for we go with our good liege lord, the King, and God who is over him and over us all will help us.” And so the bishop ended his sermon.

63. And after mass, En Guillen de Moncada partook of the communion. I and the greater part [of the army] had taken it before embarking. He (Moncada) received his Creator on his knees, sobbing, and the tears falling down his face. After that they talked about who should lead the attack. En Guillen de Moncada said, “You take it, En Nuño.” And En Nuño said: “To-day, do you rather take it.” En Remon de Moncada said: “En Nuno, we know well why you say and do that you speak out of love for the hard blows in the battle that we shall get at the Porrassa.” En Guillen de Moncada said: “Any how, it does not matter to me.” And En Guillen and En Remon de Moncada had agreed that till they got to the battle line of the Saracens they would not pause. Thereon came one of my men to me and said: “Lo! all the infantry are going out of the camp, and intend to advance.” I mounted a hackney, and En Rocafort went with me; he found a mare and mounted her, for he had not his horse, which was yet on board ship. I ordered my horse to be brought, and meantime went up to the infantry, who were between four and five thousand, and addressed them in these words: “Bad traitors¹⁶² that you are! How can you go in that way? for if a few horsemen come down on you, they are sure to kill you to a man.” The men perceived that I spoke sense to them, and accordingly stopped and said: “The King speaks the truth, we were proceeding like so many blockheads.” I thus kept them till En Guillen and En Remon de Moncada, the Count of Ampurias, and those of his house, came up, and I said: “Here are the infantry, whom I have stopped as they were going out.” They said: “You have done right well.” The infantry was handed over to them, and all went away together. And when they had gone a little way, I heard a great noise, whereupon I sent a message to Don Nuño to tell him of that, for certainly a great noise was in the air, and I was much afraid that our people had fallen in with the Saracens. The messenger did not return, and I began to think that he had been too long away. I then said: “En Rocafort, since our messenger does not come back, go you there and warn them; tell Don Nuño that I take amiss his delay this day, for peradventure I may get such hurt from it as all his money could not repair; it is not right that the vanguard should be so far from the rearguard, that the one cannot see the other.” En Rocafort said: “You, my lord, are here alone, and on no account will I leave you.” And I presently said: “Saint Mary! that Don Nuño and the

¹⁶²“Mal traidors.” The king could use the words only as indefinite abuse. He spoke, it will be remarked, pure Provençal grammar in making *mal* a plural.

knights should be so slow; very badly are they acting against me this day." As I spoke I distinctly heard the clash of arms, and cries, and I said: "O, Saint Mary! do thou aid our men, for it seems as if they had met the enemy." And meanwhile Don Nuño came, and Bertran de Naya with him; and Lope Xemenez de Lusiá, Don Pedro Pomar, and all his company, En Dalmau and En Jaçpert de Barberá. They said to me: "Why are you here?" I said: "I came here through the infantry, that I had to stop; it seems now as if they were engaging the Saracens; for God's sake let us be on our guard." En Bertran de Naya said: "Have you your quilted coat here?" I said: "No I have not." "Then take this," replied En Bertran. I dismounted, put on the coat he gave me, and my own coat of mail over it, had my iron cap well secured on my head, and sent word to Don Pedro Corneyl, Don Eximen Dorrea and En Oliver to be on their guard, as the battle had actually commenced.

64. And when the battle was nearly finished I met a knight, and said to him: "How has it gone with you, and what have our people done?" He said: "The Count of Ampurias and the Templars attacked the tents, and En Guillen and En Remon de Moncada attacked the left." I said: "And you know no more?" "Yes, that the Christians have beaten back the Saracens three times, and the Saracens the Christians three times also." I said. "Where are they?" He said: "At that hill." I then met En Guillen de Mediona, than whom they said there was in all Catalonia no man who tilted better; he was a good knight, and was coming away from the battle bleeding from his upper lip. I said to him "En Guillen de Mediona, why do you leave the battle?" He said: "Because I am wounded." I thought he had some mortal wound in the body, and said: "How are you wounded?" "I am wounded by a stone that struck me on the mouth." I took hold of the reins of his horse and said "Turn, again to the battle; a good knight for such a blow as that should be enraged, not leave the battle." But after a while, when I looked out for him, I did not see him. When I had got up on the hill there were not more than twelve knights with me, the banner of Don Nuño, and Rothan who had charge of it, the Sieur Guilleaumes, son of the King of Navarre and others; there might be in all as many as thirty knights, and they passed before me. Up on the hill where the Saracens were, there was a great body of footmen; and a banner of red and white divided lengthways, with the head of a man, or if not that, a wooden head on the spike. I said to Don Nuño: "Don Nuño, let us go up to that body of infantry yonder on the top of that hill; they seem already beaten, and are evidently disorderly and in confusion; when men in a field of battle are in that condition, any one can attack them, and, if vigorously assailed, they will soon disperse." And he and Don Pedro Pomar, and Ruy Ximenez Delvesia took my horse by the rein and said: "Your madness on this day will be the cause of our death." They went on giving great pulls at the bridle until I said: "You need not do that; I am not a lion or leopard, and since you will have it so, I will wait; God will that ill do not come of it!"

65. Thereon En Jaspert de Barberá came up and told Don Nuno to go forward, who said, "I will." I then said: "Since En Jaspert goes, I will go." "And why you?" said Don Nuño, "have you already become a lion of arms? You may chance to find yonder as good a one or better than yourself." And before En Jaspert had moved on with the seventy knights, the Moors shouted, threw stones, and advanced a little, upon which the banner of Don Nuño and they who were with him turned back. And though they kept a good countenance, they came down a good stone's throw towards me, and some of my men cried out "Shame!" The Saracens did not follow them, and they stopped; meantime my banner and following, with a hundred knights or more who guarded it, came up, and the men said, "Here comes the King's banner." We went down the hill, and joined the troop of the banner. Then we pushed up all together. The Saracens took to flight; we found fully two thousand Saracen infantry, who went before us in flight; we could not overtake them, neither we nor any of the other knights, so worn out were our horses. And when

the battle was won, and we were on the hill, Don Nuño came up to us. and said, “A good day for you and for us; all is ours, since you have won this battle.”

66. Then I said to Don Nuño: “Let us go to the town; the King of Mallorca is on the hills, and cannot get there so soon as we can; you may see him there in the midst of that crowd, dressed in white; we will cut him off from the city.” As I began to descend from the hills and go into the plain towards the city, En Remon Alaman came to me and said: “My lord, what are you doing?” I said, “Going to the city, to cut off the King from putting troops into it.” “Oh! my lord, you are doing what no king ever did; no general who has won a battle, but passes the night on the field to learn what he has lost and won.” I said, “Know, En Remon Alaman, that what I intend doing is best.” Meanwhile I descended the hillside, and went slowly along the road towards the city. And when I had ridden about a mile the Bishop of Barcelona came up to me and said: “My lord, for God’s sake “do not make such haste.” “Why not, bishop? this appears to me the best thing to do.” He said, “Let me speak to you;” and he took me aside and said, “Oh, my lord! you have this day lost more than you imagine; En Guillen and En Remon de Moncada are dead.” “Dead!” said I, and I burst into tears; presently I said to the bishop, “Let us not weep, this is not a time for weeping; and let us carry their bodies off the field since they are dead.” “So we will,” said the bishop, “Do you wait for us here.” “I will,” said I.

67. And I went little by little up to the hill of Portupi, and from thence saw Mallorca in the distance, and it seemed to me the finest city I had ever seen, and those who were with me thought the same. There I met Don Pelegrin Atrosillo,¹⁶³ and asked him if there was any water by, at which we could camp for the night. He said, “Yes, there is yonder a small stream; I have seen the Sheikh¹⁶⁴ go thither with fully twenty horsemen, and drink; but as we were only four, we dared not attack them.” I went forward and found the water, and encamped there that night. Soon after Don Nuño came, and I said to him, “By God’s faith I am very hungry, for I have eaten nothing all day.” And he said, “My lord, En Oliver has pitched his tent yonder; he has cooked food, and you can eat with him.” “Let us go then,” said I, “wherever you please.” We went there and ate. When I had finished my meal, there were already stars in the sky. Don Nuño then said, “My lord, if you have done eating, it would be well to go in search of the bodies of Don Guillen and Don Remon de Moncada.” I said that he spoke right well. We all went, with torches and candles; and found the former lying on a mattress, and a coverlet over him; we stayed there a while, weeping, and did the same over En Remon, who was close by. After that I returned to the tent of En Oliver, and slept there all night till day. And when morning came, they said, “Let us shift the camp.” I said, “I will first make it secure against a sudden attack;” and having put on my quilted coat¹⁶⁵ and a coat of mail over it, I put the Aragonese on one side and the Catalans on the other, the water course (*cequia*) dividing them, and an encampment was made, though it was so small that it seemed as if only one hundred knights with their horses could hardly hold in it, yet the cords of the tents were so close together and so interlaced that for eight days no one could ride into it.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³D’Atrosil.

¹⁶⁴The King of Mallorca, generally called Xequé, from the Arabic root {arabic}. an elder and the chief of a tribe. His name was Abu Yahya Háquem, {arabic}.

¹⁶⁵The word used is *gonyo*, which I presume to be the same as “perpunt” (purpoint). In old French “gonelle” meant “casaque d’homme ou de femme.”

¹⁶⁶“E faem la albergada tan streta que non paria que albergassen de C cauallers a evant: si que les cordes de les tendes se tenien entrelaçades duna a laltra, si que be dura huyt dies que no podia home fer carrera en la host,” says the text of the Chronicle (fol. xxv. vo). The passage is evidently vitiated. The Spanish translators appear unable, as I am myself, to understand its meaning.

68. On the morning that the camp was established the bishops and barons assembled and came to my tent, and the Bishop of Barcelona, En Berenguer de Palou, said: "My lord, it is necessary that those bodies of the dead be buried." And I said, "Certainly; when shall we bury them?" They said, "Now, or to-morrow morning, or after dinner." I said, "It will be best at matins,¹⁶⁷ when no one will be up, and the Saracens will not see us." And the barons said that I said well. At sunset we collected wide and long cloths, and put them up towards the town that the candles at the burial might not be seen. And when it came to burying the bodies, weeping and lamenting and crying out began. And I bid them be silent and listen to what I was about to say, and spoke thus: "Barons, these two nobles died in the service of God, and in mine; if it were possible for me to redeem them so that their death might be turned into life, and God did me so much grace, I would willingly give so much of my land that those who heard of it would think me mad. But since God has brought me and you here on so great a service to Him, let no one mourn or weep. And though your affliction be great let it not appear externally. I command you by the sovereignty I have over you, that no one weep or lament, for I will be a lord unto you; that duty of honour and well doing which they held towards you will I henceforward fill. If any of you happen to lose a horse or aught else I will make it good, and will supply your wants fully: you shall not miss your lords nor perceive their loss; in such wise will I meet your needs. Your lamentations would discomfort the army and do you no good; therefore I command you, in virtue of my power as your liege lord, not to lament or weep any more. Do you know what would be a true and proper lamentation over your lords? Rightly to esteem and honour their death, and to serve our Lord in that for which we all came here, so that His name be sanctified for ever." And after that speech the men abstained from lamenting, and buried their lords.

69. Next morning I held council with the bishops and the barons of the army as to unloading the transport ships. I therefore sent for a "trebuchet" and a "mangonel," and the Saracens saw plainly that we were landing timber from the ships on the sea. And whilst we were getting ready two "trebuchets" and two "algarradas,"¹⁶⁸ the masters and sailors of the ships from Marseilles, of which there were four or five, came to me and said: "My lord, we came here in the service of God and in yours; we offer on behalf of the men from Marseilles to make you a 'trebuchet' after our own fashion out of the yards and spars of the ships, for the honour of God and yours. We will construct and set up our 'trebuchets' and one 'fonevol' besides, before the Saracens can have theirs ready." And thus the number of war engines both outside and inside the town was twenty; outside, in our camp, there, were two trebuchets, one "fonevol," and one Turkish "mangonel." The Saracens, however, made two "trebuchets" and fourteen "algarradas;" one of their algarradas was the best ever seen; it shot into the camp over five or six rows of tents, but the "trebuchet" that

¹⁶⁷"L'endemá mati, al alba." Immediately after midnight.

¹⁶⁸This distinction between *trebuchets*, *almajanachs*, *fonevols*, and *algarradas*, all slinging machines, appears to have consisted principally in their size and the weight of the stones they threw. Possibly there was some difference in the way of stretching and discharging them. All these "nevroballistic" engines of the thirteenth century, as they have been called from Greek *neuron* (cord) and Greek *ballō* (I throw) may be reduce to the *fonevol*, or *fonevol* (*fundibulus*), which threw large stone-balls; to the *trebuch* and *trebuquets*, a kind of catapult; the *manganell* (French, *mangonneau turquesque*) supposed to be the same as the *almajanec*, {arabic}, of the Arabs. The *Algarrada*, {arabic}, was a "ballista" of small dimensions, and yet powerful enough to be able to shoot at a very long distance, and with great force, javelins and big stones. As to the "mantelet," called also the she-cat (*gata*), I find it used as synonymous of the *musculus*, in later times *catus*, *cat* or *chat*; it was a sort of house built with large beams of wood, and covered with a triple roof of planks generally lined with branches of trees and mud, so as to deaden the shock of the enemy's projectiles.

was brought by sea threw farther than any of theirs. Our people began to shoot at the Saracens inside the town, but they protected their engines as well as they could. En Jaspert then said he would show how to make a mantlet that should go up to the very edge of the moat of the town, in spite of all the engines on the walls, and of the crossbows also. He, accordingly, constructed a mantlet to go on wheels; the hurdles were threefold and had strong good timbers under them; it was, as I said, upon wheels; and it was built near the “trebuchets.” It moved as they pushed it on with poles, and was covered like a house with a roof of hurdles, and brushwood on the top of it, and earth on the brushwood, so that if a stone from the “algarradas” of the Saracens struck it no harm should be done. And the Count of Ampurias made another mantlet, and had it placed near the moat, with a small body of sappers into it to work under ground, so as to come out at the bottom of the moat. I had another of the same kind made for my men. In this wise we began to make our mines; and when the three were finished, that of En Jaspert went above ground and the others under ground, at which the army was much pleased, for they saw that the work was going on well. That was, indeed, an army, such that no man in the world ever saw the like of it. So well did they perform what Friar Michael, the Dominican, had some time before preached to them, that it was really wonderful. This Friar Michael¹⁶⁹ had been in the army from the beginning; he was a reader in theology and a companion of Friar Berenguer de Castelbisbal. When he had confessed the men and given them absolution, for which he had power from the bishops, he bade them bring wood or stones for the engines; the knights themselves did not leave this sort of work for the foot soldiers to do; they put their own hands to everything, and brought stones for the “fonevols” before them on the saddle, whilst their retainers took stones to the “trebuchets” on frames hanging by cords from their necks. When ordered to keep watch by day or night with their horses, as light horsemen to guard the miners or to do any duty required in the army, if fifty were ordered out for that service a hundred went. And that they who hear this book may know how hard a feat of arms was that which was achieved at Mallorca, I will only tell this one thing, that no foot soldier, sailor, or other, dared lie in the camp for three weeks, except myself, the knights and the esquires who served me; the other foot soldiers and the sailors came early in the morning from their ships and returned at night; the Provost of Tarragona was one of them; all day they were with me, and at night they went back to their ships. My camp was fortified with strong palisades and ditches all round. There were two gates in it, and no one could leave without my order.

70. And while things were thus¹⁷⁰ a Saracen of the island, called Infantilla,¹⁷¹ collected all the mountaineers, fully five thousand, among them a hundred horsemen; and he came upon a hill, which was a strong position, over the fountain spring of Mallorca; he set his tents there—thirty or

¹⁶⁹The name of this Dominican seems to have been Fabre; as to his companion, Berenguer de Castelbisbal, he became bishop of Gerona, and died at Naples in 1254.

¹⁷⁰“En tant nos estan axi torna nostre frau e un sarraz.” I cannot conjecture what the three words in italics mean. Marsilio (cap. xxv.) has, “Levá’s un fil del diable per nom infantilla,” whilst Desclot (xl.iii. 383) says: En aquesta saho exí de la ciutat un sarrahi molt valent qui havia nom En Fatilla.”

¹⁷¹I should say that *Infantilla* is an erratum for *infantillo*, the diminutive of “infante,” that is, the son, brother, or nephew of a king according to Spanish fashion, for since the fourteenth century such is the appellative or title under which the younger members of the royal family are designated. But, notwithstanding that, I am inclined to think, as Romey in his *Histoire d’Espagne*, vol. vi. p. 406, that *Infantilla* is but a corruption of *Fatillah* (see Desclot, p. 43), to which name the prefix En was added. The conjecture appears to me the more plausible that {arabic}, *Fatih-billah*, or the “conqueror by the grace of God,” is an Arabic title assumed by several Mussulman warriors of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

thirty-five, or as many as forty—sent his Saracens with spades, cut off the water of the spring from running towards the town, and threw it into a torrent, so that we lost that water and could not have it. And when I saw that the army could not endure that, and had counsel upon that, I resolved that a captain or two should go thither with one hundred horsemen to fight with the Saracens and get back the water. I then addressed myself to Don Nuño, and put him at the head of the force; he got ready and marched off: having under him, of his own people and of those I gave him, fully a hundred knights. The Saracens tried to defend the hill, but our people went against them and routed them; their chief, Infantilla, was overtaken and slain: upwards of five hundred of the Saracens were killed, the others fled to the mountains. Our people took possession of their tents, destroyed the enemy's camp, and brought the head of Infantilla to me; I had it put in the sling of the "almajanech," and threw it into the town.¹⁷² The water came back to the camp, and the army rejoiced that night for the great blow we had given the enemy.

71. And on this a Saracen of the island named Beanabet¹⁷³ sent me a message by another Saracen, who brought his letter, that he would gladly come to me, and would bring it about that one district out of the twelve into which the island was divided, should furnish as many supplies to the army as they themselves got in the country; and that he was sure that, if I behaved kindly to him, he could make the other districts come on to me. I showed the letter to the commanders of the army, and they all said that it was good for us to accept. Then the Saracen told me to send some knights to a safe place, which he named, a league from the camp, and that he himself would go there, trusting in me, and would make an agreement to serve us faithfully and without deceit, that I might see the good service he would do us. I accordingly sent twenty knights, who found

¹⁷²Desclot, who wrote sixty or seventy years after these events, says (*Hist. de Calaluña*, f. 43), that all Infantilla's party were killed, and that King James had the heads of all, four hundred and twelve in number, thrown from engines into the city: that the Moors, doubting if Infantilla's was really one of them, sent out a party of forty men to get certain news, who were all killed in their turn, excepting three, who got back, and whose report greatly discouraged those in the city. These additions, made at a period so near the time, seem to confirm faith in the earlier date of the more simple and probable narrative. Another instance, in confirmation of this remark, may be given from Desclot himself (f. 40.) "The Moors, seeing their 'trebuchets' broken to pieces, and the walls ruined in many places, in despair of other remedies, invented one of their wonted cruelties, which they thought would hinder the attack. The next night they tied up all the Christian prisoners they had in the city, naked, on crosses on the part of the walls the Christians were battering with their 'trebuchets.' When morning came, and the Christians saw so sad a sight, with great wonder and anger they went to the moat to hear what those Christians might have to say, which was, that they earnestly entreated the army to continue battering and throwing down the wall, without regard to the hurt they themselves might receive; since, relying on God, they themselves would endure with great patience that trial and death, knowing that the city would be difficult to win, if they did not take it on that side; and it would not be right for their sake not to take it. The King of Aragon wished to take counsel of his barons as to what should be done in such a case; all were of opinion that the battery should not be slackened on that side; for if those Christians died in so good a cause, God would receive their souls, giving them the reward for their torment; whereas the Moors would not remain without punishment in soul and body for such cruelty. With this resolution the battering was resumed, directing the shots to where the Christians were tied; but though the stones of the 'trebuchets' struck so near to them that sometimes they grazed their bodies, taking off their very hair off their heads, yet a just God hindered their hitting any of them, so that not one was killed or maimed. When night came on, the Moors, seeing their artifice was of no avail, took the prisoners off the wall, returning them to their dungeons."

Among Desclot's additions to, and embellishments of, the story of this siege, repeated mention is made of the hurdles (*hourdes*) or wooden galleries, for a knowledge of which in modern times we are indebted to M. Viollet-le-Duc, *Essai sur l'architecture militaire au moyen age*, who (f. 45) speaks of an inner line of defence, built by the Moors, of stone and lime, "with many turrets of wood, and niches for cross bowmen" (*ballesteras*), and (f. 49) of the fall of a wall, "with all the scaffoldings and turrets of wood."

¹⁷³Benahabet in Marsilio (cap. xxvii. {arabic}?).

the Saracen there. He had come with his present, full twenty beasts laden with barley, kids, fowls, and grapes; the grapes were brought in bags, and were neither broken nor crushed. This angel's present was divided among the barons in the army. I call him an angel, for though a Saracen, I have no doubt that God sent him to us; and he stood us in such good stead, that under such circumstances we likened him to an angel. He asked me for one of my flags, that if his messengers came to the camp my people might not do them hurt, and I gladly gave him one. And then he sent me messages to say that two or three other districts in the island wished to do as he himself had done and there did not pass a week without the Saracen sending supplies of barley, flour, fowls, kids, and grapes, to refresh the army with and comfort it; so that in fifteen days' time all the districts of Mallorca belonging to the city, up to the part against the Minorca division, were at my service and paid me obedience. I put my entire trust in that Saracen, for I found him all truth. After that he again came to me, and asked me for a Christian governor (bailli) who should hold those districts for me; and by his advice I made two governors (baillis) to rule over the districts he had brought under my sway. One was En Berenguer Durfort, of Barcelona, and the other En Jaches Sans, both gentlemen of our household, and men who knew what they were about.

72. And that they who shall see this book may know how many districts there are in Mallorca, they are fifteen. The first is Andrayig, and Santa Ponça, Bunyola, Soler, Almerug, and Polença; these are the greatest mountains of Mallorca, looking towards Catalonia. And these are the districts in the plain: Montuери, Canarossa, Incha, Petra, Muro, Ffelenig, where the castle of Santtuери is, Manacor, and Arta.¹⁷⁴ In the district of the city are now fifteen markets; in the time of the Saracens there were twelve. [But to return to the narrative.] The mines were ready in three different places, one above, the others under, ground, till they got under the rampart. The enemy attacked these mines, but we defended them, some of our men going through the mines and others above, till we drove the enemy from the rampart once, and many times. The miners with picks and tools got to the towers, and began to mine them in despite of the Saracens, who could not hinder it. In this manner they first got one of the towers on props of wood, and when that tower was resting on the props, they set fire to them, till the tower came down. When the Saracens saw what mischief was being done, they came down from the other towers; but in the same way three more were thrown down at once. Before the first of these was thrown down, the Provost of Tarragona said, "My lord, will you let us have some fun?" "Yes," said I, "what is it?" "I will have," said he, "a cable put under yonder tower,¹⁷⁵ and they in the mine shall draw it, and the props will come from under the ruined tower." As he said, so it was done; and when the tower fell three Saracens came down with it my people went out of the mines, and brought them in prisoners to the camp.

73. Then came two men from Lerida, named En Prohet, and En Johan Rixo, besides a third in their company, and said, "My lord, if you let us, we will so level the moat that heavy-armed horse can go into it." I said, "Are you sure of that?" "Yes," said they, "by God's will we can do it, if you will only have us properly protected." This pleased me well; I thanked them for their offer, and told them to begin the work at once, and that I would give them guards for protection. And they began levelling the moat in this way; they first put on a layer of timber in it, and then one of earth. When that work of levelling the moat had lasted for fifteen days, the Saracens could

¹⁷⁴The edition 1557 gives these names thus: Andraig, Sancta Ponça, Bunyola, Soller, Almaliug, Pollença; Montuери, Canarossa, Inqua, Petra, Muro, Felanix, hon es lo castell de sent Tueri, e Manacor, e Artha.

¹⁷⁵And fastened to the props.

not possibly hinder it, so close to the town had our people got. One Sunday I dressed myself well and carefully, and looked well to the duties in the camp, the cooking, the victuals, and the working of the slinging engines. The Bishop of Barcelona was near me at the time, as well as En Carroç and other knights. I saw the smoking from a mine which the Saracens had made under it to the mound; and when I saw that, it vexed me mortally that all the labour applied and all the time bestowed on it should be lost in one moment. I had trusted that by that work the town would be taken; that our chance should see it lost in so short a time vexed me immensely. All round me were silent. I myself remained thinking for a time until God gave me a thought, which was to turn the water again into the moat. I accordingly ordered one hundred men, armed with shields and lances and their full equipments, to go with spades, but so that the Saracens should not see them, and to turn the water from the higher ground to where the mound of earth was, and let it soak in there so as to put the fire out; and so it was done. The Moors did not repeat the attempt, but turned their attention to the mines that were being dug under ground, and made one counter-mine against each of ours, so contrived that they actually encountered our people in the mine, and drove them out. When the news came to me that the Saracens had driven our people from the mine, and that they were in possession of it, I sent for a windlass crossbow, and it so hit two Saracens, who were in front in the mine, that it killed them both at one shot, piercing their shields. When they in the mine saw that shot they abandoned it altogether; and in this way the mines under ground were completed while the moat was being filled up.¹⁷⁶

74. After that, when the Saracens saw that they could not maintain the defence, they sent us a message to say that they wished to speak with a messenger of ours, provided he were one in whom I and they could put trust. So after taking the advice of the bishops and the barons in the camp, they said to me that since the Saracens wished to parley, I could not refuse, and that it was good that some one should go to them. I then sent thither Don Nuño, with ten of his own retainers on horseback, and a Jew of Saragossa, who knew Arabic, as interpreter; the name of this latter was Don Bahihel.¹⁷⁷ When they got there, the Saracens asked Don Nuño what he wanted, and if he wished to say anything to them. Don Nuño said, "I did not come here on my own account; but you sent a message to my lord, the King, to send to you a messenger in whom he could trust, and he chose me. I am, moreover, his relative, and the king, to honour you and to hear what you had

¹⁷⁶Villaroya (p. 134) gives, in support of his assertion that S. Pedro Nolasco was "the author and mover" of the king's conquests, the following letter, said by him to be preserved in a convent at Barcelona, the Mercedes. It refers to this stage of the siege. The reader will not perhaps think it proves more than that the king was in communication with the saint, as with a friend. Villaroya gives a Spanish version of the Catalan original.

"REVEREND FATHER.—It has pleased God that we should lay siege to Mallorca; as you are so powerful with our Lord that He sent you the Holy Virgin through your prayers, you will continue them that the Saracens may surrender to us, and that He may remove all obstacles to our siege. But your prayers are good for thus much, that all may fall into our hands; for they put themselves in arms because the Christians had made a mine in the wall. The Saracens perceived it through the lights that were in it one night, and saw that a subterranean digging or mine was being made to overthrow the walls: they began to dig from the city towards that loophole, eyelet, or breathing-place they had seen, till they reached the Christians' mine, so that a great battle ensued between the Christians and Saracens, till the Aragonese were actually forced to depart and leave the place. But it happened as you had told me, that God was on our side. And God will have mercy on us, as we have heard from you. I tell you the truth, and put myself wholly in the hands of the Virgin Mary, that I will not raise the siege of Mallorca till her praise is sung in it: to that I have sworn. Do you, who have so much power with Heaven, gain favour for me against the Saracens, and I will remember you and your religion.—In the camp of Aragon, 8th Sept. 1229; of the Religion of the Virgin XI." (that is the eleventh year from the foundation of S. Pedro Nolasco's Order of Mercy).

¹⁷⁷Habrel, Bachel, and Bahiel, for the readings vary in the *Chronicle*, as well as in Marsilio and Desclot; his true name was Rabbi Babel. He had a brother called Selomoh; both were natives of Saragossa.

to say, sent me here.” The King of Mallorca then answered him: “You had better go back, for I have nothing to say to you.” Don Nuño therefore came back, and I at once sent for all the members of my Privy Council, for the bishops and the nobles, that they might hear Don Nuño’s account. However before Don Nuño began what he had to say, he burst into a laugh. I asked him, “Why do you laugh, Don Nuño?” “I have good cause for it,” replied he; “for the King of Mallorca said nothing to me; he only asked what I wanted, and I answered that I marvelled much that so wise a man as he was should have sent a message asking for one of the army in whom we put full trust, and then ask me, point blank, what I wished to say to him. He had sent a message to say he wanted to speak to the King or to his delegate; one had been appointed; and therefore I, Don Nuño, would say nothing to him unless he told me first what his errand was.” Whereupon the councillors deliberated, and unanimously agreed that the time would come when the King of Mallorca would be glad to speak and come to terms. And so we broke up.

75. A little time after this, Don Pero Corneyl, who had been at the Council, said to me, “Guil Dalagó,¹⁷⁸ surnamed Mahomet, has twice sent me word that he wishes to speak with me; if you please, I will listen to what he has to say, and peradventure he may disclose something of advantage to us all.” I said, “Let it be so; and Don Pero went away on his business. Next day, early, he came and told me all that Guil Dalagó had said to him; he had been first a Christian and a knight, and had then become a Mohammedan; he fancied that on that account, and owing to his knowledge of the language, he could arrange with the King of Mallorca, and with the sheikhs of the town and country and with all the Saracens of the island, that they should give me all that I and the barons had spent in the expedition, and let us retire home safe and sound; and that they would besides give us such surety as might be asked. When I had heard this, I said to him: “Don Pero Corneyl, I marvel much that you speak of such a bargain to me; for I take my pledge to God, by the faith that He has commanded and given, that should any one offer me to pave with gold the space between yonder mountain and this camp, for me to leave this island, I would not take it, nor can they (the Saracens) enter into any agreement about Mallorca, save my getting the town itself and the whole of the island; for never will I return to Catalonia unless I pass first through Mallorca. I therefore command you, on pain of losing my love, never to speak to me again of such a proposal as that.”

76. After this the King of Mallorca again sent a message, begging that I should send Don Nuño to speak with him. I accordingly sent him, and Don Nuño went. The King of Mallorca came outside the Port Tupi¹⁷⁹ gate, and had a tent pitched there, with seats for himself and Don Nuño. Don Nuño’s followers were quiet whilst the interview lasted; they did nothing against those in the town, nor did the town’s people do anything against those outside. When the King of Mallorca and Don Nuño met, they went into the tent, and spoke there for some time; the king, with two of his sheikhs only, and Don Nuño, with the Alfaqui, who went as interpreter, the mounted retainers of Don Nuño remaining without with some Saracens. Then Don Nuño asked the King of Mallorca why he had sent for him. And the King said, “It is for this reason, because I do not call to mind having ever done wrong to your king; therefore, I marvel that he so rages against me that he wants to take from me this kingdom which God gave me; wherefore I would pray him, and you also, to counsel him not to try and take my land from me. If he or you, who have come here with him, have made any outlay for that purpose, I will make it good to him, and to you, I and the people of the land; and do you go back, he and you, who have come here with

¹⁷⁸Gil de Alagon, a renegade, who had taken the name of Mohammad.

¹⁷⁹Portopi, Portupi, Port Opi.

him, in peace and good will; for I will do nothing to you but good and love. And so let the king go back, and name the sum that I and the people of this land will have to pay, and that within five days. By the grace of God, I have here provision of arms, and meat and food of all kinds, and anything that is needed for a city's defence; and that you may better believe what I tell ye, let your lord, the King, send two or three trusty men, and let them come on my pledge that they shall come and go safe and sound, and I will show them the stores of provisions and the arms that I have in this place; and should it not be as I have said, let there be no agreement at all, and let my proposal be rejected. Know further, that I do not care for the towers you have overthrown; I have no fear at all of your entering the city on that side."

77. And when Don Nuño heard the king's speech, he answered and said, "As to what you say, that you have done no wrong to our king, you certainly did do him wrong, when you took a ship belonging to his realm with great store of merchandise, which merchants carried in it. The King, my master, sent you his message about it,¹⁸⁰ and prayed you lovingly by a man of his household, named En Jaques, and you answered him very fiercely and harshly, asking, 'Who was that king that asked for the ship?' The ambassador replied, 'that he was the son of the king who won the pitched battle of Ubeda.'¹⁸¹ And thereupon you were offended with the ambassador, and much enraged at him, and told him that if he were not an ambassador, it had been ill for him that he said that. Whereupon the ambassador replied to you that he had come relying on your faith, and that you could do with him as you pleased. You must know (he said) the name of his lord; all the men in the world knew it, and knew how powerful among Christians he was, and how high; wherefore you should not say of him in scorn that you did not know his name. I say this to you,

¹⁸⁰Desclot (*Hist. de Catalunya*, f. 45) tells, the story thus: "A little after" (the unsuccessful attack on Peñiscola in 1225) "it happened that two Catalan corsairs, cruising in the Mediterranean, came to Iviça, where there were a galley and a transport of the Moorish king of Mallorca, loading ship timber; they captured the transport and the galley escaped to Mallorca. . . . A few days afterwards a Barcelona ship arriving at Mallorca, the King captured it, its cargo and crew, and immediately sent his galley to Iviça, where there was another Barcelona ship, with a valuable cargo for Ceuta, and brought her to Mallorca. The King of Aragon then sent to Mallorca, demanding the two vessels. The King of Mallorca called together the Pisan, Genoese, and Provençal merchants, of whom there were many in the island, and asked 'what power the King of Aragon had, and if he should be afraid of him, or if it seemed to them better to give up the ships than to irritate him?' A Genoese, who was very rich and experienced, answered for all, that he 'need not fear the King of Aragon, nor his little and feeble power, since it was not enough to take the castle of Peñiscola, though so small, and besieged by him a long time; so it did not seem to them that he (the King of Mallorca) should give up anything of what he had taken, for no harm could come of keeping it.' The reason of his giving such bad advice (good for the King of Aragon) was that the Catalans might not be able to sail in those seas, the kings being at war, and they themselves might have the field open to buy and sell their merchandise everywhere. Relying on this advice, the King of Mallorca had replied to the King of Aragon's messenger, that he would not give up the ships, persons, and goods; he of Aragon might do what he could, for he did not fear his defiance or his power. This answer put King James in such anger, that he swore before God not to rest nor to deem himself a true monarch till he had destroyed the Moorish king, conquered him by force of arms, seized his person, and taken him by the beard in insult and vengeance for his ill behaviour and discourtesy."

Beuter, a chronicler of the sixteenth century (*Chron. de España*, lib. ii., f. 10), tells the incident thus, making no mention of any previous consultation of the Moorish king with the Italian merchants: he says that the Mallorcan "replied with great scorn: 'Who is this king, your master, who sends you here? I know no such king.' Then some Pisan traders said, 'This is a king who went against Peñiscola, a castle in the kingdom of Valencia, and could not take it.' He (James's envoy) made answer, and said: 'The King, my master, is son of the king who won the battle of Ubeda, and vanquished all the power of the Moors of Spain (and Africa).'"

¹⁸¹The battle of Ubeda, or rather of Las Navas de Tolosa, was fought in 1212 by the combined forces of Castille, Aragon, and Navarre, against Abu Abdillah Mohammad, Sultan of Africa and Mohammedan Spain. Pedro II., James's father, was in it, and contributed most efficiently to the taking of Ubeda.

for the evil answer you made him. For the rest I reply to you that our lord, the King, is young, not more than twenty years old. This is the first great undertaking he has begun, and you must know that it is his heart and his will that for nothing in the world will he go hence till he have the kingdom and land of Mallorca; and if we should advise him to accept your proposals, we know for certain that he would never do it. You may now talk of something else; for what you propose is not worth talking about; that he would never do, nor would we advise him to it.”

78. Thereupon the King of Mallorca said: “Since you will not take the terms I have proposed, I will do this; I will give five besants¹⁸² for every head, man, woman, and child, and I will leave the town on condition that you give us ships and transports in which we may cross over to Barbary, and let those who choose remain here.” When Don Nuño heard what the King said, he returned to me in great glee. No one knew the news except he and the Alfaqui, who had acted as interpreter. He said in my ear that he would soon tell me good news. “Let me then (said I) send for the bishops and the barons, that they may be present when you announce the good tidings; since they are to be made public sooner or later, it is better that you should speak them out before everybody.” Don Nuño thought that right; I sent for the councillors, and while they were coming he told us all that had passed.

When the councillors came, Don Nuño said how he had spoken with the King of Mallorca and what he had replied. He summed up by saying that the King would surrender the town, and would besides give for every person inside, man, woman, or child, five besants, and would make the delivery within five days, and that we should pass him over into Barbary, him and his family and all his household, men and women; the ships should put them on shore, and they would be content with that. The Count of Ampurias, who, as above stated, was with the army, would not come to the council: he was in a mine, and had declared that he would certainly not leave it till the town was taken, and therefore that he could not attend. There remained of the kindred of En P. de Muntcada En R. Alaman and En Gardu de Cerveyló, a son of En G. de Cerveyló and a nephew of En R. Alaman and En G. de Clarmunt; all these had a seat in the council. The Bishop of Barcelona was also one of them, as well as the Bishop of Gerona, the Provost of Tarragona, and the Abbot of Sant Ffeliu. All asked the Bishop of Barcelona to give his opinion. The Bishop answered and said, that they had suffered great loss in the island, so many noble and good men had been slain whilst serving God there, whose death ought to be revenged. That vengeance (he said) would be good and just, but he (the bishop) declined giving his opinion; the nobles and knights knew more of military affairs than he did; they had usage of arms and should speak first. Then they told Don Nuño to speak, and he spoke thus: “Barons, we have all come here to serve God and our lord, the King, here present; he came here and we with him to take Mallorca. It seems to me that if our lord, the King, makes the treaty that the king of this island proposes, our master will achieve that for which he came here. I will say no more; I was the messenger of the news; do you give your opinions on them.” Thereupon spoke En Ramon Alaman, and said: “You, my lord, crossed over here, and we with you, to serve God, and you have lost here, slain in your service, vassals than whom no king had better. God has given you an opportunity for taking vengeance for them, and in so doing you will gain the whole land. But the King of Mallorca has such skill and such knowledge of this country that if he be allowed to pass into Barbary nobody

¹⁸²The besant was at this time, and up to the sixteenth century, worth three sols and four deniers of those of Barcelona, or about 1 1/2 reales (forty centimes) at the present day. The city of Mallorca having then, according to Desclot, 80,000 inhabitants, that would make 650 *l.* of our English money, no insignificant sum for the Amir of the Balearic islands to offer.

can tell what he is capable of doing. What with what he can tell there, and with the skill he undoubtedly has, he can bring so many Saracens into this land that, though you have gained it with the help of God and of us, you will be unable to retain possession of the island though you were able to take it. Therefore, since you have your opportunity, avenge yourself of them, and keep the land to yourself, and then you need not fear Barbary." And En Guerau de Cerveyló and En G. de Clarmunt said with one voice: "My lord, we pray you for God's sake to remember En G. de Muntcada, who loved and served you so well, and En Remon, and the other barons and knights who together with them died in the field."

79. And when I had heard their counsels I said: "As to the death of the nobles (*richs homens*) who fell in battle I have nothing to say. What God Almighty ordains has to be fulfilled; but for the rest, I can say that it was my design to come to this land to serve God and conquer it. Our Lord has granted my wish, since the proposal has been made of giving me exactly what I came here for, namely, to get the land and great wealth besides. It seems to me as if it were really a thing to accept. Though I have gained land and riches, those who are dead have better reward than myself; they have the glory of God. This advice I submit to you; let me know what your opinion is." All the barons and bishops then said with one voice that it was far better to take the town by force, than to accept such a proposal. So I sent word to the King of Mallorca that his terms were rejected; he might do what he could, we should do what we could. When the parley was over and the Saracens learned the resolution taken, they went away in consternation, and when the King of Mallorca saw them in that state he held a general council, and said to them in his Arabic:—

"Barons, you know well that the Miramamolin¹⁸³ has held this land more than a hundred years; it was his pleasure that I should be your lord, and it has been held despite of the Christians, who never dared to attack it till now. Here we have our wives, our children, and our kindred, and now they bid us give up the land, so that we become their slaves; and what is still worse than slavery, they will search our women and our daughters and see that they carry nothing away. And when we all are in their power, they will do violence to our women and daughters, and treat them at their pleasure. I, who am here among you, rather than bear so hard a thing against our law, I would willingly lose my head; I desire to know of you what seems fit to you under the circumstances, and wish that you tell me your mind." All the people cried with one voice, that they would die rather than suffer such great shame. And the king said: "Then since I see you of so good mind, let us think of well defending ourselves, in such wise that one man be as good as two." Thereupon they separated, and went back to the walls, and one Saracen after that was better than two had been before.

80. And after a few days I said to Don Nuño: "Don Nuño, it seems to me as if our barons were wishing that they had not given the counsel they did give the other day; now perhaps they would listen to a capitulation, whereas formerly they would not." And I said to those who had sat with me in council on the capitulation, "Think you not that it would have been better to accept the terms offered, now that the Saracens are defending themselves so stoutly?" All were silent, and ashamed of what they had said, and at vespers there came to me two of those who had been of that opinion, the Bishop of Barcelona and En Ramon Alaman, and they said to me: "Why do you not accept the capitulation of the other day?" I said to them: "Would it not have been much better

¹⁸³Miramamolin is a corruption of Amira-l-mumenin, or "Prince of the true believers," the title assumed by the khalifs of Cordoba of the house of Umeyya, from Abde-r-rahman downwards, and after them by the Almowahedin or Almohades.

that you had agreed to it then, than now come to me and say that I should have accepted it? I now say to you, that it does not behove me to move in this affair, as it would be a sign of weakness. If the Moors again propose the terms they offered the other day, would you think it well to accept them?" They replied: "Not only shall we deem it rightly done, but will make those who formerly opposed agree to it. If the Saracens send again a proposal, and you think it acceptable, we will agree, and act wholly on your opinion."¹⁸⁴ So we parted; but our Lord who upholds those who follow His paths, did not will that the enemy should again treat with us, and ordered things a better way. The thing happened thus, that just as the Saracens were strengthened by the word of the King of Mallorca, so it was God's will that the Christians themselves should be equally strengthened and encouraged, in proportion as the Saracens grew weaker. Though the mines and trenches were completed, all were given up, with the exception of one, into which we put so strong a force that it was finished in spite of them.

81. Four days before the general assault on the city, the barons and the bishops agreed to hold a general council with me, and that in that council all should swear on the Holy Gospels and on the Cross that on entering Mallorca no noble, horseman, or foot-soldier should turn back, nor should he stop unless he had received a mortal wound. If a man received a mortal stroke, and no relative of his or soldier of the army was near him, he should put himself apart, or in a place to rest against; whilst all the rest should go forward entering the town by force, not turning head or body back; and that he who acted otherwise should be held as a traitor, like those who kill their Lord. I myself wished to take that oath, as the men were about to do and actually did; but the barons forbade me to swear it. I nevertheless told them that I would act as if I had sworn it. When the oath was taken, the bishops and barons went aside with me, and one of my train, I do not recollect who he was, said: "Lords, if we do not do one thing we shall have done nothing; for if the Saracens of the country resolve on breaking the agreement they have made with our lord, the king, and if peradventure there enter into the city from the country a thousand, or two, or three, or four, or five thousand of them, it will not be so easy to take Mallorca; for they have plenty of food inside, and if their numbers are increased, they will easily defend the city against us; wherefore I would advise you to look closely that no one gets into the city from the outside." And all with one voice said, that the knight gave good advice, and that it should be followed.

82. Next day the lieutenants (*batles*), whom I had sent into the district of Mallorca, En Jaques and En Berenguer Durfort, came back, for they dared not remain longer there for fear of the Saracens. When the men saw them come, they said one to another, "The plan we have now agreed on is certainly better than it was before." I then proceeded to establish three watches; the first for the engines and the lines of attack; another one opposite the gate of Barbolec¹⁸⁵ near the castle, which was entrusted to the Temple; the third against the gate of Portupi. Each guard or watch to consist of a hundred horsemen clad in armour. It was then between Christmas and New Year's Day, and so cold the weather that when men went outside of the camp, and marched a league or two, they immediately came back to their tents and huts on account of the cold, and had to send out scouts to watch for any coming to the camp. And one night I happened to send out people to report whether the sentinels I had placed were still at their post; I was told that they were not. Upon which I rose, scolded them for their ill behaviour, and put new sentinels taken from the followers of the barons and from my own household. This lasted for five consecutive

¹⁸⁴"E faerense les caues, mas totes les desempararen a la derreria sino aquella que anaua sobre terra, e en aquella metem nostra punya tan fort que a pesar dels se feu."

¹⁸⁵Elsewhere "Bab-el-beled," {arabic} or the "gate of the fields."

days, during which I slept neither by day nor by night; if anything was wanted in the mines and in the approaches by which the town was to be entered they sent to me for it, as well as for advice as to what had to be done, as no one would do anything, however trifling, without consulting me.¹⁸⁶ And besides I had got from merchants in the camp sixty thousand “libres,” to be repaid when the town was taken, wherewith to furnish things necessary for the army and for me; as I considered the town to be near capture. I was, therefore, awake for three consecutive days and three nights; for when I thought that I could sleep messages came from those who wanted directions, and even when I wished to sleep I could not, and was so wakeful that when any one came near the tent I heard him approach.

83. The night before the last day of the year came, and it was ordered through the camp that at dawn all should hear mass, take the Sacrament, and arm for battle. And in the first watch of that night Lop Xemeniç da Luziá came to my bed, called to me, and said: “My lord, I come from the mines; I ordered two of my esquires to enter the town and they have entered it; they saw many dead lying in the streets, and found that there was no Saracen on watch between the fifth and the sixth towers. My advice is that you order the camp to arms, for the town in my opinion is as good as taken; there is no one to defend the place; a thousand and more of our men can enter before a single Saracen knows of it.” I said: “Ah, my old friend,¹⁸⁷ how can you give me such advice as to enter a city by night, and by a dark night too! Even by daylight men are often not ashamed of behaving badly under arms; would you send them thither by night when one man could not know another? For if the soldiers enter the town and are driven out, we shall never take Mallorca afterwards.” Don Lop saw that I spoke the truth, and admitted it.

84. At dawn orders were given for the men to hear mass and take the Sacrament. Having myself done the same, I bade all to arm, and each to take the arms he was to bear. And we all went out before the town, in the space between us and the enemy. At that time the day was becoming light; I went to the footmen, who were ranged before the knights, and said to them, “Ho, my men, go on in Our Lady’s name!” Even for that no one stirred, and yet the knights heard it as well as the footmen. When I saw that the men did not stir, great care came on me, since they disobeyed my command. I turned myself to the Mother of God, and said: “Lo, Mother of our Lord God, I came here that the Sacrifice of your Son might be celebrated here; pray to him that we may not come to shame, I and those who serve me in your name and that of your dear Son.” Again I called to them, saying: Up, my men, in God’s name; why do ye delay? And I said this three times, and then my men began to move on slowly. When all were in motion, the knights and the men-at-arms approached the breach in the walls, and then all the army with one voice began to call, “Saint Mary! Saint Mary!” Those words never left their mouths, and once pronounced they went on repeating them; the more they uttered the words the louder arose the cry, and they called it thirty times and more. When the armed horse had entered by the breach, the cry ceased, and by the time the passage was cleared for the horsemen there were fully five hundred footmen inside the city.¹⁸⁸ The king and all the force of Saracens in the city were pressing so sorely on the footmen who had got in, that had not the men-at-arms got in all would have been killed. And as the Saracens themselves afterwards told us, they saw a knight on horseback with white armour on enter first. My belief was that it must have been Saint George,

¹⁸⁶“Si que valent de xii diners nuy l hom no volia fer en la ost si a nos non demanassen.”

¹⁸⁷Don Veyl.

¹⁸⁸“E quan los caualls armats començaren dentrar cessa la uou: e quan fo feyt lo pas on deuien entrar los caualls armats, hauia ja be lains D. homens de peu.”

for I find in history that in many other battles of Christians and Saracens he has frequently been seen. Of the knights, the first who entered was Johan Martinez Deslava, of my household; after him En Berenguer de Gurb; and after him a knight who was with Sire Guilleumes, whose nickname was Soyrot,¹⁸⁹ an appellative given him in jest. After these three, Don Ferran Peris de Pina entered, but I do not remember who went in after. Each got in when and where he could, and there were besides in the army one hundred or more men who, had they been able to enter among the first, would certainly have done so.

85. Meantime the King of Mallorca riding on a white steed came up. His name was Sheikh Abohehie;¹⁹⁰ and he called to his people “Roddo,” *Roddo* meaning “steady.”¹⁹¹ There were [in the breach] twenty or thirty Christian footmen with shields, and some men-at-arms among them. On the other side were the Saracens with their bucklers, and swords drawn on a line, but neither dared to close. When the knights with their armoured horses got in, they at once charged the Saracens; but so great was the multitude of the latter, that their lances stopped the horses, and they reared up as they could not get through the thick ranks of the enemy. So they had to turn. And by turning back a little, more horsemen managed to enter the breach till there were forty or fifty of them; still horsemen and footmen with their shields were so mixed up, and so close to the Saracens, that they could strike one another with their swords, and no one dared put out his arm for fear the sword should reach his hand from the other side. Presently, however, there were from forty to fifty knights with their horses all clad in armour, and they went against the Saracens, and cried with one voice, “Help us, Saint Mary, Mother of our Lord!” And I cried, “Shame, knights!”¹⁹² and so they attacked the Saracens, and drove them back.

86. When the Saracens of the town saw that the city was being conquered, full thirty thousand of them, men and women, went out through two gates, the gate of Berbelet¹⁹³ and the gate of Portupi, and took to the hills. And so great were the goods and booty that the knights and the footmen found inside the city, that they took no heed of those who went away. The last Saracen who left the breach was the King of Mallorca himself. As to the other Saracens, when they saw that the knights with their armoured horses had got within the breach, they hid themselves in the houses of the city, each as best he could: they did not hide themselves so well as that twenty thousand were not killed at the taking of the city. When we got to the gate of the Almudaina,¹⁹⁴ we found fully three hundred dead, against whom the others had closed the gate at their trying to get in; our Christians had come up, and killed them all. When our men got there, there was some resistance, but a Saracen, who knew our Romance tongue, said they would surrender the Almudaina if we gave men to protect them from death.

¹⁸⁹The edition of 1557, has: “E apres ell en Berenguer de Gurb e prop en Berenguer de Gurb un cavaller que anaba ab sire Guillen qui hauia nom *Sivot*, e aquest nom li havien mes per scarni.” The copy used by the modern translators (Bofarull and Brocá) reads no doubt Soyrot, but neither reading helps me; I cannot explain the joke, unless *sivot* be meant for the diminutive of sire, which in French as well as in Catalonian is the equivalent of lord, master, &c.

¹⁹⁰Retabohihe, in the edition of 1557. Shej Abu Yahye, {arabic}, as has been said elsewhere, was the king’s name.

¹⁹¹*Rodo*, {arabic}. the imperative of *radda*, {arabic} which means “to stand firm, to resist or repel the attack of an enemy.”

¹⁹²“Vergonya, cavalers,” meaning, “Beware of shame.”

¹⁹³Berbelet might well be a corruption from {arabic}, *beb-el-beled*, the gate of the country, or that leading outside the town.

¹⁹⁴Almudaina, ie. the small city (citadel), comes from the Arabic {arabic} the diminutive of “Medina.”

87. And while we were in this parley, there came to me two men of Tortosa, and said they wished to tell me something very important and of great advantage to us all. I went aside and heard them, and they said that they would put in my hands the King of Mallorca. And I said to them, "What do you ask for that service?" They said they wanted two thousand "libres." I said to them, "You ask too much; since the king is inside the town, we must have him in the end; but to insure his not being hurt, I would willingly give a thousand 'libres.'" They said they were content with that. I left one of the nobles to command in my place, and gave orders that no one should attack the Almudaina till my return. I then sent for Don Nuño, and told him that I had found the King of Mallorca, and to come to me immediately. His answer was that he was delighted, and that he would come forthwith. Don Nuño came, and the men took us to the house where the king was. Don Nuño and I dismounted, clad in armour as we were, and went in. There was the king standing with three "exortins" (or men of his guard) by his side¹⁹⁵ armed with javelins. When we got near him he stood up in his white bornus; he wore besides a quilted coat under his cloak, and under that a robe (*guardacors*) of white damite.¹⁹⁶ And I made one of the two men of Tortosa say to him in his Arabic, that I would leave him in charge of two knights of my train, and to have no fear, as he should not die, since he was in my power.¹⁹⁷ Thereon I left there some of my people to protect him, and went back to the gate of the Almudaina, and told them to give me hostages, and come out to the old wall, and parley with us. They then brought out the son of the King of Mallorca, a lad about thirteen years old,¹⁹⁸ and said he was the pledge they gave us; they would open the gate, but we ought to look well whom we put at it as guard. To protect the king's house and treasury, as well as guard the Almudaina, and those who were inside, I appointed two

¹⁹⁵"Qui estaua al cap de la casa, e stauan li iii. exortins denant ab lur atzagayes." I suppose the word *exortins* to be derived from the Arabic word {arabic}, *ex-xorta*, meaning the body-guard of a king. *Sáhib-ex-xorta* was under the Umayya Khalifs of Cordoba, the "captain of the royal guard." The Spanish translators changed "exortins" into *exortiquins*, having, no doubt, found the word thus written in the two copies of the *Chronicle* preserved at Barcelona, but *exortins*, as above stated, can only be the plural of {arabic}, *xorti*, a guard with the article *Ax-xorti* or *Exorti*. As to *Atzagayes*, I believe it to be a Berber word, meaning a javelin or short spear.

¹⁹⁶In Spanish "albornoz," {arabic}, which, however, is not an Arabic, but a Berber word. "Et quant fom prop dell lleuas ab sa capa blanca e bernuz, pero vestia un gonyio de ius un guardacors que vestia de amit blanch." On the meaning of the word *gonyjo*, or *gonyo*, as elsewhere written, see note 165. *Amit*, from the Latin "amicus," might be the shirt or inner garment, unless the reading *samit* (samitum) be adopted, as the Spanish translators have done, in which case a thin silken cloth of Syrian manufacture is meant.

¹⁹⁷Muntaner's *Chronicle*, cc. 7 and 8, after a very brief summary of the incidents of the siege of Mallorca, gives an account of the capture of the king as follows: "And the lord king knew the Saracen king, and by force of arms got up to him, and took him by the beard. And that he did because he had sworn, that he would never depart from that place till he had taken the Saracen king by the beard. And he wished thus to make good his oath. That oath the said lord king made, because the said Saracen king had thrown into the camp from trebuchets, Christian captives; wherefore it pleased our Lord Jesus Christ, that he should take vengeance for it." On comparing this story, which is known to have been written about fifty years after the king's death, with that which is given in the text, it will be seen that it shows the natural growth of fable and the influence of a love of the marvellous, in such times; and furnishes a strong presumption that the simple narrative given in the king's name was really of his time, and furnished by a witness on the spot. I may add that Desclot, writing thirty or forty years before Muntaner, says simply (cap. xxxiv.) that some Tortosa men gave up "to him" (James) "the Moorish king, whom they found in a courtyard; the king handed him to the Count Don Nuño." However this may be, to seize a man by the beard or "beard a man" was considered in the middle ages the greatest affront that could be made.

¹⁹⁸James had him brought up at his court, under the tutorship of a Dominican friar, who converted him to Christianity, the king himself acting as godfather at the baptism. Later on he married him to a lady of the house of Alagon, and gave him the *baronias* or baronetages of Illueca and Gotor.

Dominican friars, escorted by ten knights, all good and prudent men; for I was wearied out, and wanted to go to sleep. The sun was already set.

88. Next morning I examined the state of things, to put matters in order. Lo! our Lord had so dealt with us, that every man in the army found so much spoil that no one had occasion to quarrel with his neighbour; each thought he was better off than his comrade. Don Ladró a noble of my train, then invited me, saying that one of his men had told him of a good house, with every accommodation; he had had cooked some good beef, and I might be housed there, if I chose. I told him that I thanked him much, and would go to it. When day came, all the men of my household went away, not one came back for eight days; each held to what he had taken in the city, and was so pleased with it that not one would return.

89. After the taking of the city, the bishops and barons met, and said they wanted to speak with me. There should be a sale by auction, they suggested, of all the Moors taken, and of the goods, and of everything. I said that I did not approve of that, because the auction would last a long time, and it would be better, while fear was on the Saracens, to conquer the hill country, and then quietly divide the booty. They asked me how I intended to divide the booty? “By gangs or troops,”¹⁹⁹ (said I); “the Saracens and all their property will be so divided that the army will be content.” That could well be done in eight days; after that we could go against the Saracens outside, and conquer them, and keep their goods till the galleys came to fetch them; that would be the best to do. But En Nuño, En Berenguer de Santa Eugenia, the Bishop of Barcelona, and the Sacristan [of Tarragona], wanted the sale by auction above all things; they acted together so that they made every one else partake of their opinion, for they were craftier than the rest of the army, who did not see their intention. I said to them: “Look here; the auction you speak of will not be an auction, but a cheating transaction,²⁰⁰ and besides a blunder; I fear it will delay us so much that the Saracens will fortify themselves, and then we shall not conquer them so easily as we could now; if we give them time to recover, God knows what may happen.” But the barons persisted, and adhered to their plan, saying it was a better one. I yielded, and said, “May it please God! but you will repent it.”

90. The auction commenced; it began in the Carnival and lasted till Easter. And while the auction was going on, the knights and the common people expected each to have their share; every man bought something, but would not pay for it. The knights then joined the common people, and said all over the town, “This is wrong, this is wrong!” Then they put themselves in motion, and cried with one voice, “Let us sack Gil Dalagó’s house.” They went and sacked it. When I arrived on the spot the mischief had been done; I could not help it. I said to them: “Who ordered you to sack the house of any one, where I am residing, before laying a complaint against him?” They answered, “My lord, each of us deserves his share of the prize; others have had it, we have not; we are dying of hunger here, and would go back home our people; that is the reason of our doing this.” I said to them, “Good men, you have done wrong, and will be sorry for it; do it not again, for we will not allow it. Much worse would it be, for you were I to call you to judgment for your misdemeanour; you would suffer grievously, and I should have to lament the evils that fell on you.”

91. Two days after this they rose again, and raised the cry, “To the Provost of Tarragona’s, and let us sack his house!” The men went thither, and plundered the house as they had plundered

¹⁹⁹*Per cadrelles*. The word *cadrelles* in Castilian “*quadrillas*.”

²⁰⁰A kind of pun; “*aquest encant no sera encant, que engan sera*;” *encant* meaning a sale by auction, and *engan* a mistake, an imposition, falsehood, fraud, &c.

that of Gil Dalagó, and took away all the good things he had in it; so that nothing was left but two horses he rode, which happened to be in our quarters. Then the nobles and the bishops came to us; and I said to them: "Barons, this is not to be borne; I might submit to such things till not one of you would remain alive, or not plundered of what you have. But I will give you a piece of advice; let us keep ourselves in readiness, and when next they begin with their sacking let us arm ourselves and our horses, and fall on the delinquents in the square, where there is no barricade or chain, and hang twenty of those we find at this sort of mischief. If we do not succeed in capturing any at it, let us take the first we find in the streets, and hang them as a warning for the others. Unless we do that, we shall be all of us in great trouble. Let us move our share of the prize from the Almudaina to the Temple, and put our followers there, and make a stand in it." Then I addressed the people of the town, and said to them: "Good men, you have begun the newest work that ever was, such as plundering houses, and especially of those who have done you no wrong, neither much nor little; I would have you know that henceforth it will not be borne; I will first hang so many of you in the streets that the town will stink of them. I, and the barons, who are here, desire that you should have your share, as well of the goods as of the lands." When they heard those good words I uttered, they came to their senses, and stopped the mischief they had begun; but I did not give courage to the Bishops and to the Provost so that they dared leave the Almudaina in all that day, till the people were pacified; and I told them that I would make a reckoning, and give them their share. At night, when the people were quiet, they went away, each one to his house.

92. When Easter was over, Don Nuño fitted out a ship and two galleys to cruise on the coast of Barbary. And while he was fitting out the ship, En G. de Clarmont fell ill, and in eight days from the beginning of his illness he died. At his burial, En R. Alaman fell ill, and Don Garcia Perez de Meytats, who was of Aragon, and a man of good descent and one of my household, and in eight days both were dead. And when both these were dead, En Garau de Cerveyló, son of En G. de Cerveyló, elder brother of En R. Alaman, also fell ill, and eight days after he died. And Count de Ampurias, when he saw the death of those three, said that all those of the house of Muntcada had to die, and he was ill only eight days, and at the end of that time he likewise died. All four were barons, and great men in Catalonia, and they died within a month. The mortality among such great men of the army grieved me much. Don Pero Corneyl said he would go to Aragon, and that if I gave him one hundred thousand sols he would bring me one hundred and fifty knights, that is, one hundred for the money received, and fifty for the "honor" or fief he held of me. I gave him the money, and besides, a passage free to Aragon.

93. It had been agreed with Don Nuño, who remained with me and with the Bishop of Barcelona, that as those knights, En Guillen and En Remon de Muntcada, and the nobles already named, were dead, I should send letters to Don Atho de Foces and to Don Rodrigo de Liçana in Aragon summoning them to do service for the honours and fiefs they held of me. I sent accordingly for them, and they wrote letters saying that they would come With good will. While they were making ready to come, I determined to make an expedition; the Saracens had got into the mountains of Soller, Almerug, and Bayalbahar, the whole of which they held; they moreover kept the Christians back as far as Pollença. I left Mallorca, and went along a valley called Bunyola with what knights and footmen I could collect,—for the greater part were already gone, some to Catalonia, others to Aragon. I therefore set on the expedition with those I could get, passing by a castle called Alaró, close to the mountain range, and the strongest in all the island on the right-hand side.

When I had got on the mountain, the leader of the van sent word to say that the footmen would not take up quarters where he had ordered them, but were decidedly going towards

Incha.²⁰¹ I then left the rearguard in charge of En Guillen de Muntcada, son of En R. de Muntcada, intending to overtake and stop them. When I got up the mountain, I saw the men below going towards a farm called Incha, but I dared not leave the company, for the Moors had captured two or three beasts of burthen (asembles) from us. I went with all speed to the rearguard, followed by three knights who were then with me, but when I got there the rearguard had already attacked and driven the Saracens over a slope there, and recovered the beasts.

94. When I arrived on the spot I found that the men were already on the march, and that six hundred Saracens, or more, were watching from a hill for an opportunity of hurting them. Indeed they had already attacked the moment they saw the vanguard separate from the rear. All of us in a body went to the place where we intended taking up quarters, and there consulted as to what we should do. En G. de Muntcada, the son of En Remon, Don Nuño, and Don P. Corneyl, who had come back, besides other knights well skilled in arms, told me that it would not be wise to take up quarters so near the enemy, for they were fully three thousand, and the mules and the greater part of the convoy and the footmen had all gone off, so that it would not be prudent to remain where we were. I therefore determined to go that very night to Incha. I put such of the mules and beasts of burthen in front as remained, and when they were down below, at the bottom of the hill, I descended slowly and gently. There were not in the whole rearguard at the time forty knights. When the Saracens saw that I marshalled my men so well, they dared not come against me, and we went to quarters in Incha, which is the largest farm and village in the island, and returned thence to Mallorca.

95. On our return to the city the Master of the Hospital, En Huch de Fuyalquier came to me, followed by fifteen of his brethren; he was not at the taking of Mallorca, but when he heard of it he came with fifteen knights of his order. I had made this En Huch de Fuyalquier master of the Hospital in my dominions, after asking leave of the Grand Master beyond the seas. He was a man whom I loved much, and he loved me. When he came he said he wished to speak to me in the presence of his brethren only, and he prayed me very earnestly, by the love I had for him and the faith he himself had in me, to consent ourselves, and procure of the bishops and the nobles, that the Hospital should have its share in the island, urging that the Order would be shamed for ever that in so good a feat as that of taking Mallorca it had had no participation; “for (said he), you who have been our lord, and you are the king to whom God has given to take this island; should the Hospital have no part in it, people will hereafter say, the Hospital and the Master took no part in that great feat of arms at Mallorca, which the King of Aragon accomplished by the grace of God, and we ourselves should be dead and shamed for ever.” My answer was that he would very soon know that I had ever loved and honoured both him and his Order, and that I would do that which he asked for willingly and gladly, as it pleased us much. But that it would be the hardest thing I ever had to do, for the land and the goods were already divided; many of those who had got their shares had gone away, otherwise it were easy to do, “but for all that,” I said, “I will not fail to help you, so that you shall depart from me content.”

96. I got together the Bishop of Barcelona, Don Nuño, En Guillen de Muntcada, and as many as I could of the councillors remaining in the island, and entreated them very earnestly to give the Master a share of what we had gained thereat. I found them very hard on this point; they said to me, “How can that be? for all is already divided. To take away what is already divided is not a thing that can be done, especially as the barons who had their share, have gone away and are no longer here.” I said, “Barons, I know of a way to let the Master and his Order have what they

²⁰¹Inca, eighteen miles N.E. of Palma, as the capital of Mallorca is called now-a-days.

want.” “What is the way?” said they. “I myself have half the land as my own; I will give them out of my share a good and honourable farm. Here is Remon de Ampurias who knows well what the shares of each of you are; I would not take away from you or the others what has fallen to your lot, but each man could proportionally give some small portion of his share, and with that and the farm that I am ready to give the Master he will have a suitable share. So if it please you, let us make this arrangement, for it is not well to offend such a man and such an Order as his, but to content their desire. As to me, it will not matter what I give up.” These words of mine had the desired effect, for the councillors said: “Since you wish for that, so let it be; we will do as you desire.”

97. I then sent for the Master of the Hospital, and as the barons said that I was to speak for all, I said to him: “Master, you came here to serve, first God, then me, in the conquest we have made. Know now, that I and the nobles are willing to do what you have asked of me; yet this is our difficulty, the division has been made, and the greater part of those who have had shares have gone home; but for all that, we will give you your share as for thirty knights, and we will have it entered in the book with the others, and will give you besides a good and honourable farm of my own. The others, however, cannot give you a farm, but will give you instead a proportionate share of the lands, each of them has had of the spoil as much as the share of thirty knights. In so doing I do you as great an honour, give you as good a portion, as the knights of the Temple had who were here with me.” Whereupon the Master stood up with his knights and wished to kiss my hand; I would not let him do it, only the other brethren. After this they said: “My lord, since you have done so great a favour to the Master and to the Hospital and to ourselves, we pray you to give us also part of the goods gained, and houses in which to live?” Then I turned to the barons laughing, and said: “What do you think of this fresh petition of the Master and Brethren?” “My lord,” said they, that cannot be done; those among us who have got money and goods will certainly not give them up; as for the houses, it is proper that they should have them, or at least ground on which to build them.” “If I find a way for that,” said I, “and it cost you nothing, will you agree?” They all assented. “Let us give them then the navy yard; there are already walls there, and they can build good houses inside; and for goods, I will make them a present of the four galleys which were once the King of Mallorca’s, and now belong to me, so that they will have a share of everything.” The Master and the Brethren were very glad, and kissed my hands, the Brethren themselves weeping profusely, Whilst the Bishop and the Barons were pleased at the good arrangement I had made.

98. With Don Nuño, the Bishop of Barcelona, and Don Exemen Dorrea, again with me in the island, I sallied out one day against the Saracens in the hills. When I reached Incha (Inca), the Master of the Hospital was with me. I sent for the barons and knights to take counsel with them, as well as for those who knew the ways into the country. The opinion of Don Nuño, Don Exemen Dorrea (de Vrrea), and the Master of the Hospital, was, that with the force under my command it would not be wise to go into the hills, for in the hills of Soller Dalmerug, and Bonalbahar,²⁰² where I intended to go, there were fully three thousand fighting Moors. Their chief was Xuaip (or Xuarp), a native of Xurert, who had with him twenty or thirty mounted men. Their advice was that I should not go into the hills, for I should run great risks of losing myself and those with me. I acknowledged that their advice was the best, and I followed it; but it grieved me much that I could not do what I had intended.

²⁰²Probably Bayalbahar, as at p. 181.

99. When the barons were gone, and each had returned to his quarters, I sent for the guides, and spoke apart with them. There was no one but me with them: and I said: "I command you as my born subjects to tell me the truth on what I will ask; do any of you know of any Saracens in any other part of Mallorca than in this range of hills? those other hills that I see from this seem to me very high, and I wish to know if any of you have ever been across?" And one of them said I was once there in a raid not more than eight days ago; we thought we should capture some Saracens in a cave in the hills you see, and when we thought we were about to take them, full sixty armed Saracens sallied out to protect them, and received them in the cave." When I heard that, I was greatly pleased, and sent at once for Don Nuño, the Master of the Temple, Don Exemen Dorrea, and other knights skilled in arms, who followed me on this expedition, and said to them: "I have found a way that will not make it necessary for us to return to the city of Mallorca so discomforted as we might be by the people saying that we went not on a raid among the hills and had accomplished nothing; which would be tantamount to going back in shame." They asked what way had I found out. I said: "Here is one of the scouts, who will show us a good troop of Saracens, which he left not eight days ago, and they are in the part of the mountain I will show you, in the Dartana country." They said: "So may God help us; that seems a very good thing for us to do." The scout came and told us how he had found the Saracens, and where they might probably be at the time.

100. It was agreed that early in the morning we should pack up our tents and baggage, and go thither, but that we should send light troops to engage them first, and prevent their escaping before we got to the spot. As was intended, so it was done. We got there at vespers, when our forerunners came to me and said: "You have not far to seek, for we have already had to deal with them, and there they are." Indeed, the Saracens were then lighting signal fires on that side of the hills where the larger party was. Our mules were worn out by the heat, and quartered by a river at the bottom of the hill. It was agreed that at early dawn we would arm ourselves and our horses; there might be with me at the time thirty-five men-at-arms, and no more. The men were to attack the rock, and keep the Saracens at bay, when I would determine what to do. And so it was done, and the men-at-arms fought the Saracens at the entrance of the cave. So steep was the mountain, and so high, that it formed a sort of peak, from which the rock projected. Caves²⁰³ were hewn in the middle of the rock, so that no stone from above could reach the caves and do harm to the Saracens,²⁰⁴ and yet some of our projectiles could reach the huts they had built about. Thus, when our people fought with the Saracens, and had to come out to defend themselves, some stones thrown by our men did hurt them. That lasted a good long time, a fine sight for those who saw the fight.

101. Then Don Nuño said: "My lord, why do you and we stay here? All we do is in vain; the stones we throw from above can do no harm to the Moors; nothing can be done against them from below. It is midday; were it not better for us to go down? You are fasting, for it is a fast day; you should go down, eat your dinner, and then consider what had best be done."²⁰⁵ And I said to

²⁰³Those of Artá, in the northeastern part of the island. The principal of them, La Cueva de la Ermita, on the coast, is a profound natural excavation, replete with the most curious crystallizations.

²⁰⁴It will be observed that the words *Saracens* and *Moors* are here indistinctly applied to designate the inhabitants of Mallorca, and yet their meaning is different. *Saracens*, from the Arabic {arabic} *Xarquín*, means people from the Xarq (in Spanish *axarquía*) or the East, whereas *Moros* (from *Mauri*) means the people of Mauritania, or the West.

²⁰⁵"E es be mig dia, e seria bo queus en deuallassets que dia es de dijuni, e menjarriets, e puis acordar vosets com ho deuriets fer."

Don Nuño: “On your faith! do not grow impatient and faint-hearted; we will yet get at the Moors.” The Master of the Hospital then said; “Don Nuño, it seems to me as if the king spoke truth and reason to you; but do as you say, let the king and you go and eat, and afterwards send some of your men here, and we will consider what to do.” “The Master says well.” said I. Don Nuño assented, and we went down.

102. While we were having our dinner, the Master strung his beasts of burthen together, tying one to the other; a man was then attached by a good cord to the end of the train, with lighted wood in a pan, and lowered with the fire gently down. When the man reached the huts, he set fire to one; the wind blew hard at the time, and the fire spread from one hut to another; in this manner full twenty of them were burnt, and I was very glad to see the fire as I was eating. The Master then summoned the Moors to surrender, as otherwise they were all dead men. They said they would agree to this, that, counting from the morning of the next day, Saint Lazarus in Lent, if in eight days the Moors in the hills did not succour them, and cause the siege to be raised, they would surrender themselves, but not as prisoners,²⁰⁶ and also the stronghold and all there was in it. The Master came to me with that proposal, and said to me before I replied, “Do not accept it, unless they surrender as prisoners; they are at the last gasp: the wretches are done for.” Accordingly, I agreed that that should be the answer. The Master went up again, and the Moors at last agreed to surrender as prisoners unless those in the hills succoured them within eight days. The eighth day was Palm Sunday; they gave us as hostages the sons of the ten most important people in the caves, and I stayed there waiting for the day to come; but the little bread we had with us lasted for two days less than was thought, on the last of which Don Nuño and I passed with only seven loaves for one hundred men we had to feed. The army itself had no bread except the wheat they took from the farms of the Saracens, which they roasted and ate; they came to ask me if they might eat meat, and I gave them leave to eat it.

103. Meanwhile Don Pedro Maça made a raid with his own men and with men from the army, and almogavers.²⁰⁷ He found a cave, inside which were many Saracens; he sent to me for crossbows, arrows, and picks, which I gave him; they fought for two days, and captured five hundred of the enemy. When Palm Sunday came, at sunrise I sent word to the Saracens in the caves that they should keep the agreement they had made with us. They answered that it was not yet tierce, and that they would wait till then. I agreed to that, but said that they should at once get ready and come down. They accordingly equipped themselves and packed up their apparel, leaving behind a good deal of wheat and barley. And at half tierce (*about ten o'clock*) they actually began to come down from the cave, and fifteen hundred came out. There were in the cave no less than two thousand Saracens, the train of them was fully a league long, and we captured fully ten thousand cows and thirty thousand sheep, so we entered the city of Mallorca joyful and contented.

104. A message came then from Aragon to the effect that Don Atho de Foces and Don Rodrigo Liçana were coming to us, and I was very glad to hear of it, because we had very few people. Don Rodrigo Liçana chartered a transport, one of those which had brought us to Mallorca, and two other vessels to carry stores. The transport was fit to carry horses; the other vessels carried his stores, and in this way we reached Pollença. Don Rodrigo brought thirty

²⁰⁶Catius: meaning no doubt that they were to be allowed to depart as free men.

²⁰⁷Almogavares, an Arabic word meaning raider, one who makes raids, is applied to a formidable class of light-armed soldiers, who gained a terrible name for themselves in Sicily and the East under the next kings of Aragon.

knights well provided with all necessary arms and stores. Don Athó de Foces, moreover, hired a “cocha”²⁰⁸ from Bayonne. When at sea the “cocha” made a great deal of water, so that at two or three places they caught the water in little pans; they caulked the holes as well as they could with tow, and the crew endeavoured to reach land either in Catalonia or Mallorca. And this “cocha” (ship) in which Don Athó de Foces and Don Blasco Maça and their companies of knights were coming, had to return through stress of weather to Tarragona, for the wind drove them there; they thought they would all perish, for the “cocha” (ship) made a good deal of water and was old, so that they had hardly got their baggage and when she foundered and went down in horses out in the sea.

105. And when I had spent all that summer in Mallorca, there came En Berenguer de Santa Eugenia, Lord of Torroela, and I prayed him, as I had been in Mallorca a long time since it was taken, and wished to go to Catalonia, that he should remain instead of me in Mallorca, and that I would advise the knights and all others to do for him as they would do for myself. En Berenguer said that he would willingly do that; but he prayed me that, in order that the people might know that he was loved by me, I would give him Pals, a castle near Torroela,²⁰⁹ and Palafragel, for his life; people might then understand that I loved him. This I granted; the love I showed him was of more price than the gift, for the place was not worth much. When I had done that, I signed an engagement to pay him what he might spend in his stay in Mallorca. I then assembled a general council, that is, all the knights and settlers who were in Mallorca, and spoke thus to them: “Barons, I have been here fourteen months, without ever leaving you; winter is now coming on; it seems to me that the country has nothing to fear, thank God and I wish to leave; I can better send you directions than give them here; I can at any time send you reinforcements to defend the islands, or come in person if need be. Believe, on my faith, that at any season, by day or night, the best part of my thoughts will be with you. And since God has done me such grace, and given me such a kingdom in the sea as no King of Spain was able to conquer, and I have built here a church to Our Lady Saint Mary, besides other churches, be sure I will never desert you, but will think of you, and help you if necessary.” I wept, and they took leave of me. And when it had been a while that I and they could not speak for grief, I told them that I would leave them for commander En Berenguer de Santa Eugenia, for whom they should do what they would do for myself; and I ended by saying that if ever they heard of a fleet coming from any quarter against them, they should let me know, and I would come to their aid in person.

106. Thereupon I departed, and they had to bear my departure, which, as it happened, was best for them and for me too. There were two galleys in the port, one of En Remon de Canet, and the other of Tarragona. I left behind the horses and arms, in case those who stayed had need of them, and went to Palomera on board the galleys; I was in that of En Remon de Canet, one of the best in the world, and some of my suite went in the other. And on Saint Simon and Jude’s day we put to sea, and were all that day and all night and another day, and at midnight of the third day we got to Porrassa, between Tamarit and Tarragona, with very fine weather. I there found En Remon de Plegamans,²¹⁰ who saluted me, and kissed my hand, and then burst into tears for great joy. He knew of the agreement that had been made between me and the King of Leon, who had promised to give me his kingdom, and his daughter to wife, and behold the King of Leon, Plegamans said,

²⁰⁸Cocha, and Cocca, a kind of ship.

²⁰⁹Torroella de Montgré, in Catalonia.

²¹⁰En Remon Guillen Marimon de Plegamans (de Plicamanibus), the same rich citizen of Barcelona who contracted to provision the fleet for the conquest of Mallorca.

was dead.²¹¹ I asked him if he knew that for certain. He said that men of Castille had come to Barcelona who said so. When I heard that news it grieved me much; but nevertheless I comforted myself, for the conquest of Mallorca was of more esteem with me than the gain of the kingdom of Leon would have been; and as it was not the will of God, I did not concern myself with what He did not will. And I slept there till daybreak.

107. And when day broke I went on board the galleys, and entered the harbour or roadstead of Tarragona. The people of the town received me joyfully, men and women, with sundry flags. After I had eaten, and the men and the sailors had got all things out of the galleys, a south-west wind suddenly sprang up; so strong was it that it wrecked the two galleys in their anchorage before the port, in front of the church built by Archbishop En Esparech, called Saint Michael's. Three men had remained in each of the galleys; four of them were drowned and two escaped. And in this Our Lord showed a great miracle.

After my stay at Tarragona I went to Montblanch and Lerida, and thence into Aragon. If any men in the world could receive their Lord well, with great manifestations of joy and pleasure, certainly my subjects in those places did it, greeting me wherever I passed, and thanking God for all the good He had done me.

108. After passing that winter in Aragon I returned to Catalonia, where news came to me, at Barcelona, that the King of Tunis was going to cross to Mallorca, and was getting ready, and capturing ships and men of the Pisans and Genoese. Thereupon I asked counsel of the barons who were with me at this time, and of the Town Councillors of Barcelona, as to how I should act on the news that had come. They said it would be well to know the thing more certainly than it was known; men often told things from remote lands that were untrue. And owing to some dispute En G. de Muncada had with the men of Vich,²¹² I had to go there to settle it. When I had been one day in the place there came, at nearly half tierce, a messenger sent by En R. de Plagamans, who had travelled all night, and said that certain news had come to Barcelona that the King of Tunis was to be soon in Mallorca. When I heard that, I was as distressed as man could be, for fear of the disaster that might happen to my people on the island.

I took a little dinner, and rode without stopping, and at vespers was at Barcelona, having made a long day's work, and I rested that night. And at morning I rode to the coast to hear news, and saw a sail coming, and waited for it, and as it was fair weather it soon arrived. It was a vessel from Mallorca. A man landed first in a boat; I asked him what news he brought from Mallorca. And he stood before me, all pale, and said, "My lord, I believe the King of Tunis may be already there." And I said, "Bad news do you bring, man; but yet I trust in God that I will get there before him." And I went to Tarragona on the day we had fixed, and as to the advice they had given me at Barcelona I said, "It does not seem to me as if that was good counsel for me or for the land, for it was Our Lord's will that I should do the best thing that any one has done for a hundred years when He made me take Mallorca; and since God has given it to me, I will not lose it through sloth or cowardice, and I will certainly be there to succour it. This is my counsel, that a day be appointed for those who went with me to conquer Mallorca, and letters be sent to Aragon to those who hold lands in feu of me, and to those of my own train (*meynada*) to come to my help with what they have or can get, to be with me within three weeks at the port of Salou; for certainly it would be better for me to meet death in Mallorca than to lose that island by my default. And

²¹¹Alfonso IX. the father of St. Ferdinand, died in 1214.

²¹²Vich is about fifty miles from Barcelona.

know that I will on no account lose that island; God and man shall know that nothing will be wanting in me to defend it." And in that same manner I said did I do.

109. I was at Tarragona on the appointed day, and indeed before it, and set about chartering ships and transports (*tarides*), besides a galley in which I myself went, to get news of the Saracens if they were already at Mallorca. The ships and the transports (*tarides*) were fitted for carrying three hundred knights; two hundred and fifty came, and with fifty more who were collected there (at Tarragona), the number of three hundred was completed. And before I made the passage there came to me the Bishop of Tarragona, who was of the family of La Barca and my own relation, and En G. de Cervera, a monk of Poblet, and they prayed of me for God's sake and on their duty to me, and for the good counsel they gave me, not to adventure my own person, but send on the knights there assembled for the passage, and Don Nuño as their captain. They besides took to weeping as bitterly as they could, and I myself was seized with grief at their weeping. I answered them in this wise, and said, that for nothing in the world would I desist from passing over. They strove much, throwing their arms round me to prevent my departing; but I broke from them, and departed and went to Salou.

I had some time before exchanged the domain of Mallorca with the Infante Don Pedro of Portugal, and had once or twice sent him messages to the effect that he was bound to succour the island of Mallorca as soon as possible. He had answered fairly, but had done nothing towards relieving the island.²¹³

110. And just at midnight when I had given orders for the galley and the other vessels to weigh anchor and go along the land, Don Nuño came to the sea shore, and shouted, "Galley ahoy!"²¹⁴ The men of my galley answered, "What is the matter?" Then they said, "Don Nuño begs you to wait a little; the Infante of Portugal is here, and wants to speak with you." I wished very much to go on; but since the Infante was there, I thought I would see him, without, however, desisting on his account, whatever he might say, from the undertaking. Presently I saw the Infante; he and Don Nuño came in a boat; he ascended the galley; and I asked him what he wanted? The Infante said that he had come to cross over into Mallorca. "How many knights have you here with you?" He said, "There are four or five here; the rest are coming." I said, "So help

²¹³Don Pedro was a son of the King of Portugal, Sancho I., and of his Queen, Dulce, daughter of Petronila of Aragon and Ramon Berenguer of Catalonia; he was thus brother of King Alfonso II. of Portugal, and grand-uncle of King James. On the accession to the crown of Portugal of his brother Alfonso II., in 1211, he (Don Pedro) and another brother, Ferdinand, left the country; which in 1212 they invaded, with the army of Alfonso IX. of Leon, in a campaign seemingly intended to assist the great invasion of the Peninsula that year by the Sultan of Morocco! He was some time in Morocco itself, whence he sent to Portugal the relics of "the Martyrs of Morocco," (whoever they may have been). Then he returned to Leon, ultimately going to Aragon, where his kindred with King James procured for him a splendid marriage with Aurembiax, Countess in her own right of Urgel, on whose death, childless, in 1231, he was left lord of her great possessions. Desirous of incorporating her estates with those of the crown, James in the same year exchanged with him for them the kingdoms of Mallorca and Minorca, to be held by him for life *in feudum et consuetudinem Barchinonæ et faciatis inde nobis homagium*. After his death, his successors were to hold on the same terms "one third of them;" and the king was presently to hold three fortresses then considered the keys of the island, the Almudayna in the city of Mallorca, Pollença, and Aloro. In 1244 Don Pedro returned this grant to the King, receiving in exchange many important towns and castles in Valencia; ten years afterwards, he gave these up for 39,000 *sueldos* annually, and some dominion again in Mallorca (possibly the revenues of the city only.) Don Pedro presently found his way back into Portugal, where he was living in 1256; but the later history and the year of the death of this restless and unsuccessful prince are unknown.—*Hist. Sesa de Mallorca*, I. pp. 412 and 428. Herculano, *Hist. de Portugal*, II. pp. 87 and 148. *Monarchia Lusitana*, lib. 12, c. 21, lib. 13, c. 5, lib. 15, c. 4. Said by Lemos, *Hist. de Portugal*, t. iii. p. 171, to have been born in 1187, and who died in 1258.

²¹⁴Oy de la galea.

me God, you come not well equipped for the passage; but here are my ships and my transports going to-morrow in the morning; if you choose to come on board you are welcome; I will go in any case. I must know if the King of Tunis, or his army, is really in Mallorca.” Thereupon the Infante said that he would remain in the galley with one knight and one esquire, and that Don Nuño should undertake to send on the others; an undertaking I thought easy enough, for beyond the four knights of whom he spoke, the Infante of Portugal brought no more with him, and no more came afterwards. Don Nuño then left the galley and went on shore, and he (the Infante) remained with me.

111. We weighed anchor, took to the oars, and went out to sea.²¹⁵ By sail and oars we got at noon of the second day to Soller, where we found a Genoese ship at anchor. When they saw us coming in, they were frightened beyond measure, but when they saw my flag they knew that the galley was mine; the sailors threw themselves into a fishing-boat, and came to us. I asked, “Good men, what news from Mallorca?” They said, “Good news.” I then inquired if the fleet of the King of Tunis had come; they answered that there were no strangers in the island. I was very glad at the good news they had told us. They brought fowls; and I sent two men of the ship to Mallorca to let them know that I was at Soller. They came out to receive us with great joy, and brought full fifty beasts saddled for us to ride on and enter the town of Mallorca.

112. The galley rowed into the port of Mallorca, and I entered the town. And those whom I had left there told me, well did it appear that I had in good remembrance them and the honour that God had done me in conquering the kingdom; and they could not keep from weeping with joy at my having come. The third day after I came to Mallorca, all the transports and knights came in in good order and without harm. I then considered what was to be done in case of the Saracens coming, and resolved that I would put out scouts, to let me know in the town before they came [to land]. And I told my people that I would show them the way to defeat the Saracens; that, wherever they might direct their ships, I, with the knights and other men fit for battle, would not go down there to the sea, but into ambush on the very road they must necessarily take. I would send against them horsemen without armoured horses, and footmen with them, up to two thousand; these would seem to oppose the landing of the Saracens, and when a great part of them had landed should begin to fly towards my ambush, so as to allure them to follow, thinking there were only those horsemen and footmen, and so would they fall into my ambush. Then I would attack the enemy with the armoured horse and with the men in reserve, besides the two thousand. These and the other horsemen, who had led them into the ambush, would then return to me, and so till they reached the sea I would not cease striking at them. When those in the ships saw that the first landed were defeated and dead, they would not dare to land for the hurt their people had taken. I accordingly kept scouts over all the island for full fifteen days, to light fire signals if the fleet of the King of Tunis appeared.

113. At the end of fifteen days I knew for certain that the King of Tunis and his fleet would not come to Mallorca. And then I set myself to conquer the mountainous districts and castles they (the Moors) still held in the island, such as Oloro, Pollença, and Sentueri. The Saracens might be three thousand fighting men, besides full fifteen thousand more, counting women and children. And there came a parley from one (his name was Xuaip),²¹⁶ whom the Saracens of the mountains had made their chief, saying that if I could only grant him grace and treat him well, he would surrender the castles on the mountains, in such wise, however, that he himself could afterwards

²¹⁵Al pelech, from the Greek sea language.

²¹⁶“Xuarp” in the edition of 1557, but it is evidently a misprint for {arabic}, Xoâyb.

live in honour. And because the treaty was good for me and for all the Christians who lived there, or might come afterwards, and because the island would not be safe while such a war went on, it was the opinion of the barons who came with me, and of the knights, and of the others, that I should accept that capitulation, the terms of which were as follows:—That to him (Xuaip) and four others of his lineage, I should give inheritances, and horses, and arms, to each of them a pack-horse or mule, good and fit for riding, and that the Saracens should be allowed to remain in the land; those who would might do so, and live free under my rule; as for those who would not submit and accept that capitulation, I should deal with them as I pleased. That was put down in writing, and carried out as undertaken. There remained, however, full two thousand Saracens in the mountains, who would not surrender at discretion.

114. And when I was sure that the Tunisian fleet was not coming at all, I returned [to Catalonia], leaving there En Berenguer de Santa Eugenia, and Don Pere Maça, Lord of Sant Garren, one of my own train, with a number of followers, besides about fifteen knights and esquires of the train of Don Pere Maça, who wished to remain in the island. I then crossed over to Catalonia, and those who remained in Mallorca began war with those in the mountains; the war lasted all winter, into May. So strong were the Saracens in the mountains that no great harm could be done to their persons. This, however, my people managed to do; they hindered their getting grain except in some wretched places, not enough for their support; so that the Saracens came to such distress that they had to graze on the grass on the mountains like cattle. En Berenguer de Santa Eugenia, and Don Pere Maça determined to summon them to surrender, which they did by letters, and by a Saracen who carried them. They replied, also by letter, that they would never surrender except to the king who had conquered the land. Seeing that, En Berenguer de Santa Eugenia, and En Pere Maça, and the knights of Mallorca, took counsel that they should come to me, and that I should cross over thither; and so I should ultimately have all the land.

115. They accordingly came to me at Barcelona, and said they wished to speak with me, and give me good news. I said, that they were welcome; I would listen to them and receive their good news. They then asked me to consider how I was to cross over to Mallorca; if alone, or with a train of followers. It had been agreed that the Saracens of the mountains would surrender on my setting foot on the island, and, therefore, no retainers were needed. I said that I rejoiced at their coming with such good news, and that I would cross over thither. And the opinion of those who had come was, that no knights or others need cross over, but only myself in person and a few men to attend on me. They had enough force (they said) to conquer the mountains, as well as a thousand knights, and my person was as good as one. En Berenguer de Santa Eugenia then said: “My lord, order two or three galleys to be fitted out and armed; put yourself on board, and we will go with you; as soon as the Saracens see you they will surrender at discretion.”

116. It was done as En Berenguer told me. I had three galleys armed between Barcelona and Tarragona. On the fifteenth day they went with me to Salou; the night was dark and stormy, and it was against the opinion of the sailors that we put to sea. When we had gone ten miles with rather bad weather, there came a fine night, calm sea and bright moon, so that En Berenguer said: “We may suppose that God loves us well; the sea is so smooth that we might cross it in slippers;²¹⁷ we expected to have bad weather, and you have it so fine as armed galleys could wish; it is apparent that God works for you.” I said to him that I served such a Lord that we could not fail in anything we did in His name, for which I thanked Him as well as I could and knew. And

²¹⁷Galotxes, in French “galoches,”

early on the third day, between sunrise and tierce, we were at Portopi, my flag was hoisted on each of the galleys, and at the sound of trumpets we entered the port of the city of Mallorca.

117. When they in the city saw me coming, they knew who I was, and that those whom they had sent had delivered well their message. All at once men, women, and children, came out to the port with great joy and pleasure at my coming; also they of the Temple, and of the Hospital, and the other knights in the city. And when I had got into my quarters in the Almudayna, En R. de Serra the younger, who was then Knight Commander of the Temple in the island (I call him the younger because there was another commander of the same name, who was his uncle, and held the commandery of Montso), came to me and said he wished to speak to me a little aside. I listened to him, and he said: "Do you want to do a good stroke of war? If you send the galleys, armed as they are, to Minorca that the people there may know that you have come to the island of Mallorca, they will no doubt be much afraid. Let them know that if they will surrender to you unconditionally, you will receive them, and that you desire not their death and destruction; and with the fright they will take, I believe you will get both gain and honour." I called for En Berenguer de Santa Eugenia, Don Assalit de Gudar, and Don Pere Maça, and told them of the advice which the Commander of the Temple had given me (the Commander himself was there present), and they said they thought it good advice, and that I should do as the Commander proposed.

118. I then ordered En Berenguer de Santa Eugenia, Don Assalit de Gudar, and the Commander himself, who had proposed the thing, each to go in a galley and tell the people of Minorca that I was there [at Mallorca] with an army, and that I did not desire their death. They had seen and heard what befell those of Mallorca, who would not submit to us. But if they would submit, and behave towards me as they themselves had behaved towards the King of Mallorca, I would willingly receive them to mercy. If they would rather have death and captivity than come in to me, I could not help it; they would have to pass under it. I then had credentials in Arabic drawn up by an Alfaqui of mine from Saragossa, named Don Salomó, brother of Don Bahiel,²¹⁸ bidding them give credence to my three envoys, and believe that they spoke for me and in my name. I also said that I would go to Cap de la Pera, thirty miles by sea from Minorca, and that they would find me there ready to hear the result of their mission.

119. I made the galleys go all night with the messengers, who got to Minorca next day between nones and vespers. The Kaid, the sheikhs, and the people of the country, came out to the galleys to the harbour of Ciutadela, and asked: "Whose are the galleys?" They said they belonged to the King of Aragon, Mallorca, and Catalonia, and that they themselves were messengers from him. When the Saracens heard that they put aside their arms, on the ground, and said: "You are welcome to our island; on our heads! you can land safe and sound! we will do you favour, honour, and pleasure." The galleys ran their poops on shore, and the men sent for mattresses, mats, and cushions, on which to lie down. All three messengers landed from the galleys, besides a Jew I had given them for an interpreter. Thereupon the Kaid and his brother El Moxerif,²¹⁹ a native of Seville, whom I afterwards made Rais (governor) of Minorca, and all the sheikhs, listened with attention and great devotion to my letter and message, and said they would consider its contents.

²¹⁸See above page 62.

²¹⁹Almoxerif, in Spanish Almojarife, is not a proper name, but that of a tax collector, {arabic}, or minister of finances among the Spanish Moors.

120. The result was, that they begged the messengers to wait till next day, as they would send for other sheikhs (elders) in the island who were absent, that they might have a more complete council. The messengers, that is, En Berenguer, Don Assalit, and the Commander, replied that they would do as was wished. Thereupon they were invited to go into the town of Ciutadela, saying they would show them great love, for love of the King, whose men they were. They said that till they got their reply they would certainly not enter the town; they had no orders to do so. The Saracens replied that it should be as they pleased. In a little time they brought ten cows, a hundred sheep, two hundred fowls, and bread and wine as much as the messengers wished, and stayed with them till vespers to keep them company. And at vespers, when the Saracens went into the town, our messengers went into the galleys. That same day, at vespers, I myself went to Cape Pera, which is in sight of Minorca. And behold what the Royal army consisted of! I had with me only six knights, four horses, one shield, five esquires to attend on my person, ten servants and some scouts. And when it became dusk, before eating my dinner, I gave directions to those who were with me, and caused fires to be lighted in more than three hundred places in the bushes, in the likeness of an army encamping. When the Saracens saw that, they sent two sheikhs to ask the envoys, "What were those fires on Cape Pera?" Our people said, "It is the King with his army there," (for I had instructed them to say so); he wishes to hear quickly your answer, one way or the other."²²⁰ When the Saracens heard that, they were in great fear, and when morning came they told the messengers to have patience a little time, that they would soon have their answer. The messengers replied they would do so.

121. And next morning, after the Saracens had had prayers, the Kaid, his brother, the Moxerif, the sheikhs, and full three hundred of the principal people in the island, came from the town, and said that they gave great thanks to God and to me for the message I had sent them, for they knew well that they could not long defend themselves against me, and that they would put in writing the capitulation under which they wished to surrender. It was thus worded: They said the island was very poor, and there was not space in it for growing corn for the tenth part of the inhabitants; they would willingly take me for their lord, and divide with me what they had, for it was reasonable that a lord should receive tribute from his vassals; they would give me every year three thousand quarters of wheat, a hundred cows, and five hundred sheep or goats; but I should make an agreement with them to keep and defend them as my subjects and vassals: that duty and engagement would they keep towards me and my successors for ever and after. Then my envoys said to them, that they had something more to do, which was to give me possession of Ciutadela and of the hill on which its castle stands, as well as of any other fortresses, if any there were, in the island. To this they agreed at last, though perforce and hard pressed; for after some consultation among themselves they said that since I wished it they would do so, for they had heard that I was a good lord to my people, and so they hoped I would be to them. In drawing up this capitulation, and all the principal and best men in the island swearing to it on the Alcoran, three whole days were spent. Don Assalit, however, had introduced a clause in the agreement that the people of Minorca should give two "quintals" (two hundredweight) of fresh butter²²¹ every year, besides two hundred bezants for leave to transport cattle. I was all the time at Cape Pera waiting for the galleys and for the messengers, though still making the same fires as at first.

122. Early in the morning of the fourth day, at sunrise, after mass, there came news that the galleys had arrived. And the envoys sent to tell me to decorate well the house I was in, for they

²²⁰O de hu, o de altre breument. Edit. 1557.

²²¹Mantega, *i.e.* butter, from the Arabic {arabic} "*mantecah*," the best part of milk, cream," &c.

brought good news. I, accordingly, had it well swept and strewed with fennel, for we had nothing else to serve for rushes.²²² I caused all the counterpanes I and those of my suite had to be hung from the walls as if they were tapestry, and I and those who were with me put on the best clothes we had there. The envoys were accompanied by a deputation from Minorca, consisting of the Kaid's brother (the Moxerif) and five sheikhs, the most honourable in the whole island. I sent out horses for them to ride on, and other beasts of burthen for their luggage, and they came on. When they were in my presence they saluted me with great reverence, bent the knee before me, and said that on the Kaid's behalf they saluted me a hundred thousand times as their lord, in whom he and they put their hope. I replied, that I wished, in return, that God might give them happiness; and added, that their coming pleased me well. It was in order that those of my army might not interfere with or in any way control the words I would have to say to them that I had removed to the spot where I now was, that I might hear what they had to say, and the better speak with them, upon which they thanked God and me for the words I said to them.

123. Then my envoys began to recite their negotiation and the result, and showed me for my approbation the agreement that had been made. I said that I would consider of it, upon which the deputies from Minorca went out of the room. I then said to my envoys, "Great thanks do I owe to Our Lord for that which He has granted me without sin on my part, and to my great honour. In this present case there is no course left but to accept the terms which you have agreed to, and return thanks to the Lord for the favour He shows me and you." I then addressed the deputies from Minorca, and told them that I was content with the agreement my envoys had made. Whereupon I ordered letters to be drawn up, with my seal, which I gave them, acknowledging them as subjects of me and of my successors for all time to come, they in return agreeing to pay the stipulated tribute to me and to mine for ever after.

124. Since that capitulation was made with the Saracens of Minorca, I have received as much again, or perhaps more, than was stipulated under it; for they have given me whatever I have asked for, and besides that have got every year from them, without asking, all I wanted. I, moreover, took as slaves, at my discretion, all the Saracens²²³ who had risen in the hills; these I distributed among those who might want them as slaves to settle on their lands. So in that expedition with only three galleys I achieved two enterprises,²²⁴ because it so pleased Our Lord, my creator. After this I returned to Catalonia and to Aragon; and from that time to this, may God be thanked for it, the island of Mallorca has not required any help from me; indeed the Lord has so increased it, that it produces twice what it did in the time of the Saracens.

125. Two years afterwards, the Sacristan of Gerona, En S. de Muntgri, who had been elected Archbishop of Tarragona, En Berenguer de Santa Eugenia and his brother, came to me at Alcañiz. I was right glad of the election of the former. When in my presence he (the Archbishop) asked leave to make a request. And he said that if I would grant to him the island of Iviça, he, with those of his household and family, would conquer it. Since I myself had not attempted its conquest, and had other things to do at the time, I ought to be willing and glad that he should undertake it, in order that men might say in future times that an Archbishop of Tarragona had conquered the island of Iviça, which he would hold in my name and for me. I deliberated, and considering it an honour that an archbishop in my dominions should conquer land from the

²²²Cañas (rushes), the flooring made of them.

²²³In the island, *i.e.* in Mallorca, for Minorca has no hills, and besides that no resistance at all was offered by the inhabitants.

²²⁴By "two enterprises" the final occupation of Mallorca and the taking of Minorca are no doubt meant.

Saracens and hold it of me, I granted his request. He then made arrangements with those of his household and prepared for the expedition, causing a “trabuquet” and a “fonevol” to be made. When the Infante of Portugal and Don Nuño learned this, they called on the Archbishop, and told him that they would willingly assist him, if he would only give them shares proportionate to the number of men (horse and foot) they might furnish and take thither. The Archbishop agreed, and all went together.

126. They therefore crossed to Iviça, and landed without resistance from the islanders; they then went with armoured horses, ships, and transports, to the harbour of Iviça, set their camp there, and attacked the town. When they had got their machines ready, the “fonevol,” which was the less powerful, battered the town, and the “trabuquet” the castle. There are three walls to the town, one rising over the other. When they saw that the outside wall of the town was giving way by the battering of the “fonevol,” the besiegers commenced mining; and when they saw it was time to begin the fight, they tried first petty attacks, and prepared for a general assault. The army was put under arms, and one line of wall was taken; one Johan Xico, of Lerida, being the first man who entered by the breach. When the Saracens saw they had lost that first wall, they were dreadfully cowed, and parleyed for surrender. In this way was the town taken, and the castle too, for the “trabuquet” had not to throw ten stones against the latter. After Iviça was taken, there came many times [from Africa] Saracen galleys against it; but by the grace of God the invaders got there more hurt than did our own people.

127. After this I was one day in my kingdom, in Aragon, playing and disporting; I had with me at Alcañiz, the Master of the Hospital, En Hugh de Fuylarquer, and Don Blasco D’Alagó; and we were on a terrace talking and amusing ourselves. He took up the word and said: “My lord, since God has guided you so well in this matter of Mallorca and of the islands, why should we not and you undertake the kingdom of Valencia on this side of the sea, which has been for such considerable time affronting us and your house? Even your ancestors have striven to have it, and could not. Wherefore, so God help me! it would be well that we should think thereon, who are here present; for Don Blasco knows more [of war] than any man in this world, and he can tell you by which means and at what place he thinks we can enter and conquer that land.” Don Blasco D’Alagó then said: “I will gladly tell the King all I know and what can serve him; since you wish, Master, that I should speak, I will.” Whereupon I asked him to tell me where it seemed to him that we could enter the kingdom of Valencia.

128. Don Blasco then turned to me and said, “My lord, the Master of the Hospital speaks truly. Since God has given it to you to make conquests beyond sea, you should now undertake that which is at the gate of your own kingdom. Valencia is the best land and the finest in the world. My lord, I stayed two years or more in it, when you drove me from your land. There is not now-a-days so desirable a place as the city of Valencia and the surrounding territory; the land is full seven journeys long; if it be God’s will that you conquer it, I can assure you that no land of more fertile and luxurious plains and stronger castles is to be found in the whole world. I will tell you my way of thinking in this matter; should I advise you to besiege any strong castle therein I should give you bad advice for there are in the kingdom of Valencia forty or fifty such strongholds that while they have provisions you and all your power could not take them. My counsel, to the best of my judgment, is that you go first to Burriana, and for this reason: Burriana is on level ground, and near your own country; you can there get supplies from your own kingdom, by sea and by land, much better than if you were farther inland; and with the help of God you will take it at farthest within a month. You will find great stores in it; and that is undoubtedly the best place I know for you to commence the conquest.” The Master of the Hospital then said, “My lord, Don Blasco speaks truly; in the world there is not a place so good

and convenient to take possession of as Burriana, so say all those who have been in the kingdom of Valencia, and it is the common talk in this our country.”

129. And I said, “Now that I have heard your counsel and that of Don Blasco, I hold it for good and loyal, and in the name of God be it so, since you have advised me for the best. I will now tell you one thing, which shows it is God’s will that I should undertake that conquest. I was at Mallorca, at Cape Pera, when Minorca surrendered; Don Sanç²²⁵ D’Orta was with me, and Don Garcia D’Orta, his brother, and Pero Lopez de Pomar, who had been on a mission from me to the Kaid (governor) of Xativa. I happened to praise to them much the land of Mallorca, which I had conquered, and whilst doing so Don Sang D’Orta said, ‘My lord, you are praising and extolling all day the kingdom of Mallorca; but if you do conquer Valencia, you will find that this island, good and fertile as it is, is nought in comparison with yonder kingdom across the sea. In Valencia you will find five or six thousand cross bowmen, with two-footed crossbows²²⁶ and men innumerable who will not allow an army to approach the walls of their city, such is the strength of the crossbows and of the power there. And if you take that, (you can well say that you are the greatest King in the world, and the one who has done most.’”

130. These words of Don Sancho stirred me on, because of his dispraising Mallorca, and praising Valencia. And I said to him, “Do you wish me to tell you how I think I should subdue the kingdom you speak of? I will tell you. I had no wife once; they proposed to me to marry the daughter of the King of Hungary, or the daughter of the Duke of Austria, and the Pope agreed to it.²²⁷ Yet I took to wife a daughter of one of the most honourable kings in the world, and though they would have given me more with the daughter of the Duke of Austria, I would not take her; I preferred the daughter of the King of Hungary. When I was not of so much account as I am now, they gave me the daughter of Don Alfonso, King of Castille; it is right that now when I am more powerful than I was then, I should take to wife a king’s daughter. Now I will tell you how I will take Valencia and all the rest of that land. I will go to Burriana; I will take thither what supplies I can carry on mules from Teruel, and I will get by sea besides supplies for the army, and I will take two ‘fonevols,’ and when Burriana is taken I will make the queen, my wife, go there, that people may see how resolute I am to stand by it. Then the castles that are on this side of Valencia—such as Peñiscola, Cervera, Exivert, Polpis, the caves of Vinromá, Alcalaten, Morella, Culler, and Ares, which live on supplies from the plain of Burriana—will be so shut in between me and my Christian lands, that all will have to surrender, for I will be in front of them, and they will not be able to get supplies from Burriana.”

131. “When that shall be done, and I have those castles, I will move on to a place the Christians call Puig de Cebolla (Onion Hill), two leagues from Valencia. Thence I will make raids on the city itself, ravage and waste the land wheresoever I go. I know the way to weaken and molest the enemy, and bring him to great distress by famine. Then I will set on them before they can gather the harvest again, and will besiege the city, and with the grace of God will conquer it.” Don Blasco and the Master of the Hospital then said to me, “Had the Saracens in Valencia dictated your answer, you could not have said better. It seemeth to me that Our Lord

²²⁵Sanç is the Provençal form of Sanctius, Sancho, whence Sanchez and Sanchiz are derived.

²²⁶Ballesters de II. peus. Ducange, v. “Balista,” mentions, without explaining, balistæ ad duos pedes; duas balistas ad tor et decem ad duos pedes: “two winch crossbows and ten two-footed.” Perhaps “two footed crossbows” meant that they had stirrups in which a man could set both feet, so as to put his whole force to bending the bow. “Ballesta de arco” in Spanish.

²²⁷It does not say which match the Pope favoured.

will guide you, your resolution is so good.” And then it was settled what should be done and what should not be done. At that time I was at Teruel, Don Pedro Fernandez D’Açagra, Lord of Albarracin, had invited me to hunt wild boar and dine with him in a village close to Albarracin, named Exea, where he said I would find him, and I promised to do so.

132. After I had dined, near vespers there came a message that men on foot from Teruel and the frontier had taken Ares; Don Pedro Fernandez and Don Atorella were then with me. He who came with the intelligence demanded a gift for the good news he had brought. I told him that I would give him one. Don Pedro Fernandez knew nothing about that part of the frontier; but Don Atorella said: “My lord, great good fortune has befallen you; much have you gained on this day; the conquest of the kingdom of Valencia is begun.” I said to him “Please God it be so!” He replied: “My lord, do not delay; Ares is a very good and very strong place, which you may keep despite of all the Saracens in the world; put yourself on horseback to go thither, and do not delay, for God’s sake. I know what a strong place Ares is; and when you are there and see it, you will say I have told you truth.

133. I then sent a message to Teruel for Fernando Diez, Rodrigo Ortiz, and the knights there, to meet me at Alfambra. I got there before dark, supped, gave the horses barley, and went on after midnight. At dawn I had got to the end of the pass into the plain of Muntagut; I passed through Pobo, got to Vilaroja, one of the towns belonging to the Order of the Hospital, and stopped there that night. At dawn I left Vilaroja, and when I had got within half a league of the end of the hills, a mounted cross-bowman came after me, trotting and scampering to overtake me, and he said: “My lord, Don Blasco [d’Alagó] salutes you, and tells you that Morella is his!” When I heard that news it grieved me much. And Fernando Diez said: “My lord, bethink you what you will do; you need well think of it.” I then made the cross-bowman stand aside, and called for Don Pedro Fernandez and for Don Atorella. But while I sent for the other [knights], Fernando Diez spoke in my ear, and said: “My lord, give up the journey to Ares; Morella is a more important place, and a great thing! It were far better for you that the Moors had it than Don Blasco, and I would rather that you gained it from the Saracens than from Don Blasco; though he is my lord, you are my natural sovereign.²²⁸ Not for regard of a lord whom I can change when I please will I fail to give you my best advice; that is, that you may understand that I hold myself as your born subject.” I then asked the opinion of Don Pedro Fernandez, Don Atorella, and the other knights, as to what I should do. Don Pedro and Don Atorella said: “Our advice is that you should finish this journey to Ares, which you have begun, that then you should go to Morella, and thus get all done in one journey.” But Don Fernando Diez said: “My lord, I am here one of the least of your Council, but whatever any one else may say, go you to Morella, and give orders for the light-armed foot of Teruel and the villages to move on. Let them follow as fast as they can, without bringing on their knapsacks.”²²⁹ I felt that Diez’s advice was the best, and that one should take care of great things before lesser ones. He then told me to prepare for much fatigue, for it was (he said) a long ride to Morella.

134. I then ordered some of the footmen to stay there, and the others to take their arms and follow me; I myself riding at the trot, and without order²³⁰ crossed the river of Calderes and went on to the river which runs by the foot of the ridge on which is Morella. When I got there, two light-armed footmen came up with me. I asked them where the others were, and they said they

²²⁸E iassia que Don Blasco sia mon senyor, vos sots mon senyor natural.

²²⁹The word used is “serrons,” Spanish, *serones*.

²³⁰De trot e d’arlot.

were coming. I ascended a ridge to a little hill standing out from it, and afterwards called the King's Hill;²³¹ I stopped there waiting for my men to come up, and I set out watches, horse and foot, to hinder any one from going in or out of Morella till next day after I should have resolved what to do; I passed all night on that hill. It was snowy weather, for it was past Michaelmas; it snowed and rained a good deal, so that no one dared uncover his face; the horses and the beasts of burthen lay down in a hollow, here and there, where they best could; the mules that were to bring us supplies that night could not bring them up, and I dared not go down to meet them lest the people in the castle should communicate with Don Blasco, and he should put a stronger force into it. I had to go actually without eating or drinking from the night I had some food in Vilaroja till vespers²³² of the third day, I, the horses, and the beasts of burthen.

135. At sunrise, Don Blasco came in sight with his horse, the knights in pourpoints, and the esquires bearing their arms; our watch saw them come down the hill. Thereupon Don Ferran Perez de Pina, who was captain of the watch, sent me word that Don Blasco meant to enter Morella, and asked for orders how to act. I sent them word that if Don Blasco tried to enter, they should prevent him, and make him come on to me. Before this message of mine reached the watch, Don Blasco pushed on as far as he could towards the entrance of the castle. Don Ferran Perez de Pina went up to him and said: "What is the matter, Don Blasco?" He replied: "I wish to go into Morella and give orders to my people; then I will go and see the king." Then my messenger got there, and said in Don Ferran's ear, that my orders were, not to let Don Blasco enter; whereupon Ferran Perez said: "Don Blasco, the king desires you to go to him." He said: "Tell the king that I will be with him presently, but I have a few orders to give to my men." He replied, "Know that you will not be allowed to enter the place till you have seen the king, for he has sent to me to tell you so." And Don Ferran went close to Don Blasco to bar the way, so that he could not escape from him if he tried. Don Blasco, seeing that it must be, turned his rein, and came towards me, the watch following him closely.

136. He dismounted, and I rose to greet him; then he sat down, he, Don Pedro Fernandez, Don Atorella, and Laceit Abu Ceit²³³ [who was with me at the time]. He said he wished to speak with me alone. I made all go away, except himself, and he then said, "Well, my lord, what do you want of me?" I said, "I will tell you; Don Blasco, you are my majordomo (steward of my household), a man whom I have loved well and done good to, and you hold lands of me. God, as you have sent to tell me, has given you Morella; now the place is so strong and renowned, that though you deserve all the good that can befall you, it is unfit for any one in the world to hold but a king; wherefore I pray you by your natural obedience to me, by the benefits I have conferred on you, and by the high office you fill in my household, to give up that castle, so that I may do great things for you and yours; and that people may say hereafter that I gave you good guerdon for the service you did me." He said, "My lord, do you not remember the words of the letters patent you gave me?" I answered, "Yes, I remember them very well; I will tell you what the letters said: that

²³¹Puig del Rey.

²³²"Tro al tercer dia a hora de vespres," according to the Valencia edition of 1515. From the night in Vilaroja to the night of the day following that the king passed on Sierra of Morella, was forty-eight hours; the time was part of three days.

²³³Zeit Abu Zeit, {arabic}. This Moslem prince, of the house of the Almohade sovereigns of Morocco, had been expelled from Valencia, of which he was "king," by his subjects, suspicious of his dealings with King James, with whom he took refuge. There was an agreement between them, that what Zeit might recover of his former state in Valencia he should hold as a vassal of Aragon, and that he should besides surrender six strong places to the king, of which Morella was one.—Zurita, *Anales*, lib. iii. c. 2.

if you ever conquered anything from the Moors, it should be yours." He said, "My lord, exactly so it is." And I replied: "Don Blasco, you must know well that a conquest of this kind is no province of yours, for this castle, with its surrounding territory, is as good as a countship; but this is what it is proper for you to do, that since God has given you so good a place, you should deliver it to me at once. I will do such things for you that men shall know how great a service you have rendered me, and that I will do with the greatest good will." He said, "My lord, I will consider the matter, and answer you."

137. And Don Blasco went aside with four of the knights he had with him, and came to me after he had had counsel with them, saying, "My lord, do you wish altogether to have Morella?" I said, "Don Blasco, you must know well that I wish very much to have Morella and its castle; it is proper that I should have it, and it is proper for you to take my offer." He said, "Since I now see that it is your wish to have Morella, and you make me such promises, I will do as you wish; I will give it up to you, though on one condition. I beg that since you will have Morella, that you show me love in this, that I may hold it for you; good reason is there, since I surrender it to you, that I should hold it for you, rather than any other man in the kingdom." I answered him that I agreed to that, and then said: "Since that is settled, let us go to Don Pedro Fernandez, Don Atorella, Aceit Abuceit, and the other knights, and let them know that from this hour you hold Morella for us." He assented, and we all went to them. Then Don Blasco said: "My lord, it is for you to speak first." And I replied, "No, Don Blasco, it is for you to speak." Then he said, "My lord, you granted me by charter that if I took any place from the Moors it should be mine; but you have already done, and promise to do such great things for me, that it is reason that I should do you any service I can; it is my will, since you desire that this castle should be your own, that it be so. I do consent to it, but I pray of you that I may hold it of you, since there is more reason that I should hold it than any other man in your kingdom." I told him that I thanked him for it, and would reward him for the service he had done me. Thereon he bent his knees before me, and did me homage by hands and mouth, that from that hour he held the castle of Morella²³⁴ for me, the King of Aragon. I stayed that day there; on the next I left, and went to Ares, of which I also took possession, giving to the footmen, who had taken it from the Saracens, so much of the spoil that they were quite satisfied and content.

138. At that time there lived Don Sancho, King of Navarre, son of another King Sancho; the best king there ever was in Navarre.²³⁵ The King of Castille caused Don Lope Diez, Lord of Biscay, to make war on him, so that he took two or three of his castles. The King of Navarre then sent me word that if I would make a treaty with him, he would sign a deed showing me such favour and love that no king ever showed greater to another. I therefore resolved to go to see him

²³⁴The Spanish translators introduce the word feud to describe the terms on which Don Blasco de Alagon received Morella from the king: but the text uses only the word *tener*, to hold, "qu'il tenga per vos."

²³⁵Brother of Berenguela, Queen of Richard I. of England; he reigned from 1194 to 1234. It will show the strange confusion of the times, to tell that in the opening of his reign his alliances with the Moors were such as to draw from Pope Celestine III. in 1196 a Bull denouncing them, and calling on him to unite rather with the Christian kings of the Peninsula in conquests from the Mahometans. Next year, 1197, he left his kingdom, went to Morocco, and remained there serving the Sultan for three years; it was said, in love with the Sultan's daughter; such is the explanation of his conduct the English chronicler Hovedan had heard. During his absence, Alfonso VIII. of Castille stripped him of considerable territories in the Basque provinces. However, when the Sultan Mohammad Annásir made the great campaign of 1212 against the Spanish Christians, he joined Alfonso VIII. with his army, and had a share in the great victory of Navas de Tolosa, in memory of which Navarre bears in her shield the chains with which the Sultan's tent is said to have been fenced.

at Tudela; for full twenty-five years he had not left town or travelled anywhere. I told Don Blasco [Maça], Don Rodrigo Liçana, and Don Atho de Foces, to accompany me to the interview, and they all went. When I got to Navarre; Don Sancho could not come down to me to the town of Tudela, so immeasurably and marvellously fat was he; he was ashamed to let people see him if indeed it were not in private;²³⁶ wherefore I had to go up to him to the castle. Next day, at vespers, I ascended; he received me well and with what courtesy he could, for he came out to a place which he had not visited for ten years, and embraced me (he was as big as myself);²³⁷ that he did very joyfully and laughing. We went hand in hand up some steps, and found seats set in a cloister of his chapel. He said to me that my coming pleased him much; he had never been so glad in his life that he remembered. I replied that I was very glad too for two reasons, for seeing him, and because I had greatly wished to make his acquaintance. When we had been some time in conversation, I said: “You have sent me word that you wished to see me for our common profit and honour; that I do sincerely believe, since you have sent to me to say so. And since the words of the message are so pleasant and sweet to me, will you speak to me on this night, or will you wait till tomorrow. It is now (I said) the hour of vespers; to-morrow I will come here, and you can say to me what things you please.” He replied that he would next day propose the best thing that any man had ever proposed to me. I gave him great thanks, and thereupon parted company for that night.

139. In the morning I heard mass, and then went up to see him in the castle. He began thus: “King, I believe you know, or should know, what great love and kindred there is between you and me; there is no one in the world so nearly related to me as you, except perhaps the son of the Countess of Champagne, who is my own nephew; notwithstanding which I hold that you are more to me than he is, for I love you more. The love I bestowed on him was badly placed; while I did him favour and love, he behaved very ill to me, for he parleyed and treated with my own subjects of Navarre to drive me from my kingdom, and make himself king; wherefore I sent for you, for I would rather you had the kingdom than he, or any other man in the world. And I wish to tell you this with my own mouth, rather than that these people should act as intermediate between you and me. But let it be in this way, that men may not say hereafter that there was any secret agreement between us two. I will adopt you, and you shall adopt me;²³⁸ it is like that I shall die before you, for I am full seventy-eight years old, whilst you are not yet twenty five. This I will do for the sake of my people, that they may not hold me as a man who acted lightly.”

140. When I heard Don Sancho’s discourse it pleased me much. I said, “I give you great thanks; your love for me is quite plain; but it must not displease you if I wish to consult the nobles who have come here with me; I will see you again at vespers and give you an answer.” Deliberation (I said) was needed for this reason. I had by Queen Leonor, the daughter of King Alfonso of Castille, a son, and I had made all the nobles and knights and cities of Aragon, and the city of Lerida, swear allegiance to him.

After discussing this matter with my councillors, Don Blasco Dalagon,²³⁹ Don Atho de Foces, Don Rodrigo Liçana, and others, I sent them to King Sancho with the following message: “The king sends us to you; we desire to say things for him that he himself does not wish to say face to face to you. The King of Aragon, our master, has a son by his wife Leonor, but he is

²³⁶Si donchs no era en lochs amagat.

²³⁷As tall, not as stout, it is to be presumed. King James was a giant.

²³⁸Nos volem afillarvos aytot que afillets a nos: “take you to son.”

²³⁹This Don Blasco was Don Blasco Maça [d’Alagó], as shown by Zurita, *Annales*, lib. iii. c. 11.

separated from her by command of the Pope. He has, therefore, ordered Aragon and Lerida²⁴⁰ to take the oaths to that son. The death of men is in the hands of God, and young men die as well as old. This is the greatest difficulty our master has; he cannot take away his son's right as long as he lives. Were it not for that, know well that he would desire what you propose, and it would please him much, for he knows how great love you show him."

141. Don Sancho then said he would deliberate on what my messengers had told him. He took into council Don Sancho Ferrandez de Montagut, En Guillen Baldoni, who was then the most powerful man in Tudela, the chief magistrate of that town (Justicia), and others whose names I do not remember. And this was his reply early in the morning of the second day: that it was a great thing for him, who was so old, to stake himself against two persons such as I and my son were; but for the great love he had for me, and that I might help him against the King of Castille, who did him wrong and deprived him of his inheritance, he would agree to it, and would put my son and myself together as one conjoint person; so that if he died before me, his kingdom and all his land should remain to me, and if that happened to us both, meaning me and my son, Don Alfonso, then in that case my kingdom and my lands should remain to him (King Sancho). He would make his men swear to me, and I should make mine swear to him, that such agreement and the charters relating thereto should be observed. Our nobles then came straight to me and told me how the matter had been settled between them.²⁴¹

142. When I heard this I and those who were with me rejoiced much; and although I from that moment became bound to go to war with the King of Castile, nevertheless the agreement was a good thing for me for three reasons: one, because the wrong the King of Castile did Don Sancho at the time was very great; another, because, as he was seventy-eight years old and set himself against us two, my son and myself, each of whom could live as long or longer than himself according to right and nature, there was good reason indeed for my taking that venture against him; the other, that since the King of Castile wrongfully did him hurt, and he made us his sons and heirs of all he had, I might well take the engagement of going to war and defending the lands of my father, since he had affiliated me and my son.

143. Thereon I went up to Don Sancho and found with him two or three of his own barons, who had newly arrived. I thanked him greatly for the honour and love he had done me, and said that in that wise, as the nobles had treated with him, I would accept and act. I would assist him against the King of Castile and against every one who might wrongfully do him hurt: and thereon a day was appointed in three weeks' time, on which Don Sancho should bring together all the nobles of Navarre, the knights, and from each city ten men, with consent of all the rest that what they did the others would grant, confirm, and approve; and from all the large towns likewise four men from each, with the authority of all the rest that they would grant whatever they might agree to. I would do as much on my side: I would send for those of Aragon, for the barons (*richs homens*), bishops, and for all the others, as he himself sent for the Navarrese; and when his people had done oath and homage of lordship and fealty to me, mine would do in that manner to him.

²⁴⁰Lerida is here taken for the Cortes of Catalonia, there held.

²⁴¹The document itself, printed by Zurita, *Anales*, lib. iii. c. II??. and in the Archivo de Aragon, t. vi. p. 102, does not reserve the rights of Prince Alfonso under this treaty of adoption or affiliation. It was solemnly confirmed, a few weeks afterwards, by many of the leading nobles of Aragon and Navarre, and by six deputies (*procuradores*) of towns of each country, in the name of all the others, and in that of the kingdom of Aragon. I cannot find that the estates of Catalonia were bound by, or entered into, this arrangement, which, therefore, in the case of the King of Navarre's surviving James and his son, might have severed it from Aragon.

144. On the appointed day I went to Tarazona and entered Tudela, as he (Don Sancho) could not leave it with my nobles and the men of the cities, and I took homage and the oath of loyalty and fealty from all the above said, that I, or the infante Don Alfonso, my son, should be king of Navarre, and our descendants for ever after him. In that way I made the nobles and the deputies from the cities, ten men from each, go into Tudela, also those of my own realm, who were to make oath and homage to him, as the Navarrese had done to me; moreover I appointed a man to go through Navarre and take the oath and homage of those from whom I had not got it; he in like manner did the same thing in my lands.

145. Those things done, I and he held council together as to how we should deal with the business of the King of Castile: there were four or five nobles on his behalf and as many on ours, and there were besides citizens of Saragossa on his behalf and on mine. All swore, their hands on the Holy Gospels, that they would keep the matter secret, and that each should give his opinion as to what had better be done. The Council, however, was adjourned till next morning, for it got near night: great business is better discussed in the morning, when it can be, than at any other time. After mass, early next morning, all they who had been in secret council came to the King of Navarre and to me to say what they had thought on the business that night. For Solomon says in his Proverbs that night bears counsel; and that they might the better think over it all that night I gave them till the morning.

146. When morning came I told the King of Navarre to speak first, for he was older and knew more of the matter than I did. He began his discourse thus: "King, of the affairs of Spain I have great knowledge, for this, that I have seen and taken part in the great things done in my time. There was war once between the King of Castile and my father, and by the mercy of God, whenever our men met theirs, the Navarrese got good esteem; but the odds were great, for they are many and we are few; that did us hurt, though by the grace of God, if we only have you for help, I am equal to them. And let us do thus: I will help you right well and with all my heart, and do you help me as a son should do, for I hold you to be my son; if we help one another well, we will, with the aid of God, overcome them, for we are right and they are wrong." With that Don Sancho ended his speech, and told me to speak next. I said that his nobles knew more of the border than I and my barons did; and so the word came to Don Garcia Almoravit, for all the Navarrese said he should speak first, and he said: "King of Aragon, the state of this land I will tell to you; they of Navarre who are here know it as well or better than I do, as to the hurt that Don Lope Diez of Biscay does the king, for the hurt that he does the kingdom he does to the king; he does it with his own forces, which are very great, and the King of Castile has ordered his men to help him, if he need them. But since our Lord God has done us so great a good as to bring you and the King of Navarre so close together, we have hope in God that you two will bring it all to an end and will do honour to the king and to you in such wise as will please all the world, seeing the great wrong done him." And they told Don Sancho Fernandez de Montagut to speak, and he said: "My lord king, what would you more? that which we hoped from the favour of God we have it now; if you two together will undertake that work, the thing will come to a good end; what can man say more? Since you guide well your enterprise, the king and you will bring the work to a good end." Then I told the nobles and them of the Town Councils, of whom there are many, to speak; and they said with one voice: "What is said, we confirm it all. Don Garcia and Don Sancho have said that if you two together will take this affair in hand, the work will end to your honour; we will serve you as best we can." The King of Navarre said, "You wished our nobles to speak, now let yours speak." And Don Atho de Foces said, "This we will say on behalf of the King of Aragon. Put before us what we are to serve you both in, and I will risk in it all you have given me; I will do what will keep my lands in pawn for five years. Since we put our bodies

in it, it were ill to lament for our goods.” And Don Blasco de Alagon said: “My lord, the nobles of Navarre say well, that if you two together strive to carry on the work well and stoutly, we all, you and we, will be of more account; and since God has brought together your love and the king’s, you together can do much if you will.” And thereon Don Rodrigo Liçana said: “Take counsel, you and the King of Navarre; you have to consider those who serve you in this enterprise, for it is by the help of your good vassals (*homens de valor*) that you and he have to win what we have spoken of, and to bring it to a happy ending.” The King of Navarre said: “Speak you, King of Aragon.” And I said: “That I will do.”

147. “Well do you know, king, that when the hour of death comes we kings take from this world nothing but a shroud apiece, which is indeed of better cloth than those of other people; but this only remains to us from the great power we once had, that we can serve God with it, and leave behind a good name for the good deeds we did. If in this world we do not do them, there will come no other time in which we can. If you please, I will show you how you can conquer in this war, it will be in this wise: It is true that I have three or four times more people than you, but you have more money than I have, and more bread, and more of other things good in war. I propose to you that I should have two thousand knights, and that you should have one thousand. In your land you can raise them, between knights and men of birth, who know well how to manage horse and armour. And do you send to your cousin, the Count of Champagne, to come to you, and ask him to help you with a thousand more knights; he can well find them. And if peradventure the Count of Champagne, when he hears of the treaty between us,²⁴² is unwilling to help you, do you alone raise two thousand knights, for by God’s grace you have wherewith to pay them; money is no good to any man if it be not used; and in what can you use it so well as in revenging the affronts the King of Castile has done to your father and yourself? For that deed you will be honoured and will die honoured, whenever you and I shall die. And I will tell you how it will go. If we have four thousand knights by birth, and go into Castile, the Castilians are proud and presumptuous people, and will fight us; nothing will prevent a battle. By God’s help we will gain it, for we are in the right and they are in the wrong; and when we have beaten them in the field, as the villages of Castile are all without ditch and wall, we will get into them as into an open place; we will sack them, and our men will gain so much, that they who are not with us will come for the gain we get, and will be with us.”

148. Thereupon King Sancho answered me very fiercely and very angrily, and told me to manage my affairs in my own way, and he would manage his in his way. When I heard his answer it grieved me much. I told him that he ought to have taken well all I had said to him, for I had advised him to nothing but for his honour, and that he might recover what he had lost. His people, however, dared not say anything to him or contradict him in anything, so that I addressed myself to Don Sancho Fernandez, and said: “Don Sancho Fernandez, you do ill in not speaking the truth to your lord.” And he replied: “It is for you to do what you have here offered to the king, and if God pleases it will turn to your honour and profit.” As the agreement was between me and King Sancho, I did not wish to contradict Don Sancho, and so put off my reply till the next day, saying: “To-morrow morning I shall speak about that;” and so I left King Sancho, as I saw he was vexed.

149. Next day I saw King Sancho again, and asked him to lend me a hundred thousand sous. He said he would do it if I gave him security. So it was agreed between him and me that I should deliver to him Ferrera, Ferreylo, Penaredona, and La Faxina, and that he would make the loan. I

²⁴²Disinheriting him.

said it pleased me well; and it was agreed that I should furnish at Easter a thousand knights, and before Michaelmas another thousand, and that he would so behave towards me that I should thank him for it,²⁴³ and that he would besides furnish the other thousand; and we separated on that understanding. So Easter came, when I was to meet him. Other affairs came on me, so that I had to cross at that time to Mallorca; and to put off seeing him for two months that I could not go to meet him. When I did come he was minded to throw blame on me. Before I met him there came to me a knight, who had been full twenty-one years with him, and who was also a friend of mine, named Pedro Xemeniz de Valterre, who said: "Now, look what you will do, for the King of Navarre throws on you the blame of your not coming at the time you undertook to do." I said to Don Pedro Xemeniz: "I thank you much for letting me know that;" and next day we met, I said to the king: "I have come to see you; and I pray you not to take it ill that I did not come on the day fixed, because I had to do things for the good of this very business of ours and that I might help you better." He said: "That may be; but why did you not keep to the appointment and the day?" I said to him: "It is better as it is, both for you and for me; you should not regret it."

150. "Now show me," said he, "how it is better, and I shall understand." And I said to him: "By this delay I have gained two hundred knights, whom you will have to help you. But now tell me, have you yourself made ready your thousand knights? I do not find in all Navarre more than three hundred knights equipped and ready, whilst I have with me a thousand. And if you, whose concern it is, have not got ready, nor given anything towards it, how can you blame me who have actually got the thousand knights under arms? for if you want them, there they are at your service; we will at once declare war on the King of Castile if you will only furnish the other thousand." Thereupon the King of Navarre said that he would consider of it, and I went away. As I was going down from the castle of Tudela, I met a retainer of Don Garcia Almoravit, who was taking a message from his lord and from Juan Perez de Basca,²⁴⁴ on the borders of Castile, to the king. "My lord," said he to me, "I came here with a message to the King of Navarre, and I have now been here good four days without being able to see him." I said to him: "What message do you bring?" He said: "So God help me, my lord, I will tell you; you stand so well with the king that I will not keep it from you. The nobles send to tell the king that if he would only send them two hundred knights, they would beat Don Lope Diez of Biscay, and conquer in this war; there is no doubt of that." I told the man that I myself would deliver the message to the king, I could not do it then, as I had just left the castle, but would willingly tell him so at vespers.

151. I accordingly returned in the evening to the king, and said to him: "King, why do you act so? There is a knight at the gate who comes from Don Garcia Almoravit and from those of your household who are on the border; he says that for four or five days he has been unable to see you. I will tell you his message; he brings good news." He said: "What news does he bring?" I said: "In good sooth I will tell you; but do not say that I disclosed it. He says that with two hundred knights, whom you can find and send to the border, they would conquer Don Lope Diez; and if Don Lope Diez were but conquered, your war would be at an end. Make the man himself come in to see you and explain." He said: "Let me tell you. Do you not know what that is? All the nobles deal falsely with me, and wish only to extract money from me." I said: "They do not ask for money, all they ask is two hundred knights, and do you send them those. What will you lose, while you can gain great honour? Peradventure you will never have such a chance as now

²⁴³The meaning seems to be, that the King of Navarre was to treat the 2,000 Aragonese knights so as to please their king.

²⁴⁴Another copy, Basta.

you have. I would willingly go myself with sixty knights I have here with me, but that I have not yet declared war on the King of Castile; but I will find some way of evading that. Do you proclaim a summons to arms in the town, and I will order my men to follow those you name as chiefs, and will give them rations for eight days, and they will do what you order.” And he said “It is not your business.”²⁴⁵ And when I saw that he had no concern about his own business I was silent, and said to myself, “I have done all I could do.”

152. When I saw that he did nothing more in the matter, I went to my house and said to my barons: “See you how it is with us?” and I then told them what had been said. Don Blasco said to me:

“My lord, since the king has no care for his affairs, why should you have more than he? Do you to-morrow take leave of him, and tell him that when he requires you he will find you in readiness, if only he will perform what he has undertaken towards you.” I and all the rest said: “Don Blasco says well, and so will I do.” When morning came I went up to the castle, and told the king that on his performing what he had promised he would find me in readiness with the two thousand knights, according to agreement; that it lay with him, and not with me. I remained one day there, and then went away.

153. And when I was out of Tudela and had got to Tahuste, I determined, since the king did nothing well for himself or for me, to go into the Moors’ country and take Burriana. I fixed a day for my people to meet me at Teruel in the beginning of May, that is the barons (*richs homens*), the Master of the Temple, the Master of the Hospital, and such of the knights of Uclés and Calatrava who happened to be in my dominions.²⁴⁶ But not one of these came on the day appointed for them to Teruel. But there came, however, the Bishop of Zaragoza, named En Berenguer de Montagut, Don Pedro Ferrandes de Açagra, and men of my own household, with Don Ximen Perez Darenós, also of our household. I thus made up a hundred and twenty knights, besides the townsmen²⁴⁷ of Teruel. On the third day after leaving Teruel, I was about to take up my quarters at Exerica, when from seven to eight hundred Moors came out of the town. I dared not quarter my army in the plain where the castle stands, for the Moors hindered our approach and defended themselves with crossbows and lances, in the fields close to us. Thereon that same night I resolved to lay waste the country beyond the castle, towards Viver, leaving behind me thirty horse in armour, besides all those who remained in the tents, fully a thousand men, and with the rest of my force lay waste the surrounding country; and so I did. The Moors perceiving the horse in armour, would not venture out. Next day I lay waste below the town as I had done above it, leaving the horse in armour at the tents.

154. As I came in from the foray there came to me En Ramon Çamenla, knight commander of Aliaga, and another knight of the Temple, also a commander, whose name I do not recollect at this moment. Both entered the camp on horseback, lightly armed,²⁴⁸ but lance in hand, and came to me. I sent for the bishop, the nobles, the townsmen of Teruel, and others of my train, and they spoke thus: “My lord, the Masters of the Temple and of the Hospital, the commander of Alcaniç,

²⁴⁵“Nous ha de veer.”

²⁴⁶That is, the knights, in King James’s territories of the Castilian Orders of Calatrava and Santiago. Uclés was the seat of the last named. That of Montesa, which was purely Aragonese, was not founded till 1317.

²⁴⁷Conseyl, in Spanish *Concejo*, properly speaking the Municipality; but in the present and other instances the word is meant to designate the militia or force furnished by the towns of Castile (*milicia concejil*) in the war against the Moors.

²⁴⁸Alforrats—without armour(?).

who is here with all the townsmen of Alcaniç and Montalbá, salute you; they say that they have got as far as the hill of Pascuas, two miles on this side of Murviedro, and have been there for two days according to orders, and have harried the valley of Segon. Now they are sending you a message and pray you to go to them quickly, else they will be unable to stay there, for they are few, and the power of Valencia, which is great, is coming down upon them." I answered, "I will consider it;" and they left the tent saying plainly, that unless I went to the assistance of my people, they would all come away.

155. I then held a council, and all those present said, "It were well to succour them and go there." With that answer the messengers went away. Then I said to my councillors: "What then is to be done with these fine wheat-fields before us? Are we not to lay them waste? And are the Saracens to keep us from them by force of arms? Let us send message to the knights to beg them to wait a day for us; next day we will be with them; I will tell you how we can in the meantime destroy these corn-fields." "So help us, God!" said all with one voice, "it were well not to go hence before destroying the fields, but how can that be done?" "I will tell you," said I; "I was never before on this frontier, but it seems to me as if these Saracens understood arms and were masters in them. Now there is a certain way of using arms which becomes a custom; and with whatever skill one may attack, if the enemy knows well how to abide it he will surely be beaten. This shall be our way; we carry only lances, and the Saracens have lances and crossbows; yet we are faster than they. I will tell you how to destroy their fields without their being able to help it. Let us put twenty horse in armour in the upper road, and twenty more in the road below; we will give the shields to the esquires; the crossbowmen shall go behind the esquires, and the men who are to cut down the wheat will be just behind the crossbowmen." It was done as I proposed. Next day the crops were destroyed, for the Moors knowing that if they came to fight in their defence, the meeting would be to our advantage and to their loss, dared not stir, and in this manner we wasted the whole of two districts. Next day early we took up quarters at Torres Torres, where we laid the country waste, after which a message was sent to the masters and to the others to say that we were coming.

156. Next day after mass we started for the valley of Segon, where we met the masters of the Temple and of the Hospital, the commanders of Alcaniç and of Montalbá, and all together we went to lay siege to Burriana. The siege of Burriana began in the middle of May, when we made a "fonevol" and a "manganel" to batter its walls with. The Saracens in the place sallied out sometimes to skirmish. When they saw that we had sheep and cattle near their town, they came out—sometimes a hundred footmen and sometimes seven horsemen—which was all the force they had inside. Before the sally, they generally posted crossbowmen to shoot at our men if they should approach the gate. At times they were successful, got some of the cattle, and took it in; at other times our people got possession of theirs. I, therefore, forbade the men to pasture cattle and sheep between the camp and the town. One day, however, seven of our mules and pack-horses (*atzembles*), though I do not remember to what company of the army they belonged, happened to be grazing in front of the town. The Moors of Burriana saw them, and the seven horsemen came out of the gate on the Valencia side to try and get at them. At that time a knight, named Guillen Dasin,²⁴⁹ of the train of Don Blasco de Alagon, was guarding the pasture with his men, in his pourpoint, with his horse and an esquire who had his arms. When he saw the Moors come out he armed himself, put on his iron cap and went against the Moors, who were actually driving away the beasts. Had he been willing to attack the enemy and recover the mules he might easily have

²⁴⁹G. Dasi, or Dafin.

done so, for the army was coming up to help him; but his heart was not stout enough for him to set on the Moors, so they got four of the beasts into the town, and the other two (*sic*) returned to the camp.

157. Now I will name the nobles who were with the army; first there was my uncle Don Fernando, the Bishop of Lerida, En Berenguer de Aril of Tortosa,²⁵⁰ the Master of the Temple, the Master of the Hospital. There were also Don Blasco, de Alagó, and En G. de Cervera, lord that was of Juneda, En. G. de Cardona, the brother of En R. Folch; and there were Don Rodrigo Liçana, Don Pedro Fernandez de Açagra, Lord of Albarracin, Don Exemen de Urrea, Don Blasco Maça, Don Pedro Corneyl, En Berenguer Guillem, father of the present lord and an uncle of mine; the Prior of Santa Christina, the commanders of Alcaniç and Montalbá, the townsmen of Daroca and of Teruel. Those of Zaragoza were on their way, but Burriana was taken before they arrived. There came also to me a master workman of Albanguena, named Nicoloso, who made our “trebuchet” at Mallorca,²⁵¹ and he said: “Miçer, you need not stay long here to take this place if you do not wish; you can have it if you like in a fortnight.” I asked in what way? He said, “Give me timber; there is plenty here of the lote tree,²⁵² and other kinds; and in eight days I will build for you a castle of wood, and I will make it move on wheels up to the place, as you know I made the ‘trebuchets’ move up at Mallorca.” I told him that he spoke well; but that I must first hold council on it with my barons.

158. I, therefore, sent for Don Fernando, the bishops and the barons to come to me, and said: “Here is a master-workman, who was with us at the siege of Mallorca, and made our ‘trebuchet’ there. He says that he can make a castle of wood in eight days, with which we can take Burriana.” I then told them that I had already seen such a thing, and knew for certain that if it were made, the town would soon be taken. They asked, how could that be made? I said, “That I know well; but let us send for the man, and he himself will explain.” While the man was coming, I described to them the way it was made, as I had seen at Mallorca: the wooden castle (said I) will have two supports on each side, which will make four, besides two more in front of each (at the back and in front), to steady the other four.²⁵³ There will be two platforms, one half way up the castle and the other on the top. The upper platform will hold a number of men, one-half crossbowmen, the other half slingers, to fling stones at the Saracens manning the wall. The wall-towers will thus be thrown down, and the Christians then will scale them. The Moors will not be able to defend them owing to the crossbows and stones from the wooden castle. In this manner shall the town be taken.”

159. Then the master workman himself came, and told it to them in the same way I had told it. All said that he must make the castle, and that I should see that he made it and was provided with all he wanted. Workmen were hired in the camp; timber was cut down and brought to the place, and the castle was built. All that time the “fonevol” did not cease throwing big stones into the town. On the other hand, two very powerful “algarradas,” which the besieged had, were shooting at the “fonevol”; but this was well covered with hurdles, and stood lower than the

²⁵⁰An error probably; the edition of 1515 adds, the Master of Tortosa.

²⁵¹Some men from Marseilles were named as making a trebuchet at Mallorca: “Nicoloso” addresses the king with the French word “Miçer!” Can Albanguena, elsewhere written *Dalbenguena*, be meant for Auvergne?

²⁵²*Lladoner*: the nettle or lote tree: *Celtis australis*.

²⁵³The original reads thus: “Lo castell de fust havia ii vases de cada una part, e seran iiii menys de ii altres quen havia en la frontera da cada una part denant e detras, e aquels fermaran los vases.” I cannot say that I have understood the passage and translated it right. The Spanish version is about the same.

“algarradas,” besides, when the “fonevol” began to throw, the “algarradas” left off throwing, from fear of it. When the wooden castle was made, we had full a hundred²⁵⁴ sleepers for ways ready, well greased and prepared. The master-workman fixed two anchors in the ground under cover of a mantlet of hurdles pushed forward, and fixed near the side of the ditch by men with shields and in armour. The points of the anchors were next driven into the ground by mallets; through the ring of each anchor large stakes and irons were driven in by mallets; to these we fastened the ways on which the wooden castle should move. The master told us to have men to draw it next morning, that he would show how it should go.

160. At sunrise I mounted and rode to that part of the camp occupied by the people of Daroca and Teruel, to ask them to send me each two hundred men. They sent them immediately, and I said, “Master, are you ready?” He said he would be ready immediately; he had to fix the ropes for working the ways. I said, “Master, by my advice you would delay moving the castle for two whole days.” He said, “Why, Miçer?” “For this reason,” said I. “The enemy has two ‘algarradas;’ if they work them against the wooden castle, it has no screen, and they are sure to hit it as they would a board.” He said, “Please you let it go; if there were ten ‘algarradas,’ the castle would not care more for them than for a piece of cheese.” Yet I said, “If you like, I could very well in the course of to-day put up defences to it; I could send many carriers to the sea to bring the warps and cables of the ships; thirty of them would be enough; I could easily put beams of timber on the top of the wooden castle, standing out a fathom; I then would tie the ropes to these and let them hang down, and they would most efficiently parry the blows of the ‘algarradas.’” He said, “Miçer, it is unnecessary; this is not a time for such niceties.” I said: “You know best of this matter; I will not oppose you in what you think right.”

161. I then set to work, ordering men to pull at the ropes; I called out “Ayós,” as sailors do, when they launch a ship, or haul her in; and I thus moved the castle. But when it had gone some way in that manner, it stopped, for the supports (wheels) could not move; arrows came down on us, and wounded four of our people at the very beginning. I had on my pourpoint and my “gonyo” at the time; my iron helmet on my head, and a shield with which I covered myself; there were besides full twenty men with shields shielding those who were pulling at the ropes. I kept them so close together that I did not allow the wounded even to leave the ropes, but made them sit down under cover, and then had their wounds looked to secretly. Eight or ten of them were wounded, for I could not cover them so as to prevent arrows passing between the shields the men were holding. When the wooden castle had moved half the distance it had to go, the master-workman said to me: “Send these men away, for they are no good at all, and they do great harm; I will manage so that (?) in the morning all will be set right.²⁵⁵ If you will give me picked soldiers, experienced men, who will obey my orders quietly, matters will be mended.” I told him that he was right, and so left him. No one ever drank so much in a day as I then did; I swallowed two great cups of wine and water before dinner, and then dined.

162. And in that business no one helped or offered to help me. No sooner did I go to my dinner than the “fonevol” left off working, and then the Saracens set to work the best of their

²⁵⁴A word seems wanting in the original; indeed, the whole passage is a very confused explanation of the mechanism employed, and my version may be wrong on some points.

²⁵⁵This expresses what must be the sense: the words of the edition of 1557 are “E yo aguisar los he en tal manya ques guardaran abreada denant sil trobaran”; those of the edition of 1515 are “e yo aguiar lo he en tal manera que esguardaran abreada denant siltrobaran;” both editions, though made upon the same MS., have “abreada,” a word of unknown, or no, meaning at all. The modern one gives “e jo aguisar lo he en tal manera que quan se guardaran al alba denant si lo trobaran,” which is in part more intelligible.

“algarradas” and struck [the castle] ten times before I had done eating. That grieved me so much that had one struck me ten blows in the side he would not have hurt me so much as did each blow aimed at the wooden castle while I was eating my dinner. I sent for the master-workman to come to me as soon as he had done his dinner, and when he came, said to him: “Would it not have been better to do what I told you, and follow my advice? Now it is too late.” I could not at that hour get men to go and draw it back to a place where it might be repaired; so I left it exposed all that night; and the “algarradas” did not cease throwing stones at the castle, hitting it more than a hundred times.

163. When day came I saw very plainly that the castle would be completely destroyed if it remained where it was; so I sent word to the master-workman before dawn to have ropes put into the rings so that we might in the early morning draw it back. All my own retainers were armed, and at morning, before the sun was up, I had the castle drawn back towards the camp, and so far off that the “algarradas” of the enemy could no longer reach it. I and the rest of my people plainly saw that the castle could be of no use, for the blows of the “algarradas” had greatly injured it, and so it was given up; and thereafter we would not employ again that device of a castle. Then I, the bishops and the barons, resolved that our “fonevol” should batter, and that mines should be made, and that there should be no change from that; so the “fonevol” and the “manganel” battered, and we had mines made.

164. And at that time there came on that coast two galleys from Tarragona, one of Bernard of Santa Eugenia, the other of Pedro Martell. I myself had no galley at the time, and I was much afraid that the King of Valencia might fit out two or three of his galleys, and stop the provisions that came from Tarragona and Tortosa; sailors and others well acquainted with sea affairs advised me to keep those two Tarragona galleys, and not on any account let them go. I therefore went to the tent of the Master of the Temple, sent for the owners of the galleys, and entreated them in every wise, since the galleys were on the coast, to keep them where they were, and that I would willingly give what it had cost to fit them out, and yet much more. They said the galleys had cost them a great deal, and begged me to let them go and not lose what they had spent on them. I said to the masters: “En Bernard, you are a man of such repute, and you, En Pedro Martell, a man of such consideration in your own town, that you should regard in every way my honour; why then should you wish me to leave this place and not take it? to say nothing of the shame and hurt that I and all my army would endure. I have fought and destroyed in Aragon and Catalonia all those who rose against me; I have conquered the county of Urgell and the kingdom of Mallorca; this is the first town in that of Valencia I have besieged; and raise the siege I certainly will not. I would have to raise it if I could not get food; therefore I pray you for God’s sake, and as you are my born subjects, not to do me so great harm and so great dishonour.”

165. They said they would consider of it, and while they were deliberating messengers went backwards and forwards between me and them; and it came to this, that it would cost me sixty thousand sols to be paid to them on the other side. I told them that I would willingly give them the sixty thousand sols, but if they asked me to pay them there it could not be done. I could not at that time have paid down one thousand sols unless some one did lend them to me, or unless I put in pawn horses or other things. That was not the time to do that, and therefore I offered to find securities. They replied that for nothing in the world would they accept security unless that of the Masters of the Temple and of the Hospital were given, and I accordingly asked them to become such securities. The Master of the Hospital at once said: “Guarantee me, and I will go into it.” But the Master of the Temple, named R. Patot, said that he was not in the habit of becoming surety for a king or for any one else; so we parted for the time. The Master of the Hospital then said: “I will speak to the Master of the Temple and see what I can do.” And he said to him, “Why

do we not do this? give that security for the King, and let him give us a confirmation of all the charters and privileges we hold from his predecessors, and that will be better for us than if he gave us a hundred thousand sols.” The Master of the Temple said he would consult with his brethren; the brethren advised him to do it, and then he said he would. The Master of the Hospital then came to me and said: “Would you thank the man who got this business done?” “Yes,” said I. “It can be done in this way,” said the Master, “that you make a fresh charter confirming all those privileges we hold from your predecessors, and then we will do what you want.” I said, “Know, Master, that we will not do that; you ask for too great a concession.” “What the Devil,” said the Master, “you are a strange man, to say, Yes, I will, and then not do it.” And I said, “Since you put it in that way I will do it, but it would be well to hear a third person in this business; I am a King, and you are the Master of the Order of the Hospital.” He replied, “If you bring another person into it all will be in vain; you and I are quite enough. If the Master of the Temple and his brethren knew, they would withdraw from the agreement and do nothing.” Then I said, “So be it; but remember if it ever comes elsewhere what agreement I made with you.”²⁵⁶

166. Thus was the matter arranged. I sent for En Bernard de Santa Eugenia and En Pedro Martell, and gave them the security of the said Masters. I kept the galleys in my service, and supplies reached us by sea so fast and continuously, since it was known that I had galleys, that there was plenty of food in the camp. Then my uncle Don Fernando sent me word that he and some of the nobles wished next morning to confer with me; I assented, and next morning he came to my tent. There were besides him Don Blasco de Alagon, Don Exemen de Urrea, Don Rodrigo Liçana, and Don Blasco Maça; they all kept from the bishops and from the nobles of Catalonia what they were going to say. Only Don Exemen Perez of Tarazona and the justicia of Aragon claimed to be present, for they were of my household. They empowered Don Blasco de Alagon to speak for them, and he began thus:—“My lord, Don Fernando and I came here to serve you in this siege you have laid to Burriana; it is a fact that kings often undertake and attempt many things, as you have undertaken to besiege this place; but kings cannot perform as they would wish all they undertake, for if all that you kings wish were done all the lands in the world would be yours. Now we see great difficulty in this enterprise of Burriana; you cannot keep together the men of the towns, as they want to go home and get in their crops, and the nobles besides have no food. We should not like to have to tell you that there is no food in the camp, *and that we shall be obliged* to go away one after another and leave you here almost alone, so that you would come to grief and shame. If it please you, we can so manage matters that you get great gain; and thus another time, when you have made better arrangements, you will be able to take the place, if God be pleased. We will help you now so that Zeit give you so much treasure from what he has that you may amply repay yourself and your barons of the expense you have been at in coming and staying here.”

167. And I asked Don Fernando: “Don Fernando, and you other barons who are here, do you think I should act thus?” Don Fernando said, “On my faith, my lord, it so seems to us, owing to the difficulty under which Don Blasco has said that you and all of us are; we would not that you should come to shame, because certainly men will be obliged to leave you for want of food.” I

²⁵⁶This passage is obscure; all editions agree in giving the concluding paragraph as follows: “mas membreus que si venia en altre loch, queus membras que ago avia feyt ab vos.” The Spanish translators think this means “wherever we may be, you should remember that it was only you that helped us in such a business.” I cannot guess why the Master of the Hospital preferred, and thought the Templars would likewise prefer, an oral bargain between the king and him to a formal document, at that time at least: but so it seems.

immediately answered him, that it did not seem to me as if I should give heed to such a counsel as that; and I said to him this: "We answer you in this wise; the Lord has done to me much good and much grace in my youth, and by His favour everything I have undertaken has been brought to a successful end. In my youth I conquered a kingdom across the sea; I am now in the kingdom of Valencia for the first time; and now that I have laid siege to such a petty place as this, not bigger than a farmyard, you wish me to give it up! Do not believe I will do such a thing. Rather I pray you and command you, by my sovereign rights over you, to help me to take it and give me no such counsel; I would never return to Aragon and Catalonia with such great shame upon me as there would be if I did not take such a town as this."

168. After vespers I went outside the camp, and sent for Don Exemen Perez de Tarazona and for the Justicia of Aragon they were brothers, and the Justicia was the elder. The other was the more prudent, and more to be relied upon for firmness and for everything else, only that the Justicia of Aragon knew more of the laws of that kingdom, for he often, nay, constantly, gave judgments according to them. I said to them, "I sent for you for this reason, because my father and I made you what you are, and for my misfortune and the misfortune of my subjects, I cannot disclose myself to any one in the army as I shall to you two. This morning Don Fernando and the nobles of Aragon called me to a council, and they came before me, and before you, Don Exemen Perez, who heard their words; they said to me many things to discourage me from taking this place of Burriana; they offered me treasure in quantity, which, they said, the King of Valencia, he who is called Zeit, would willingly give if I would raise the siege of Burriana. I believe that they were to have a good share of the treasure, as much perhaps as they offered to me. When I heard those words, I said they were very hard and unfit for me to listen to; I ordered them not to say them, for it was what I would not for anything in the world do, on account of the great affront it would be for me to raise this siege." Nor could I refrain from weeping for the great harm they were trying to bring on me, since they preferred the King of Valencia's treasure to saving my honour and the fidelity they owed me. And when they saw me weep, they likewise began to weep.

169. The Justicia replied, "What then, my lord, will you do with such men as these, who, when you least think of it, will leave you here alone; and what will you do in return for those who will not desert you till death?" And Don Exemen Perez said, "My lord and master, you must reflect that you are surrounded by unloyal and false people; I wish I were dead, confessed, and absolved, rather than see the evil things your men do to you. I have here fifteen mounted retainers with me, and I believe that I can keep more than a hundred of them in the camp who will not desert you; do you consider what to do. Our Lord will help you to take this town of Burriana." The Justicia then added, "Don Exemen Perez, you are my brother, and you speak right well; but the king cannot be fitly accompanied by a hundred nor by two hundred knights, having penetrated so far in the kingdom of Valencia as he has." Thereupon I told them: "Do you wish me to speak the truth? Believe me, I would rather be hit by an arrow, so it was not to death, and justify myself towards my people, than that they might say that I only raised the siege for the wound I had; but I will tell you what I will do. I will send in the morning for the bishops and for the barons who are here of Catalonia, and for Don Bernard Guillem, who will certainly do what I command him, and for the good men of the towns who are here, and will beseech them as earnestly as I know, and am able to do, to stay with me till God give me Burriana, and I believe that they will grant me that. And when the rest shall know that I am aware of the false advice they gave me, and that these nobles offer to stay with me, they will not dare go away; and thus will I take Burriana in despite of the Devil and of the bad men who give me such bad advice."

170. Then I did this. I sent for the barons and told them what my idea was. When they had heard me, the bishops first, and then the barons afterwards, said that the advice was unfit, and that those who gave it counselled ill; since I had come so far they would willingly help me with all their might to take Burriana from the Saracens. They would act in such wise that I should know that nothing was wanting in them to support the burthens of the war, and help us with good will. When that was done, there came to me Don Bernard Guillem, and said, "My lord, you now see that the advice to raise this siege was not a good one to follow; I pray you grant me this, that the militia of the towns make three hundred hurdles, which I with my retainers will place near the moat; do you give orders to your men to succour as if the Moors made a sally, for certainly we should be badly succoured by the others. I will be there night and day, and will not leave the spot until God give us Burriana and I myself can dine within the castle; and besides that, do you order your men to come at night in turns to help and succour me."

171. I answered, that I gave him great thanks, and understood well that he would again do me service. I then sent for Don Exemen Perez de Tarazona, and told him what En Bernard Guillem de Entença had proposed and asked. He said it was the offer of a good vassal, clearly showing that he was my faithful born subject. Don Exemen then prayed me to allow him to make part of the relieving force, and asked as a grace that Don Bernard Guillem himself should lead the undertaking. And when they of the camp, that is those who wished me to raise the siege, knew of this, it grieved them much, as I heard those say who had occasion to talk to them. As soon as Don Bernard Guillem had his hurdles ready, he made his knights and esquires in armour carry them to the place where they were to stand, near the moat. And when he had got ready the mantlets which a master workman made for him, he put them on the hurdles, and did not leave them by day or night; indeed he ate his meals there, and would not go into the camp. Nor did Don Exemen Perez with his men leave him by day or night, but each set of men took up the work by turns, at different hours, so as best to bear the burthen amongst them.

172. One night, between the first sleep and midnight, the Saracens, carrying fire-torches in their hands, sallied out against the mantlet of En Bernard Guillem de Entença, where the hurdles stood. There were fully two hundred of the enemy, and others were on the walls with two-footed crossbows ready to shoot at those who came to protect the hurdles. The cry arose in the camp, "To arms! to arms! the Saracens have made a sally against En Bernard Guillem's hurdles." I heard the noise, and they who lay beside me in my tent asked if they should saddle the horses. I said, "Not by any means, but let each of you go to the spot on foot as fast as he can." Meantime, at once put on my quilted coat (*perpunte*) over my shirt—I did not wait to put on the "gonella"—and with some ten who lay beside me, with shields on our arms, and iron caps on our heads, ran to the hurdles where Don Bernard Guillem was. I asked on my arrival, "What is the matter, Don Bernard Guillem? and how goes it with you?" He said, "My lord, well and fairly; lo! the Moors here tried to set fire to the hurdles, but by the grace of God we have defended them well."

173. Then one of the esquires said to me, "My lord, Don Bernard Guillem is wounded by an arrow in the leg." I said, "Let us get lint from the camp, draw out the arrow and dress the wound." I myself took lint, dipped it in water, and put it to the wound; I then bound it up with a piece of the shirt of an esquire who was there. And when the wound was bound up I asked Don Bernard to go to the camp, for I myself would remain and take care of the hurdles till he was better. And he said, "My lord, I will not do that, I shall get on here as well as, or better than in the camp." No baron but me would assist Don Bernard; I saw that, and said to him, "Courage, Don Bernard! bear it like a man."

174. Meantime I set up some of the hurdles that had been made in the camp. On the left, where Don Bernard Guillem de Entença was stationed, I had two mantlets made, and every night knights and esquires on foot came to watch the “fonevol.” I placed the mantlets there that they might be nearer to Don Bernard Guillem. One Friday, after dinner, my men sent me word that the mantlets had been left without guards, and that I ought to send a company to guard them. I immediately put on a quilted coat (*perpunte*), and an iron cap, and sword in hand, with eight knights equipped in the same fashion, went to the hurdles. I had previously sent there a mattress and a bolster. As I lay thus with my quilted coat (*perpunte*) unlaced, the Saracens saw that the camp was asleep; they knew that my pennon was there, and that I myself must be in my tent. They therefore made a sally, with fully forty men with shields, and up to a hundred and seventy more in all. On the wall and on the barbican the Saracens had crossbows ready, and the others brought fire with them. There were two esquires at two of the hurdles on the look-out against the town, and when they saw the enemy they said, “To arms! to arms! lo! here are the Saracens!” All got up instantly and put on their iron caps; I myself had brought a sword from Monzon called Tizo,²⁵⁷ which was a very good one and lucky to those who handled it. I would rather use it than a lance, and therefore gave mine to an esquire who attended me. When my people in the camp heard the noise, all went out accoutred as I was; the Saracens left two torches fully burning near the hurdles a little in front of us. We drove them before us; they turned their backs and fled till in the direction of the barbican into which we actually drove them. We saw that we could not reach them, for they were quicker than we, for they did not carry either breast-plates (*gonios*), or quilted coats (*perpunte*s); they had only shields and lances, and so they got into the barbican, the other Saracens defending them by throwing stones from the wall. Seeing that we could not do them harm, and that we might receive it ourselves, we returned to the camp protecting ourselves by our shields. And believe me, reader, when I say this to be truth, that twice did I uncover my whole body that the Saracens might wound me, so that, if I had to raise the siege, I could say that it was my wound that made me raise it. But our Lord Jesus Christ knows how things should be and should be done. He makes those to whom He wishes well, act for the best. He took such care of me that I received no wound, and took the town as will be told afterwards.²⁵⁸

175. When the mines had advanced so that they actually opened into the moat, I made my plan. I posted a hundred men in armour between the hurdles and the mines in the night, before daybreak, and ordered that at dawn all in the tents should quietly and noiselessly arm themselves. At the sound of trumpets all were to sally from the mines to assault the town; they were to storm the tower which the “fonevol” had battered down, for it could be done. I sent word the night before to the bishops and barons of what was to be done in the morning, and told them, if they kept the secret, the town would be taken next day. They said, “May it so please God! tell us how?” They were told of the plan I had made, which they thought very good; and they said they would set their companies in order, and that when daybreak came they would all be ready. I said, “God speed you, and take care to do so.” And I myself set about preparing the thing.

176. At morning they sent me word that they were ready, and asked for orders how to act. I told them to stand in readiness, for the trumpets would presently sound; when they heard them sound they were to push on. Daylight was coming on when I ordered the trumpets to sound; the men sallied from the mines and began to ascend the wall. When the Saracens heard the trumpets sound, and saw the camp in motion, they set up cries, and sounded their horns, and before our

²⁵⁷Tizó, probably from *Tizona*, which was the name of a celebrated sword belonging to the Cid.

²⁵⁸The preceding three pages vary considerably from the Spanish translation.

men could get up [the breach], six or seven of them came who had no other arms but maces. One of them drew up his sleeves, took a great stone and threw it at the man who was foremost, but though it struck him, the man was too near to be hurt. However, the man got five sword-wounds in the legs, and therefore could not go on whilst this was going on. The other Saracens on the wall threw stones down so that all the shields were broken, and my men could not get up, do what they would, though on the other hand the Saracens were greatly disheartened by our assault, as well as by the “fonevol” that kept battering the wall, and the mines close to it.

177. At the end of two days the Saracens of Burriana began a parley; they offered to surrender the town at the end of a month if the King of Valencia did not succour them before that time. I told them I would not wait three days, much less one month; if they did not choose to surrender, they must prepare for battle, which they would have to their grief. They then asked me to allow them fifteen days; I said I would not give them fifteen, nor eight, nor five. When they saw how things stood, they said they would agree to this, that I should let them leave the town with what they could carry with them, and they would surrender; they should have five days for doing that, as time to make ready their things to depart. I should besides give them a guard to escort them to Nules, and swear that no one should interrupt them on the road, but allow them to reach that town safe and sound. I said I would consider of it.

178. That was my conclusion; in view of the expenditure that was going on every day, and because Burriana was a better place for the conquest of Valencia than any other, there might be at the storming of the town a great fight between Catalans, Aragonese, and many foreigners who were in the camp;²⁵⁹ again, there was in the town much corn that would serve for those who then guarded the frontier. For all these and many other things and reasons, I thought it well to accept the proposal; and so it was done, the terms being that they should leave within four days with what they could carry on their backs and in their hands. In that way did I have Burriana. And that men may know how many souls there were in it, men, women, and children, there were seven thousand and thirty-two. The siege lasted two months from the day we pitched our tents till the town was taken.

179. When Burriana was taken Don Pedro Cornell said to me that if I gave him the means of staying at it, and providing for the knights who stayed with him and for their wants, he would remain there with a hundred knights till summer. I reckoned with him how much [money] the knights would want, and how much food. It was agreed between us that I should give him sixteen thousand “morabatins,”²⁶⁰ and that he should remain stationed there till summer. I therefore asked him to send for his men at once and garrison the town, and said that I would give the money to whomsoever he pleased. But Don Pedro said he could not do that; it was so great a matter that he must first go [home], muster his vassals, and speak with them, I saw that he was right, and therefore resolved to try what I could do with Don Blasco de Alagon and Don Exemen de Urrea. I begged them to garrison Burriana, with them their respective bands, and keep the town for me for two months, at the end of which Don Pedro Corneyll (*sic*) would have to come back. I did so,

²⁵⁹Entre Catalans e Aragoneses e molta gent que y havia estranya: It is evident that the king apprehended a fight over the plunder.

²⁶⁰Morabetins, from the Arabic {arabic}, *morábitin* (Almoravides). The *morabetin*, in Spanish *maravedi*, was a coin introduced in Spain by the Africans in the eleventh century. The Morabitin, or Almoravidin, were a dynasty of African Moors, who, after the overthrow of the Umeyyah, and of the *Moluk at-tawayif* or chiefs of petty kingdoms, established on the ruins of the Califate, became masters of Mohammedan Spain. The *morabeti* was of gold, or of silver, according to time. Whoever wishes for information on this point will find it in Saez, *Demostracion historica de la moneda de Caslilla en tiempo de Enrique IV.*; Madrid, 1805) 4to.

and begged them most earnestly to stay two months for my sake. They made excuses, and said that they could not do it; but I spoke to them, and prayed it of them so much, telling them how necessary a thing it was that they should grant my request, and not be the cause of my losing so great a boon as God had given me through the default of my vassals, that at last they gave way. When Don Blasco and Don Exemen saw that I wanted it done so much, they said they would do it if I would supply them and their retainers with what they needed. I accepted, and gave them many thanks.

180. Then I divided my army, and borrowed from merchants provisions for two months, and everything else the garrison of Burriana might want. I went myself to Tortosa, and with me En Berenguer, the Bishop of Lerida, and En Guillem de Cervera, who was Lord of Juneda, and became afterwards a monk of Poblet. When I had been a day in my quarters in the castle of Tortosa, both of the above-named came to me; there were with me at the time En Pero Sanz and En Bernard Rabaça, my notary; En Berenguer and En Guillem said that they wished to speak to me in great secrecy and for my good. The Bishop of Lerida said, "En Guillem de Cervera, do you begin as was previously agreed between us." En Guillem said he could not do that; the other was a bishop and of greater dignity, wherefore it was for him to speak first: "It would be (he said) for the great profit of you and of me, so great a thing is it that we can advise the king to do." Then the Bishop began: "My lord, you know well how near I am to you, and En Guillem de Cervera too; and how earnestly we desire your profit and your honour; now we see you have undertaken a great and costly enterprise; it is so great that we perceive you cannot carry it through." I asked them, "What do you mean?" They replied: "This that you have undertaken at Burriana, for you know, and we know as well as you, that you have no treasure and have no great revenue, and have no corn on hand anywhere in the world, but are embarrassed how to live in going about your land; how do you think, then, you can bear so great an outlay at this place, which is only within two days' journey of the country of the Moors? And how do you intend to keep there so many horse and foot who cannot live there, but must fight and die, while you yourself cannot help them?" En Bernard de Cervera said: "My lord, the Bishop has said what I myself would say, for we are of one mind and thought in this; yet this will I say more, that the King of Castile and you together could not keep Burriana against the Saracens."

181. To the words I heard from them I made answer; but their speech grieved me much, for it came from some of the wisest men in the kingdom, and when I hoped they would comfort me did they bring discomfort and pain. Our Lord, however, gave me grace for the success that I was yet to have in other things that came afterwards, so that I took no notice of their words, but disdained them, and spoke thus to them: "I have no doubt that you have spoken right and mean well; you intend to keep me from trouble and outlay; but that trouble and that outlay I will gladly bear, rather than give up a place which God has granted to me. It must not grieve you if for once I will not follow your advice."

182. And so I left them and went to Aragon, to Teruel. One morning, between dawn and sunrise, there came to me a messenger from En Exemen de Urrea at Burriana. I was then lying in bed; they knocked at the door, and one of my porters said that there was a messenger at the door from En Exemen de Urrea, and that he was the bearer of good news. I said, "Let the messenger come in; he is welcome, since he brings good news!" The messenger then came in, and asked me to give him a reward for the good news (*albixeres*) whereof he was bearer. I said that I would in proportion to the goodness of the news he brought; the messenger said he was well content. Then he told me that the Saracens of Peñiscola had sent two of their number to Don Exemen de Urrea, intimating that he might send for me, since they would willingly surrender Peñiscola immediately. "And Don Exemen," added the messenger, "is actually sending you by me the letter

the Saracens wrote to him. Here it is.” I had it read by a Christian who knew Arabic (*algarabia*), and found the words of the letter to be what the messenger said.

183. Thereupon I heard the mass of the Holy Ghost and the office of Saint Mary, in order that God and His Mother might guide me in that business as in every other I might afterwards undertake; I had food cooked while I heard mass; I ate, and immediately after took horse. There were with me at the time seven knights only, with their esquires, besides my own household servants. I did not require a guide, for through occasional boar-hunting in the mountain, I was confident that I could find the road to Peñiscola. The day that I left Teruel I crossed the plain of Muntagut and reached Vilaroja, which belongs to the Order of the Hospital. I rose before daybreak, and passed through a place called Atorella, where there is now a settlement; then I crossed the Trout river,²⁶¹ went through the valley of Ares,²⁶² and the pass of Prunelles, to Salvassoria and Temi.²⁶³ I passed through the plain of Saint Matthew, which was then a waste, and reached the dry river bed at Cervera. At sunset I got before Peñiscola, on the other side of the vineyards, towards the Almarge.

184. And I at once sent word to the Saracens that I was there. They rejoiced greatly; four of them came out of the place, and said to me that they were very glad of my coming and would send me their presents; that it was then late, but next morning they would do according to my will and would surrender. Then at once the sheikhs of the town sent me a hundred loaves, two pitchers of wine, raisins, figs, and ten fowls as a present. At night I made screens against the dew, of carpets and blankets which we had with us, for I forbade cutting down any tree; it would have offended the Saracens if at our first entry we had begun to waste their land. Except bread, wine, and cheese which I had with me, we had no food except what they (the Saracens) brought us. When it was full day, and the sun had risen, I went with the small escort I had there to the strand before the castle, with my quilted coat (*perpunte*) on, my sword girt, and iron cap on head. The Saracens when they saw me come, came out to me, all, men, women, and children in the castle, without any arms; they saluted me, and I said to them that Don Exemen de Urrea had sent a message on their behalf to Teruel, saying that I should come, and they would surrender the castle of Peñiscola, but only to myself. “I saw (said I) and read your letter which Don Exemen de Urrea sent me.” Then they owned that they had sent the letter; they would make a treaty with me and surrender the castle at once, provided I allowed them their religion, and the liberties they were wont to have under their Saracen kings. They added that they were prepared to deliver the town and the castle to me on such terms. I replied that my scribes (*escrizas*) were not there to attest the deed as I had come hurriedly; but if they should write the things they required of me, I would willingly come to an agreement with them, and that whatever agreement was made, that I faithfully promised to keep, and would keep. They then said “My lord, thou wilt have it so, and we will have it so: we will put our trust in thee, and will give up the castle on thy faith.”²⁶⁴ They chose two Saracens, the Alfaqui of the place, and another one, and I gave them all my own escort to go up into the castle; the other Saracens, full two hundred, stayed with me outside. All stood

²⁶¹“Puis passam pel riu de les Troytes,” literally, “and then we crossed the river of the Trout.”

²⁶²Dares or d’Ares.

²⁶³Saluasoria et Athemi in the more modern edition.

²⁶⁴These words are not in Provençal, but in what approaches old Castilian. “Senyor queres lo tu axi e nos lo quere mos e nos fiare mos en tu e donarte hemos (?) lo castello en la tua fe.” The modern edition gives the sentence thus: “Seyor queres lo tu aixi (?) e nos lo quere mos ens fiare mos en tu, e dartemos lo castello en la tua fe.” Did the Saracens of Peñiscola speak Spanish on this occasion?

before me, and I took care that none of them could seize the reins of my horse. When I saw my people enter the castle and shout Aragon! Aragon! I and the Saracens together went up there. Next morning I went off to Tortosa with the Saracens whom the people of Peñiscola had sent to take back the dresses, the stores, and the cattle I was to give them, as contained in the capitulation. The very same day I got to Tortosa all this was done, so that next day I returned to Peñiscola, where the scribes had already arrived, and gave them the papers to draw out the capitulation in due form.

185. Soon after the Master of the Temple and the Master of the Hospital heard of my taking Peñiscola, the former went to Chivert, and the latter to Cervera; for my father and grandfather had granted them that those towns should belong to their Orders. So they insisted with the Saracens of Chivert and Cervera that since I had taken Peñiscola, they should surrender their castles to them. For as they had a charter for it from my father and grandfather, and as Peñiscola was the most renowned place in that district, and yet had surrendered, there would be no shame or disgrace in their surrendering also. Thereupon the Saracens did surrender the said castles, and immediately after I myself had Polpis.

186. I had made an engagement with Don Pedro Cornell to meet him in two months' time at the latest, at Burriana; but one month after I was with him, accompanied by twenty five knights. I entered the town bearing my crane falcons; and there came also with me Don Pedro Ferrandez de Çagra²⁶⁵ with fifteen knights. When I arrived those whom I had left behind rejoiced greatly. During my stay there my people made excursions, and I was constantly hunting; what with wild boars, cranes, and partridges, twenty-five knights lived daily on meat in my household, besides other inferior officers. In this manner I took Castello de Burriana, Borriol, the Caves of Avinromà, Alcalaten, and Villa Hameç.

187. I waited at Burriana for Don Pedro Cornell from Michaelmas to Christmas. I then determined to make a raid on the banks of the Xucar, with perhaps a hundred and thirty knights,²⁶⁶ up to a hundred and fifty almogavars²⁶⁷ and seven hundred footmen. We marched all night from Burriana, and when opposite Almenara,²⁶⁸ as we were going along the sea, the Saracens made five or six signal-fires on the coast below; then others who saw those signals made another great fire on the top of a mound on the ridge of hills (*sierra*) between Murviedro and Puçol, that the people of the country might know that a great raid was going to the banks of the Xucar. And when we had got to the Murviedro hills, the Saracens began to make signals from all the towers in Valencia. We went by the upper pass; and finding that we were discovered went as fast as we could, driving the mules which had been left behind by those of the vanguard. In this way we passed by Paterna and by Manitzes to a ford that a guide knew, where the others had passed. When we were in the plain the day broke, it was a Friday; and we marched on to take up quarters at the town of Espiota; as we passed by Alcocer some two hundred men of the mule train went to the town of Alcocer, and in despite of the Saracens brought away plunder. This vexed me

²⁶⁵Açaxra, he is generally called.

²⁶⁶Cavalers de paratge; I believe this to be the equivalent of *hidalgo*, *i.e.*, hijo de algo, or "caballero de solar conocido."

²⁶⁷Almogavar, from the Arabic {arabic}.

²⁶⁸It is singular enough that the words *menàra* and *minàret*, both derived from {arabic} "a place to light a fire," should have given name to the very town where such fire-signals were lighted. Upwards of fifty different towns and villages, generally situated on mountain elevations, still bear the name of Almenara in Spain.

much, for what we wanted was to fight, not to plunder. I then went to Espiota, and took quarters there, for the mules could go no farther.

188. And when we were housed a Saracen said that if we would wait till sunrise Zaen would give us battle. We sent to him to say that we would wait for him till sunrise, and he might send any other message he had to send. We waited for him in the morning, but seeing he did not come we loaded our mules and overtook our scouting party on the banks of the Xucar, and went on to Albalat. There we stayed four days; but the war was so cautiously managed by the enemy that we could only make sixty Saracens prisoners, and took nothing else on the whole raid. Yet we found a great deal of barley and many fowls, and we loaded all our beasts with as much as they could carry. We then crossed the bridge of Quart, and in three days got back to Burriana.

189. At Burriana there came to me about Christmas Don Pedro Cornell; he had bought what supplies he could, and for the rest he brought money, for there was at Burriana a market for flour, barley, and wine, all which came by sea. I left the place, and Don Pedro Cornell, according to agreement, remained there with his hundred knights, who soon began to make forays against Onda, Nules, Uxó, and Almenara; they did not dare go very far into the Saracens' country, but still made good raids. An esquire of Don Pedro, named Miguel Perez, knew Arabic (*algarabia*) very well; he went sometimes to Almagora to redeem prisoners,²⁶⁹ of which there were many in the place. One day two Saracens said to him that if he would keep their secret and would reward them accordingly, they would make his lord have a great gain. The esquire said he would keep their secret and get his lord to reward them well; but what was the gain? They said, it was Almagora. The esquire then said that what they said was really good; he would go to his lord and speak with him on the subject. He came to Don Pedro Cornell and told him the news; Don Pedro was very glad and content therewith.

190. He settled with his esquire to bring the two Saracens, or one of them, to him, as he would then make a bargain, and reward them accordingly. The esquire went back, and one Saracen came for himself and for the other. Don Pedro Cornell said he would reward them both well, and would even get me to give them a heritage, and besides that, one good horse and garments to each. But they said that it was too great a thing for them to perform and do without some Saracens, their relations and friends. Don Pedro Cornell said, "What do you want me to do for them?" The Saracen said "Give them heritages, and let them remain in the country." Don Pedro Cornell said that he would get me to do that, and gave them a letter to that effect. It was settled between them on what night they should surrender the place; and Don Pedro put himself in ambush with his armoured horse half a mile off. The Saracen came out, and told them to send twenty men, good knights or others, whom he could get into two towers, and that the rest should be ready to come when they raised a shout or made signal by fire.

191. Thither went the twenty esquires in armour, with (*perpuntas*) their quilted coats and their breast-plates (*gonios*), and their iron caps, with swords, but without lances, which they could not well wield within the towers. They went in, and as they entered they were taken into a house where there were thirty Saracens, who seized and bound them as they entered. Three of the esquires who saw what treachery was being done, drew their swords and ascended the staircase of the tower; the Saracens pursued, but could not overtake them. They got on to the top of the tower and defended it well, raising a cry for help. Those in ambush heard them and ran to their help. While the Saracens of Almagora fought with them the knights and people in ambush came up. On their way thither they found a beam the Saracens had cut to make an "algarada," for

²⁶⁹Per traure catius dels sarains.

which, however, it did not answer; they got over the moat of the town, and putting the beam against the tower climbed up by it with the help of leather belts which those on the tower let down, so that the Saracens could not defend the tower. When the Saracens saw that, they got out of the tower and fled; but many were taken, and besides all their goods and stores. So was Almagora taken.

192. Then I went again to Burriana, and after two months' stay there returned to Aragon and Catalonia. Next summer I returned to Burriana, and there were with me my uncle Don Fernando, the Bishop of Lerida, Don Blasco de Alagon, Don Pedro Cornell, Don Exemen de Urrea, Hugh de Muntlaur, Master of the Temple, Hugh de Fuyalquer, Master of the Hospital. It was agreed that a raid should be made against Alcira and Cullera; and I resolved that two "fonevols" we had at Burriana should be got ready, though secretly, so that no one in the world should know of it. So that if the army wanted "fonevols" they would be ready without having to send for them. I accordingly had them put into a barque well and secretly. When we got to Cullera we encamped before the town, between the river Xucar and the castle. All the Saracens from the farms, all cows, asses, and goats, had been previously put into the place; the hill-side below the castle down to the town at the bottom, whence they drew water, swarmed with women, children, and cattle.

193. When my men saw that, most of them said: "Saint Mary! if we had but a 'fonevol'! we could kill them all from the top of that hill, and take the town before three days were over." At vespers the Bishop of Lerida, my uncle Don Fernando, and the barons came to my tent to see me, and have some pastime. They drew me aside, and sending away the servants said: "My lord, what do you think of this place?" I said: "So help me God! I think it could be taken if there were here any one to do it." They replied: "Here are those who will do it, together with you, if only they had the necessary appliances for a siege." I said: "What appliances do you want?" They said: "A 'fonevol' is much needed." I then said to them: "Do you really mean that we could take that town if we only had a 'fonevol'?" They said it could be so done. I replied: "If that be the case I will give you two." They asked: "Where have you got them?" I said 'Lo! in the 'grau,'²⁷⁰ there they are in a barge." They said: "Then you guessed what was likely to happen?" I said: "I did guess, and lucky is he who guesses, not he who has to find out." They said: "Now tell us what you think we should do." I replied: "It is first necessary to consider where the machines should be placed. I will go up the hill with thirty of my mounted followers; and do you give me one knight of yours; and we will look out for a place for the machines." They said: "You have spoken well."

194. In the morning at sunrise, after hearing mass, I sent straightway for Don Pedro Cornell and Don Rodrigo Liçana, and with my thirty men went up the hill from the sea side. When we got to the spot above the castle, where there were once two towers, we left our horses, put on our armour, went down the hill, and got close to the castle within point-blank crossbow shot. There I carefully examined the spot, and found it a convenient one for placing both the "fonevols." I saw that they could be very easily set up, screened, and guarded from the enemy, for there was in the castle no "algarada" or other engine to prevent it. When I had seen and considered the spot, I descended again and sent for the barons. I went to the tent of the Bishop of Lerida, En Bernard, to see him and hold a council there; it was Saint John's day. I told the assembly how the thing could be done, how we could batter the tower from that place; even if a stone missed and did not hit the mark, it would fall on the side of the tower, full of women, children, and cattle. When they saw

²⁷⁰Grau. Many towns on the Mediterranean coast of Spain, like Valencia itself, are a mile or two from the sea, on which is their landing place, "grau" (the Latin "gradus," stairs). The object of such *graus* was more safety, than convenience, for the place itself, from the sudden attacks of corsairs, who must leave their ships to get at it.

the thing could be done, the greater part of them asked what they should do for stones for the engines, as there were none on the banks of the Xucar, and they must be brought from far away. I said, "I know three ways; let us see which is the best for us to get them: one is, to send to Riu Sech, and for that a hundred knights with horses in armour will be needed, besides five hundred footmen. Another way is to send down to the river Bayren, but for that again a considerable force will be required, lest the Saracens should hinder our getting the stones on board ship. The other plan is to have here stone cutters for them to cut the stone out of this hill into shape for 'brigoles' or 'trabuquets.'"

195. Then I asked Don Fernando, "What do you say to that?" And he said, "My lord, I must first deliberate on it; take no offence; I will presently be here again before you." After deliberating Don Fernando came back, and spoke for all the rest, as it had been previously agreed. He said: "My lord, in what you have said to us we see a great difficulty, for reasons we will tell you. It were not well that you undertook anything that you did not achieve; in the whole camp there is not food for more than five days; Valencia is not yours, but of the Saracens; should the sea become boisterous and bad, the ships could not bring supplies, and if they do not, you will have to raise this siege. To bring stones from such a distance, against so great forces of the enemy, is not an easy thing to do; there is not a single stone-cutter in the camp, nor are there in Burriana so many as the engines will require, if they are to be supplied with stones, nor have you in this kingdom of Valencia any other place whence they can be supplied." Perceiving that all were of that mind, I had to yield and agree to what they said.

196. Next day accordingly the siege was raised, and we went before Cilla, where we took up quarters, for there was plenty of wood and good pasture in the neighbourhood. After sleeping the siesta, I sent for the Master of the Hospital, and for Don Pedro Cornell and Don Exemen de Urrea, and spoke in secret with them; there was no one in the room but me and they. I said: "I sent for you because it seems to me as if we are going badly out of this land, with so great an army as we have, and with only twenty or thirty prisoners. The Saracens will hold us in little worth, and so will the Christians; but if you will help me well I will show you how we can do a good deed. I am alone in proposing a thing, and you are all against me, I can do nothing. When I have elided my speech, and Don Fernando has also spoken, do you not wait for the others, but let each of you declare that you approve of what I have said. I will show you that we can in that wise get great gain and honour. These Valencian towers here before us are like eyes to a man; they save Valencia from the hurt that many times it would get. Here is the tower of Muntcada, which is one of the best towers in the whole 'huerta.'²⁷¹ When we passed close to it there remained inside only the men-at-arms, for the women and children had all taken shelter in Valencia. As they did not completely evacuate the farms when we passed by, and we did not then assail them, they will not expect us to attack them on our return; the women and children will have come back; we can take the place in eight days, and besides prisoners we shall take more or less of their chattels and provisions. Now I will tell you how to take the place."

197. "I will go down to Burriana and will get rations for the whole army for eight days, against a hundred prisoners the army shall give me, chosen out of those in the tower [of Muntcada], where I believe a thousand or more can be taken; I will also bring a 'fonevol' from

²⁷¹Orta, from the Latin hortus, huerto, huerta.

Burriana.²⁷² For that I want no more time than a day to go, a day to get the rations, and on the third day I will be back to you with the supplies and the ‘fonevol.’ And so when we leave this place we shall leave with honour to myself and to you; and when we come back another time they will not dare to abide our visit in the towers of Valencia.” Thereupon the Master of the Hospital, En Hugh de Fullalquer, said, “So help me God! our lord the king has a good plan, and we must help him in it; I tell you for my part that I will help him as much as I can.” When Don Pedro Cornell and Don Exemen de Urrea heard this, they said they held it for good and noble counsel; but how would I do it? Certainly I would have Don Fernando and some of the others against it. I said, “With my own power and with the help you will give me, my wish will ultimately prevail.”

198. I accordingly sent for Don Fernando, Don Rodrigo Liçana, the Master of the Temple, En Hugh de Muntlaur, the Bishop of Lerida, and the other barons of Aragon and Catalonia, as well as for some other knights who were there, all good and honourable men, well skilled in arms. And I sent away those who were first with me, that the others might not know that I had spoken with them. They returned, however, when the others had come. I arranged the council round the tent, and said to them, “Barons, we came here to do hurt to the Saracens; and if we now leave the country, so great a company as is here having done nothing but taking sixty prisoners, men and women together, I will not go away with honour to myself or to you. And it seems to me that we could make a good capture, and do great damage to Valencia, and that with God’s aid I ought not to fail in it.” They asked what my plan was. I said, “The tower of Muntcada is a very good one; there are great riches in it; on the road to Valencia there is no better tower except Quart. In case of need we can send to Burriana for anything we want, which they of Valencia cannot stop, for we shall be between them and Burriana. Let us go to-morrow to besiege it in God’s name; we will take it and get there great gain and honour, for that within a league of Valencia we take such a tower as that is. Now, say what you think, the enterprise seems to me a good one.”

199. All told Don Fernando to speak first, and Don Fernando said, “It seems indeed a good thing if it can be done; but there are no supplies with the army, and without supplies we cannot endure or support the labour of taking a tower like that of Muntcada.” I said, “If you had supplies, would you do it?” Don Fernando replied, “Let the barons here and the Masters of the Orders say; for me I will agree to what the others agree to.” The Master of the Hospital asked the Master of the Temple to speak; and the latter said, “My opinion is that the plan is good, if the army has enough provisions; but it seems plain to me that this place, the tower of Muntcada, is too near the towers of Valencia.” I said, “Master, those towers are not here.”²⁷³ He said, “It seems to me you should first take Torres Torres, which is also a good tower, and on the road from Teruel to Valencia.” I said, “Master, Torres Torres is a good tower, but Muntcada is as good as seven Torres Torres, and it will be to, our great honour if we take such a place as this so near Valencia; and it can be easier done, for though Torres Torres is a stronger place, yet this one is more worth for honour and gain.” On this the Master of the Hospital said, “The words the King has said are

²⁷²I presume that the somewhat obscure text means as above, that the king would get the rations against the promise of delivering to him a hundred Saracen slaves to be taken in Muntcada. He has just said the army had not yet taken more than twenty or thirty.

²⁷³I suppose the Master meant that Muntcada tower was dangerously near the great fortress of Valencia; and that the king’s answer meant that it was not near enough to be an obstacle. The new edition gives the king’s answer thus: “Maestre en esta terra no ha turchs,” probably for torres, as in other editions.

good, and since he has this good will to win the place, let it not stay for us, and let us help him to win it." Don Exemen de Urrea said, "My lord, what you have said is good, and if you will give us what will keep us till you take it, it is my advice that you do it." "And I also agree," said Don Pedro Cornell, "with what the Master has replied to you, and with Don Exemen de Urrea." I then asked the Bishop of Lerida what he had to say; and he answered, "You others understand fighting; I came here to serve God and the King; what you do, I will do." I asked Don Rodrigo Liçana to speak; and he said: "My lord, since you desire it, and I see that all, or the greater part, desire it and advise you to it, I will do what you wish; but you already know how the Moors defend their fortresses; it were not fit for you to begin a thing you did not accomplish."

200. Thereupon I replied to Don Rodrigo Liçana and to the others: "I will tell you what I will do; I will take up quarters near the tower, and on the morrow early I will attack the town. The Moors will defend it. In the defence they will no doubt strive to hold the stockades, but our people will break them down, and in this the Moors will suffer heavy loss, for those who defend the stockades will probably be their best men, and those who are good for nothing will remain in the tower and in the 'albacar.'²⁷⁴ I will act in the fight as I find things to go; if you and I see that the place can easily be taken, I myself will go down to Burriana with fifteen knights (it were well that the whole force did not leave the place). On the third day I will be back with the *almaiamech*,²⁷⁵ or battering engine, and rations for eight days." All approved what I said, with this condition, that they should give me a hundred prisoners for my share—it was calculated that more than a thousand would be taken—and that I should have the choice of them, to repay the outlay of taking the tower. They saw that I was reasonable in what I asked, and agreed to it.

201. In the morning after mass the esquires and many of the knights put on their armour, and began the attack on the side next the camp. They soon forced their way into the tower. All the best Moors were at the stockades, and on forcing them seven or eight of the bravest were killed, for my people so pressed on them that they could not get into the tower or the "albacar" (bailey).

When near the "albacar," I saw the Saracens defending themselves badly and without spirit; I called to the masters [of the Orders] and some of the barons, and said, "Seems it to you that I should go to Burriana, and that these people can be taken?" They all assented. I said, "Then order your men to send me all the mules they have, and they shall come back to you loaded with everything you want."

I took with me only twelve knights. When close under Murviedro, I waited for the mules, and displayed my banners, and in a body we passed by the sea-shore, and went along it to Burriana. It was about vespers when I entered Burriana. Before I ate my dinner I bespoke bread, wine, barley, and sheep in sufficient quantity according to the list of rations which the barons, the masters, and the bishop had given me of what each of them required.

202. Next day at sunrise I ordered the rations to be sent in, and I spent all that day receiving them. The following day I left Burriana in battle array, at the head of my knights, in armour, of which there might be twelve or fifteen. I passed near Murviedro, and at vespers got back to the Tower of Muncada with the "fonevol," so that before the stars came out at night the "fonevol" was set up behind a house, and during the night we put the cords to it, so that next day at half tierce,²⁷⁶ the engine began to batter the tower. So great was the crowd of women, children, cows

²⁷⁴Albacar, space between the tower or keep and an outer wall, (bailey?).

²⁷⁵Almaiamech, or rather Almanganec, in Arabic {arabic}, is a war engine for battering walls; both are derived from the Latin *machina*.

²⁷⁶That is about eight o'clock.

and other cattle, in the “albacar” (bailey), that the stones thrown by the “fonevol” killed many of those inside. And as the “fonevol” battered without ceasing by day and night, the stench of the dead cattle was so great that on the fifth day the Moors of Muntcada surrendered the tower and themselves as prisoners. There were taken out one thousand one hundred and forty-seven of them; with much good and fine silken and cotton cloth, pearl, necklaces, gold and silver bracelets, rich silks, and many other valuable stuffs; so that what with the prisoners and the goods, the spoil amounted to a hundred thousand besants.²⁷⁷ I had with me at this time some Saracens, from Valencia; one hundred prisoners were chosen for me as had been agreed; one of the Moors standing by and pointing out to me which to take.

203. It was then determined to demolish the tower, and remain two days there for that purpose, and then leave for Museros, another tower, intending to batter it with the “fonevol,” and storm it, unless immediately surrendered. The tower of Muntcada was accordingly demolished, and the whole force went to Museros and laid siege to the tower there. I began by setting up the “fonevol” against it, having previously ascertained from a Saracen of the place, whom an almogavar of mine had taken prisoner, that Zaen, the King of Valencia, had ordered that sixty men should stay to defend the tower, whilst the women, children, and the rest, should go into Valencia, which they had done. Next day the “fonevol” began to batter the tower, when three or four of its battlements were carried away. At night the Moors put baskets full of earth, that if our stones hit they might not injure the roof of the tower. But as we had arrows in the shape of spindles, which I had caused to be made, lighted tow was put on them, the crossbows shot these arrows at the baskets filled with earth, and set them on fire. On the third day the Saracens saw that their arts were of no avail; they parleyed for a surrender on condition of saving their lives. I agreed to that, for I would rather have them alive than dead.

204. When I had the prisoners, there came to me En Guillem Çaguardia, the uncle of En Guillem Aguiló, then a prisoner of the Moors in Valencia, and he prayed me very humbly that as his nephew was captive, I would give him sixty Saracens from Museros, for he believed that against those sixty he could get En Guillem Aguiló exchanged. With the consent of the barons I assented to this, on condition that if he (En Guillem) could not get his nephew in exchange for them, the army should have the prisoners again. He kissed my hand for the favour, going away very content, and forthwith sent a Christian, who could enter Valencia safely, to see if they would give up En Guillem de Aguiló for those sixty prisoners from Museros. The Valencians agreed to the bargain, and immediately after En Guillem de Aguiló was exchanged for the sixty prisoners from Museros.

205. When that was done I went to Torres Torres to take up quarters. Before I got past Alventosa, they gave me for the hundred Moorish prisoners I had with me no less than seventeen thousand besants. I would have got thirty thousand²⁷⁸ had I kept them a month more; but I had to give them up for such a small sum owing to the merchants pressing me for payment of what I had borrowed from them. I therefore paid that debt and some others, and went to Zaragoza and thence to Huesca.

206. From Huesca I went through my own country towards Sariñena; I had resolved to take a castle the Moors called Enesa, and the Christians the Puig (hill) of the Onion (Cebolla); now it is called Puig de Santa Maria. I was much puzzled as to what baron of my dominions I should leave in it, when the place was taken. I reflected that men rise in praise and in worth only by good

²⁷⁷An old gold coin struck at Byzantium.

²⁷⁸The edition of 1515 and the new one say 30,000; that of 1557, xix milia, probably a misprint.

deeds, and that I ought to entrust so great a place as that was to some one who loved me well, and in whom I trusted. And as Don Bernard Guillem de Entença was my uncle on the mother's side, and he had got much from me, I resolved to entrust the Puig to him rather than to any other man, when God gave it to us. On the road I drew him aside and said to him: "Don Bernard Guillem, you are a man whom I love and trust; you are very near of kin to me, and I would raise you and give you plenty, that you may do me such service that all men may say that I bestowed well what I gave you. Now I have thought of something in which you can serve me well, and for which I shall be bound to do you great good for the service you will have done to me." He returned great thanks to me and kissed my hand for the favour I promised him, and begged me to say what service it was. I said that my intention was to go and besiege the Puig de la Cebolla, which was only two leagues from Valencia, and when I had taken it to put him there, with a hundred knights, as an advanced post. I told him how the castle was on a hill, and was good, and strong, and well built; that I would give him provisions for a year, and all the winter he should keep the outposts there for me. When summer came I would be there, and would lay Valencia waste; and with the damage done by the raids and the waste I should do, I would have it ripened like a fruit fit for eating. And when that was done, the time would come for besieging Valencia, for it was already distressed for food. I would then send for all barons of my kingdoms, and for the men of the towns, to come to help in the siege of Valencia, and with God's help we would take it. "When Valencia is taken (I said), all the kingdom, as far as Xativa, will be ours."

207. When Don Bernard heard that proposal of mine, he spoke not and answered nothing, but stood a long time doubting. And when I saw that he doubted about what I had said to him, I added, "Don Bernard Guillem, do not doubt that the proposal I have made to you is very good; keep it secret between you and me, and let no man in the world know of it till I have prepared the means of executing it. Accept what I offer you and let it content you well, for of two things one cannot fail; if God lets you perform the service I want you to do for Him and for me, I will make you the most honoured man of my kingdom; and if you die in God's service and mine, Paradise cannot fail you, that you have it not. For these two reasons, you should not have any doubts whatever on the matter." On that he came up to me, kissed my hand, and said that he willingly accepted the gift I gave him; that my advice was good, inasmuch as he could not choose amiss either of the two things I had spoken of.

208. Thereon I agreed with him that I would summon my army for next Easter, and I accordingly gave orders for the barons, the militia of the cities and towns, to assemble. At the beginning of Lent men from Valencia came, and told me as certain that the castle of the Puig had been dismantled. When I heard that, it grieved me much; nevertheless I said to those who brought the news that no harm had been done, inasmuch as the case being I would immediately build another castle whenever I went there with the army. I ordered twenty pairs of moulds for "tapia"²⁷⁹ to be made secretly, so that no one in Teruel should know of it. On Easter Sunday I was in Teruel; and before the army came I began my preparations for departure. Don Exemen de Urrea came with me, and my household, Don Pedro Fernandez de Çagra, and the townsmen of Daroca and Teruel; before the others came I departed. As I was leaving Teruel, the army on the road saw the beasts carrying the "tapia" moulds. No one, however, in the army knew my secret, where I was going or where not. Before Xerica, whose fields were laid waste, Don Pedro

²⁷⁹Boxes of board, into which the concrete for blocks of "tapia" was poured. Tapia is an Arabic word, {arabic}, meaning a cob wall (French, *pisé*; Spanish, *apisonado*) one made of unburnt clay mixed with sand or straw. The unburnt bricks are called in Spanish *adoves*, from the Arabic *///*, *tob*, with the article *at-tob*.

Fernandez de Çagra and Don Exemen de Urrea came up to me after dinner, and said: "My lord, what is this? They say you are carrying moulds for 'tapia'; what do you intend doing with them?" I said: "I will not return you an answer before every one; if you send the others away, I will explain, and tell you what it is and what it is not."

209. When the others had gone away, I told them: "I have done this in great secrecy, and I pray and command you to keep it reserved till people see for what purpose it is done. I have had those moulds made because I wish to occupy the Puig²⁸⁰ now called Enesa, and which shall henceforward be called the Puig de Santa Maria. The Moors have pulled down the castle that was once there, and I intend rebuilding it. When it is rebuilt, I will leave there a good and well-fortified outpost, whence we can make war on the Moors until Valencia shall be so weakened for want of supplies that we can besiege and take it." They said: "You should have let us know that; we would have been better prepared with provisions and other things." I knew by their faces as well as by their speech, which they did not sufficiently dissemble, that my plan did not please them much. And I said to them: "Barons, let what I have done and will do content you; for in this manner Valencia will be conquered better than in any other way in the world."

210. Thereon, next day, I went to Torres Torres, and on the third day, after laying the country round waste, I left Torres Torres and passed by Murviedro over a hill there, and then I passed close to its castle, three or four crossbow-shots off. I gave the command of the vanguard to Don Exemen de Urrea; the men on foot were between him and me, and they kept the rearguard. When we were in the plain below and had passed Murviedro, Don Exemen de Urrea sent me a message to say that we were soon to have a battle; that Zaen, with all his power, was at Puçol, and that we ought to rejoice at it. My answer was that I was right glad it was so. Shortly after this the mule drivers and all those who were in the middle of the train took to the hills for fear of the Moors, save a few fighting men, who stood their ground. There were with me at the time the Master of the Hospital and the commanders of the Alcaniç and Castellon, fully two thousand men on foot, besides one hundred horse, those of Burriana, and fully thirty more horsemen in armour. I had moreover sent out some light troops on the road to Valencia, and placed them in ambush, so that should Zaen, the King of Valencia, come out, they might fight him to advantage. But Zaen did not come out. Those were the men Don Exemen saw.

211. When it was found that the armed men in the distance were my own people, it pleased me much. I went to the Puig, and set up my tent in the plain below the town, and took up quarters with great joy and content; those who had been in ambush joining the rest of the army. In a few days there came to me many barons, who had not come before; also the townsmen of Zaragoza, Daroca, and Teruel, who had remained behind. When they came I distributed to them, according to numbers, so many fathoms [of wall to build]; if they could get it done in fifteen days or three weeks they might go on their way; so they made good work, and yet the work lasted not less than two months.

212. All the time I was there several raids (*cavalcades*) were made. So full was the grace of God on us before the Puig, that no one who went out against the Saracens but returned to the camp with some plunder, more or less; no party that went forth was beaten by the enemy, so well did our Lord conduct them. And for the ships that came on the sea I had made a paved road or quay near the hill beside it, on which one could go to the sea when ships came with what the army wanted, and to bring up provisions.

²⁸⁰Puig in Catalanian means a hillock; it is pronounced *puch*.

213. When I had been full three months waiting for Don Bernard Guillem de Entença to take charge of the place (I would not leave till he came), a message arrived by two knights Don Bernard sent, saying that he was at Burriana and wished to see me. When I heard their message I thought that Don Bernard had not brought his proper supplies. I was not in good health at the time, and said to the messengers, "For what does En Bernard Guillem want me at Burriana? I can do more for him here than I could at Burriana." They said, "Any how he begs you to go there." I replied, "I would willingly go, but I have been ill, and it is now July; if I expose myself to the heat, I fear that I shall get worse, so tell him to come to me as well as he can, and risk it. He can speak with me here better than he could there." Thereupon the messengers went away, and Don Bernard came next day. When I knew that he was coming I went out to receive him. There came with him up to a hundred knights. When he met me he kissed my hand and I saluted him. When that was done, I asked how it was with him. He said, "Well." I said, "I see you come well accompanied, but how is it with you for provisions?" When I had said that he replied, "Let us go within, and I will speak with you." As he said that, and did not give me an answer, I thought as we went along that he had not proper supplies with him. He told me that besides the knights then with him full sixty knights more were to come. When I heard that he had brought more knights than I had ordered him to bring, I concluded that all I had given him had been spent in enlisting his force.

214. After hearing that I went in, and he dined. When he had eaten, and I had slept, I sent for him to come to me; he came, and said he wished to speak apart with me, where no one else was. I went aside, and he said to me: "I was unwilling to answer the question you asked me about the supplies, for I have spent on the knights the greatest part of the money you gave me to buy provisions." "How is that?" said I; "have you not brought supplies to Burriana by land or by sea? You must know that I have none here; on the contrary, the barons in my camp themselves are in great distress. That is the reason why I am here waiting; for we have no food, and if you have brought none, I can only tell you that you have played me a sad trick." "I have," said he, "in Tortosa, three hundred 'cafizes' of wheat,²⁸¹ Aragon measure, and fifty hogs, but they are in pledge for fifteen hundred sols."²⁸² I said, "By God! Don Bernard Guillem, a sad trick have you played me and yourself; for, relying on you, I had made no preparations; you cannot now keep your word to me, nor can I to you. Things here are run so close that the knights with me will not stay unless they have food, nor will your own knights either. Know for certain, that if it were not for your near kinship to me, and that I love you so much, I know no man in the world on whom I would not revenge myself for what you done to me. If this place is not held, perchance Valencia is lost for ever; I shall never come again with so good a chance of taking that city." I added, "Go hence, and think of it this night; I will pray Our Lord to give us good counsel, for certainly yours is bad." And he left me.

215. In the morning, after considering what had better be done, I said to Don Bernard: "I see no way but this; I will go to Burriana. Do you give me what mules (*atzembles*) you have with you, and if I find any wheat there (beyond what the inhabitants must have for bare sustenance) I will send you all I can, and that must last you for fifteen days. I will thence go to Tortosa, and from Tortosa I will send you supplies for two months." I accordingly went to Burriana. When I

²⁸¹Cafizes of wheat; a "cafiz," or "cahiz," is about twelve English bushels. The word is Arabic, from {arabic}. Cafizada is the tract of land requiring one cafiz of wheat or other grain as seed. The Aragonese measure, however, seems to have been larger than that of Castile.

²⁸²Sols, about fifteen pounds of our English money.

was about to raise the camp, I found that a swallow had made her nest by the roundel on my tent; so I ordered the men not to take it down till the swallow had taken flight with her young ones, as she had come trusting in my protection.²⁸³ They sent the mules after me, and I loaded them with bread, wine, and barley. I bought in the camp sheep, cows, and goats, which had been brought in by raids, and besides that, bespoke rations of meat for a month. I then left Burriana for Tortosa, and got there in two days. I loaded four vessels (*lenys*) with bread, wine, barley, and salt meat for two months, and sent all that to the people at the Puig.

216. Leaving Tortosa, I went to Tarragona. As I was going into Tarragona, from the road above Vilaseca, I saw many masts in Salou. I stopped there all day, and in the morning, at dawn, I said to Fernando Perez de Pina, who was lying down near me, "Are you asleep?" He said, "No, my Lord." I said: "Something has occurred to me which I think may be done in that matter of the Puig. Yesterday, as I passed Vilaseca, I saw masts in Salou; I believe they are loading provisions for Mallorca. Get up at once; I will give you two porters²⁸⁴ to go with you. Take possession of all, and tell the owners of the vessels to come to me. Before you leave [Salou] take note of all there is in writing, and bring away the rudders and the sails of the vessels, that they may not go away." Perez did what I said. The owners of the ships were brought before me, as well as an inventory of everything there was on board. I found I could give Don Bernard Guillem de Entença at the Puig rations of flour for three months, and of wine for six months, and that there was besides salt meat and barley for two months. I gave deeds to the merchants for what I should pay them. I then went to Lerida, and borrowed of the corporation (?) sixty thousand sols; with that I paid the merchants, and with the money that was over I sent people by sea to make up the rations of bread and wine. After that I went to Huesca.

217. Being at Huesca, there came to me a messenger, a native of Huesca, named Guillem de Sales; he came by order of Don Bernard Guillem de Entença and of all the force I had left at the Puig; on their behalf he saluted me. The man had a wound in the face, and carried on it a bandage and lint. He began by asking me for a reward for good news (*albixires*).²⁸⁵ I said to him that I would willingly give him reward according as his news was. He said: "The news is such as will please and rejoice you. Here are letters from the barons and knights you left at the Puig; they say that Zaen with all the power he could raise from Xativa to Onda, full six hundred knights and forty thousand men on foot, came on such a day very early, at sunrise, to attack the Puig; ten horsemen, who had gone to explore the land towards Valencia, hastily came back to the Puig, and made it known to Don Bernard Guillem de Entença that Zaen was coming with all his army. Thereon they heard mass and took the Sacrament, those who had not taken it; and all in armour went out of the Puig. They said, If we shut ourselves up in the town it will be worse for us; we shall be more easily taken than if we were outside. They, therefore, commended themselves to Our Lord, and determined on having battle.

218. Meantime the Saracens came on, our vanguard being at once attacked by the footmen of the frontier of Xerica, Segorbe, Liria, and Onda; their best warriors were put foremost. Their horsemen with the rest of the foot got in our back, so that at their first onset our people had to give way. But then our men returned again down the hill and recovered the ground they had lost

²⁸³The original text of this pretty story is, "Una horeneteta havia fet un niu prop de la scudella del tendal: e manam que no levassen la tenda tro que ella sen fos anada ab sos fills, pus en nostra fe era venguda."

²⁸⁴"Dos porters," ushers or alguasils (?).

²⁸⁵Albixires (in Spanish "albricias") comes from the Arabic {arabic}, *rei lætæ et optatæ nuntii*. "Pedir albricias de una nueva buena," in Spanish, is to ask a reward for good news.

at first. The Saracens shouted and gained ground again, the Christians drawing off towards the castle hill. At this juncture there came a cry from the castle, from those who were looking on; they called out, Look at them; they will not resist.²⁸⁶ When the knights heard that cry, they said, ‘Shame to you, shame,’ and all cried with one voice, ‘Saint Mary!’ and charged the enemy. Then the rearguard of the Moors began to fly; they were higher up the hill than the others, and fled. Then our vanguard attacked the Saracens and broke them. The battle was thus won, and the pursuit lasted as far as the Riu Seco, between Torgos and Valencia; many died smitten by the sword, others without a wound. Of ours there died Ruiz Xemenez de Luziá, who on the first onset went so far into the enemy’s ranks that no one saw him again till he was found dead. There died also his son, the eldest son of Don Exemen Perez de Terga,²⁸⁷ and another who bore the pennon of Don Bernard Guillem. There were besides several knights wounded, who, however, did not die of their wounds. When the knights and townsmen of Teruel heard that the Christians had won the battle, but had lost many knights, from seventy to eighty of them mounted their horses and rode to the Puig, where they arrived at tierce on the second day.”

219. I was at Huesca when I heard the news, and immediately made it known to the Orders. I myself went to the cathedral, knelt before Jesus of Nazareth, and had a *Te Deum Laudamus* sung by the bishop and canons. I then went to Daroca, and sent a message to all the chivalry of the place to come to me. I also sent for the principal men of the town and the heads of the villages, and had them before me. When in my presence I prayed and commanded them to have a thousand mules within five days at Teruel, without fail. They said that since God had hitherto guided me so well and I wished it, they would do it. I then went to Teruel, and sent round the villages, in the same way, to bid them come to me and have within three days a thousand mules equipped for carrying provisions to the Puig. They said they would do anything I might order, but that eighty horsemen from Teruel were already there at the Puig, where I would find them. I then prayed Fernandez Diez to lend me wheat to load the two thousand mules with. He said he would do it; they would send round the villages and bring the wheat to Sarrio; they would also meet us on the road and not make us wait. I started with my own train of retainers and a hundred horsemen besides, and I reached the Puig, taking up my quarters at the Alcubles. While I was there some one came to me and said that Zaen, King of Valencia, was at Liria with all his power, and would give us battle. I said to the man, “Let him come if he dare, for I shall certainly go on.” I left the Alcubles, and with our loaded mules and armoured horses went up to the Puig with spread banners. Don Berenguer de Entença and the knights of the Orders who were there, came out to receive me, with En Guillem de Aguiló and the others. I rejoiced much with them, and they with me, over the good fortune that had befallen us. All, however, could not come out to receive me, for they had lost no less than eighty-six horses in the last battle.

220. Then I sent a message to En Exemen Perez of Tarragona, who was at that time my lord high steward for all the kingdom of Aragon,²⁸⁸ to send me sixty horses, none to cost more than a hundred “morabitins.” At this time there came to me at the Puig, Don Artal de Alagon²⁸⁹ and Don Pedro Cornell; they came because they had got my message to come to me at the Puig. From them I got word that the horses I had sent for were already at Teruel; and I said to Don Bernard

²⁸⁶“Vansen, Vansen e vencense.

²⁸⁷Elsewhere Triergua.

²⁸⁸Reboster maior; in Spanish, *repostero mayor* was the chief steward in the king’s household.

²⁸⁹Alagó is the true Provençal, or Catalanian, form of this proper name, which in Aragon and Castile is written Alagon. The same remark applies to Corneil, Cornell, &c.

Guillem, Don Bernard de Entença, En Guillem Aguiló and the other knights who were at the Puig, that I would before they left the castle replace all the horses they had lost, for which they gave me great thanks; moreover, that I would give up to them one-fifth of all the spoils, because of their good behaviour in the last battle; for all which they returned me thanks, saying they knew and acknowledged that I had done them great grace. I then sent word to those who were bringing the horses, and who were at Teruel, to bring them to Segorbe; but as they dared not bring the horses except under the escort of horsemen, I myself went to Segorbe with a party. When I had been a day at Segorbe the barons arrived with the horses. I prayed and ordered them to tell the men not to sell their horses too dearly because I had such need of them, but meet us fairly. I would pay for them what they were worth and more. They said they would willingly do it. I then spoke with the knights, carefully examined the horses I wanted, and bought forty-six of them which cost me sixty thousand sols, thus making up eighty-six with those I had sent for to Aragon. The nobles then returned to Aragon, and I remained with fourteen knights.

221. After that I returned to the Puig by way of Murviedro. When I was near Murviedro I proposed passing it by the hill above the castle, not more than two crossbow shots off; some of my people saying that it would be better to go by the valley of Segon. But a knight, whose name I do not remember at the present moment, said that I should pass over the hill, we could very well get past before they made us out. His opinion seemed to me the best; and I said to them: "Do you as I say. I have here no pennon or banner, but I have a horse-cloth, let us make a banner of it, and put ourselves and the horses into a clump. We will carry our lances, shields, and iron caps, and will go on the side between the horses and the castle, so close to the horses that they will think we are in greater number than we really are." So it was done, all who were with me agreeing as to that. And as we passed by, full a thousand Saracens came out on the hill-side of Murviedro, with five horsemen; they shouted and hooted, but dared not come near us. So by God's will I got past [Murviedro] and reached the Puig. The day I got there I divided the eighty-six horses among those who had lost theirs.

222. When that was done I took leave of Don Bernard Guillem de Entença, Don Guillem Aguiló, and the knights; they came out with me as far as Puçol, whence I made them go back, for I would not leave the Puig without a garrison to defend it. I left there also the horses of four or five knights who came with me. I went that day to Burriana: it was a fast day. After dinner En Guillem Aguiló came all dismayed. I said, "How come you, in such dismay?" He said he had come by sea in a vessel. I asked if it was well with those at the Puig. He said, "Yes, right well; but when I left them they said there was stirring news at the place." Don Pedro Cornell was with us. One of my suit then inquired: "What news was there?" En Guillem answered: "At the Puig they said that Zaen would be there to-morrow morning with all his power." I and all with me then said: "How can that be? We left [the Puig] this very morning, when there was not a word of that." En Guillem replied: "I know for truth Zaen knew of your departure the moment you left the Puig, and that all the Saracens as far as Castellon²⁹⁰ and Concentayna have been gathered together. As soon as the Saracens knew that you had left the Puig they would surely come down: so was the talk in the garrison." I and all the others held it for nought; we believed that it could not be, and took no heed of the news.

223. At midnight there was a very hard knocking at the gate of the town: the porter came in to me and said, "Some one knocks very hard at the gate of the town; he is on horseback, and says he wishes to speak with you." I told him to open the gate; then Don Pedro Cornell came to me,

²⁹⁰Castalla, in the new edition.

and I said to him, "Now we shall hear if the news brought by En Guillem de Aguiló be true or not." Don Pedro Cornell said, "By my faith, I fear so!" And without delay Sancho de Mora entered with his purpoint or quilted coat on, with his sword girt, and his head uncovered, for he had taken his iron cap off; and he said: "My lord, God preserve you! By order of Don Bernard Guillem de Entença I come here with a message to Don Pedro Cornell, for he would not send word to you direct." Don Pedro Cornell said, "What is the message?" He said: "He sends me to tell you that Zaen with all his power will be to-morrow morning at the Puig, and that he must give him battle. If Don Bernard saw you in such a plight, he would not fail you, and therefore he prays you to come to his succour." I said, "Battle?" He said, "Yes, my lord, surely they will be there this morning." On that, Don Pedro Cornell said: "My lord, I will tell you what to do; we will accompany you as far as the Grau of Oropesa, after which you have nothing to fear. If you go at once, I shall be the sooner back for the battle; since Don Bernard Guillem has sent for me, I will not fail him." And I said: "By the faith I owe to God and to you, Don Pedro Cornell, it shall not be so; it was I who left my people at that place; they stayed there relying on God and on me, and as I am near them, they shall not fight a second battle without me." Don Pedro replied: "My lord, do not do so; that is not for you to do; you ought to send us to such things as these are, and not go yourself." I said: "Know, Don Pedro Cornell, that for nothing in the world will I not go; leave that talk, for nothing shall persuade me." And to that some one observed, "It well beseems a king not to abandon his vassals so covertly." I heard all what they said about it. Don Alaman de Sadaua was ill in Burriana; he had a good steed; I sent one of my own people to him to ask him to lend it to me, as I had to go back to the Puig for the battle; he gladly lent it to me.

224. I took horse at midnight, and went along the sea shore. I had my chaplain with me, and when I had got past Almenara, I said I would hear mass and would confess, lest I had forgotten any sins, and that all of us should take the Sacrament. I heard mass, and every one who chose took the Sacrament. As I went along, Don Fortuny Lopez de Sadaua (who was a good knight, and had a habit of calling every one he liked "nephew" came up to me, and said: "My lord, what do you think will become of us to-day?" "By my faith," said I, "to-day the flour will be sifted from the bran!" Then he embraced me, and said, "God give us good luck!" When I was near the river at Murviedro, Don Martin Perez (he who was afterwards Justicia of Aragon) came to me, and said: "My lord, you should send two knights to the Puig to know what news there is or is not, and how things are." I said, "Do you go then." He said, "Give me someone to accompany me, and I will go." I gave him a companion, and he went; and before we got within a half a league of the Puig, he came at full speed to me. When I saw him come in that way I thought what I had heard was truth, and said, "What news bring you?" He said, "Good; all is well with them at the Puig, and there is no truth in what they told you.

225. When I got to the Puig I held council with Bernard Guillem de Entença and others about making a foray in the plain of Valencia. I sent out "adalils"²⁹¹ for that purpose, fifty horsemen; and they brought in Saracens, about twelve men and fifty women, who had gone out of the city, some for wood, and others for food. When they came I asked them if the Saracens had made any other gathering to come against the Puig; I asked this of each separately that they might not concert their answer. They said that there was no gathering but of the people of the town. When I heard that, I said to my knights that I intended to go away, for certainly my going was better than my staying there waiting for the enemy. I could do better, I said, sending them help for their

²⁹¹Adalils is the plural of {arabic} (dalil), with the article *ad-dalil*, which Spaniards write *adalid*, having turned the final *l* into *d*. It is, properly speaking, the leader or guide of an army, and comes from {arabic} to guide.

wants from Catalonia and Aragon, than by remaining with them. That day each of our knights before parting gave to a friend [at the Puig], some their iron caps, and some their good lances if they had any, and I myself departed for Burriana. I told Don Bernard Guillem to turn back from the hamlet²⁹² called Puçol, and he at my command turned back. Don Bernard de Entença said that he had to speak with me, and he followed me to near the river of Murviedro. He had with him about twelve knights, all of whom had horses, arms, and quilted coats (*perpunts*), and who turned back with him.

226. When he had left me and I had crossed the river near the beginning of the marsh that goes to the sea, Miguel Garces, who was of Navarre, and has now settled in Sariñena, and the scouts (*troters*) who went before the host called, “To arms!” Don Pedro Cornell, who heard the cry, seized his arms and spurred forward but I bethought myself, took his rein and said “What is it, Don Pedro Cornell? is that the war-call of Xea?²⁹³ Do you wait here, and let us see first what it is before you are carried away by your ardour.” There were then with me Don Exemen de Foces, Don Ferran Perez de Pina, and Don Fortuny Lopez de Çadava.²⁹⁴ Between my own men, those of Don Pedro Cornell, and those of Don Exemen de Foces, we might be fully seventeen. Don Fortuny Lopez had only a helmet (*barbuda*²⁹⁵), which he put on his head, and a scarlet robe (*garnatxa*²⁹⁶), which he put on his body; he rode a mule and carried a lance; we had no horses in armour, only our quilted coats (*perpunts*), our iron caps, and lances. Meantime our scouts (*troters*) drew off towards the sea as if they wished to get shelter in a barque, in which Don Guillem de Aguiló was going off.

227. Presently there came two muleteers,²⁹⁷ and I asked what they carried; they said seven suits of armour for man and horse. I ordered them to unload them at once, and to arm horses with them. A knight, whose name I do not remember, said, “Why do you not send for Don Berenguer de Entença? he could still come in good time.” I ordered Domingo de Fraga, one of my own porters, to go for him and tell him to come as soon as he could, since he saw how it stood with us. While they were arming the horses I put on a “gonio,”²⁹⁸ and iron footpieces on my feet; but while I had put on the right one, one of my people came up running and said, “Lo! here come the Saracens!” I threw the shoe from my leg, saying: “It matters not whether my feet are protected or not, if my body and the horse are armoured.” I rode forward; the enemy were preparing to charge us; I reckoned there might be a hundred and thirty horsemen,²⁹⁹ between Don Artal de Alagon and his company, and the Saracens. I did not know certainly that Don Artal was there.³⁰⁰ Before I armed myself, the Saracens had taken Miquel Garces and an ass which carried the bed of Don

²⁹²*Alqueria*, from {arabic}, which means the hamlet or village.

²⁹³“Que sera, don Pero Cornell? es apelido de Xea aço?”

²⁹⁴Sadaua?

²⁹⁵Forepart of a helmet covering the cheeks, the mouth, and the chin, in Spanish “babera.” In the *Exposicio des vocables obscurs* at the beginning of the edition of 1557, the meaning is given as, “armadura de cap feyta barbelleres.”

²⁹⁶“Guarnaja es armadura de cos llaugera feyta de malla,” or what was then called “coat of mail”; but I suspect that the interpreter mistook “guarnage,” or “guarnatxe,” which might well mean a mail-coat, for “garnatxe,” sorte d’habit long, ou manteau, whence the Spanish *garnacha*; i.e. granacha, a scarlet robe still used by men of law.

²⁹⁷Adzembleres; in Spanish “azemileros,” from *azemila*, {arabic}, “a beast of burden.”

²⁹⁸The original reads “gõjjo” which I believe to be a misprint for *gonio*.

²⁹⁹“E caualcam al cauall, e ells (les?) altres foren dreçats per venir contra nos, e asmauemlos que eren be CXXX a cauall, entre Don Artal Dalago e sa companya e els sarrahins,” says the text.

³⁰⁰“E nos no sabiam que Don Artal Dalago hi fos,” says the text of all the editions.

Exemen de Foces;³⁰¹ that was when I caused Don Pedro Cornell to stop. I had scarcely mounted my horse when a knight, who bore the pennon of Don Pedro Cornell, and carried it behind me, was thus addressed by Don Fortuny Lopez de Sadava,³⁰² “Blockhead that you are! bear the pennon before the king, and not at his back.” And the knight accordingly set the pennon before me. Then Don Ferran Perez de Pina said: “The enemy are many, and you are here with few men; there is nothing to be done for us, but to put ourselves forward and die; there is no help for it unless we go back to the Puig.” I said to him: “Don Ferran Perez, that will I not do, I never fled before the enemy yet, nor know I how to fly; but this I say, that whatever God orders for my lot, that will I share with them.” I took post on a hillock. The Saracens turned about twice to attack me; but Our Lord willed it that they should not come, and I got away from them. A month after this some one said that Don Artal [was with the Saracens], and knew that I was there, and forbade them to attack me. But it was not so, for Miquel Garces who was their prisoner had not been taken to him yet, and I had no ensign or banner by which they could know me except perhaps that of Don Pedro Cornell. Afterwards, when the thing was over, I believe that Miquel Garces really told them that I was there. Meanwhile, the enemy saw Don Bernard de Entença coming, whereupon after crossing the olive grounds and fig gardens of the valley of Segon, they moved slowly to Almenara, and I was really glad when I saw them go away.

228. Just as the Saracens began to retreat, Don Bernard arrived; I asked him to go with me, and he said he would, gladly; and that he would not part from me till such a time at Burriana. I expected the people of La Rapita to come out to me, but they did not. When I got to Burriana, Don Pedro Cornell asked me to eat and rest there all day. I said, “Don Pedro Cornell, those are not the ways of war; through resting man sometimes loses much; by my faith I say I will not eat or drink to-night till I reach Orpesa.” He asked why not? “For this reason,” said I; “should the Saracens during this night have gone on to the Grau of Orpesa; they would overtake us altogether in the morning, and destroy us. But surely they cannot yet have passed there, so as to be between us and that town. Let us, then, go on to Orpesa, and sleep there; thence we can go on in safety. Let Don Berenguer return and march all night; he has nothing to fear from the enemy; they will not attend to his movements as they will to mine.” So he [Don Pedro] took his leave, and went away.³⁰³

229. I then ordered that none of our men should stay in the town, but should follow me; only I, Don Pedro Cornell, and Pere Palasi left the town.³⁰⁴ When I had crossed the river Millars, a cross bowman came at a gallop on horseback with his quilted coat (*perpunt*) on, his iron cap on his head, and his crossbow bent. Pere Palasi said, See what a cavalier comes scampering towards us! I and Don Pedro Cornell were going towards the cavalier, when Pere Palasi said, “I will go myself; it is not for you to do that.” We stopped, and Palasi asked the man why he came galloping in that manner, and with his crossbow bent as if he meant to shoot at us. He said, “My lord, I am a dead man.” I asked him, “How is that?” He said, “Aben Lop had lain in ambush for

³⁰¹Written Fosses.

³⁰²Fortuny Lopis de Sadava. See above, p. 120. The words translated by Blockhead, &c., are thus given in the original: “Baueca dom metets lo peno dauant lo Rey e nol tengate a les epalles.” Baueca is for Babieca, the name of the horse belonging to the Cid. In the *Exposicio des vocables obscurs* the word baueça is thus explained: “En lo capit 65 baueça es dit bastia, e home fat y de poch saber.”

³⁰³“E pres nostre comiat e anasen.”

³⁰⁴“E nos manam que nul hom nostre no romangues en la vila e quens seguissen, e no exim de la vila sino nos don P. Cornell, e P. Palasi.” What town? Oropesa? The passage, on the whole, is anything but clear.

the commander of Orpesa at the hill on this side of the Grau, and has taken the commander prisoner." I said, "Were you with the commander?" He said, "Yes, my lord, I was." "And how is it," said I, "that you dare come here when your lord is a prisoner, and that you come with your crossbow bent, and turned towards me as if you wanted to kill me? You had better shoot at the Saracens than at me. You timid boy,³⁰⁵ how could you thus desert your lord? If you were taken prisoner you would get out of captivity for one hundred and fifty sols, or for two hundred sols at the most; and you have deserted him on the field! By Christ, you never did so bad a deed in all your life; dismount at once from the horse."

He said, "My lord, why am I to dismount?" I said, "For what you have done." I then took from him his horse, his quilted coat (*perpunt*), his iron cap, and his crossbow, and left him only his cassock³⁰⁶ (*gonella*), and he had to come after us on foot.

230. When I had gone a mile (*miller*) from the river, I waited for my train. When it had joined me, we all went in a body to the Grau, and took up quarters there, it being already dark when we got to Orpesa. I had brought from Burriana meat, bread, and wine. We ate, laid down, and slept till morning; in the morning I heard mass; the place belonged then to the Hospital. That day I went to Uldecona, and entered Tortosa the next day. I then sent requisitions round the towns of Aragon and Catalonia, and summoned all men who held feuds from my crown,³⁰⁷ and also the cities, to be at Easter with the army I was to lead against Valencia; and I forthwith went into Aragon. When I was at Zaragoza, Don Fernando, Don Blasco de Alagon, Don Exemen Urrea, Don Rodrigo Liçana, Don Pedro Cornell, Don Garcia Romeu, and Don Pedro Fernandez de Açagra came to me, so as to make a court though I had not summoned them.

231. I had been at Zaragoza eight days or more, when there came a message to me that En Bernard Guillem de Entença was dead; the barons knew it before me, and agreed that they would all come to me and tell me of his demise, that I might deliberate as to what should be done at the Puig of Santa Maria after his death. They came all sorrowful before me, and told Don Fernando to undertake the task of telling me of the death of En Bernard Guillem. When they entered I knew by their faces that they had got bad news. I told the barons to send out of the room all except themselves, Fernan Perez de Pina, and En Bernard Vidal, a learned man who accompanied me; all went away. Then Don Fernando began his discourse for himself and the others, and said, "My lord, all things in the world have been made by Our Lord, and He undoes them when it pleases him. We are bound to you to do everything that can profit you, and every disadvantage that befalls you must grieve us. We have had news of what may do you hurt, unless you quickly take thought about it. News we have that grieve us much, for the sake of a man of much worth, and for your own sake also. We make it known to you that En Bernard Guillem de Entença is dead; we know it for certain, and as he held of you so great a post, and so honourable, on the border, it is needful for you to take counsel as to what you are to do."

232. When I heard Don Fernando's words I was greatly troubled, and I could not answer for a space of time, for the great grief I had felt at the death of En Bernard. But after a time I forced myself to answer them, and said: "The death of En Bernard Guillem grieves me much for many reasons; first because he was my near relative, my uncle on the mother's side, and I had entrusted to him a place so dear to me as the Puig is, for by the help of that, Valencia, I fancy, and its kingdom can be taken. And it grieves me for another reason, even more than all I have said, for

³⁰⁵"Bacallar pudent."

³⁰⁶"Gonelle" in old French is the same as "casaque d'homme."

³⁰⁷"Tenien feu per nos."

that he himself was good and loyal, and that he had much at heart to serve me; and he has died in God's service and my own. Yet I comfort myself with this, that his soul, as every good Christian must believe, will go to a good place. But I am so troubled by this news of his death, that to-night I cannot see or listen for grief; but to-morrow at morning mass, come all of ye to me, and we will take counsel together as to what is to be done respecting the place." All said that I spoke well, and that they would come to me. Next morning I heard mass in my own house, which I would not leave, that people might not know the grief in which I was. All came, and I went with them into a room, and prayed and commanded them to give me counsel and aid as to what to do in so great a business as that. They said they would go apart, and hold their council, and would then come to me, and tell me their opinion. I said that it was not necessary to go away from me, but since they wished it, I was content. They went away to deliberate; at the end of an hour they returned and told Don Blasco de Alagon to say what they had determined on, as he knew more of Valencia than they, for he had been there for two or three years. Don Blasco objected for a time to speaking for them; but all said with one voice that they wished him to speak, and Don Blasco said he would say what they had resolved on when away; and he said:

233. "My lord, this is what we all have seen and thought. We have to consider your interests, and not only your interests, but the outlay you must be at in keeping the Puig. You have not revenue enough for achieving so great an enterprise as you have begun, and so it seems to us you should order your men to back; another time you may have better means prepared for conquering Valencia than now you have; the more you spend on that place, unless you succeed, the worse will it be for you and for us. With all that, you can return hereafter to take Valencia, and with God's will you may take it." After this speech, Don Fernando said: "My lord, remember that when we began this business of the Puig, I said you could not finish it, and that you would make a great outlay in vain; we are all of the opinion of Don Blasco." I then wished to know if the others were of that opinion, and they all agreed that they were.

234. My answer was that I did not expect to have such a counsel from them; what I was doing I did for the service of God, and none of my house had ever done the same. The death of Don Bernard Guillem was the death of one of my barons who had defeated in the field the power of the King of Valencia, and done the greater part of the work towards conquering the kingdom. "If on account of that death I should abandon the Puig, all would say that all the merit of holding the place was his; but I will show to the world that such is my nature and such my courage, that the death of Don Bernard will not be felt, not even if four or five such as he were lost. I tell you that the place will not be abandoned, and that from it I will take Valencia and all the rest of the country afterwards." None of the barons assented except Fernan Perez de Pina and En Bernard Vidal, though they dared not say so before the others, only aside. I ordered all who were there to be with me at Easter; I would go immediately to the Puig and comfort the garrison there, till the army went to their assistance.

235. At the appointed time I went to the Puig with fifty knights of my own household. Don Exemen de Urrea came with me, and I ordered the son of En Bernard Guillem, whose name was En Guillem de Entença, to come with me; he might be between ten and eleven years old at the time. When I got there I found Don Berenguer and En Guillem de Aguiló, and the knights of the Hospital, the Temple, Calatrava and Ucles (Santiago) in discouragement. I found that they had the dead man in his coffin, and were waiting for orders. I comforted them by my words, and told them not to have fear because their lord was dead, for I would be their lord, and would do for

them what he did for their gain and advantage, and more. I then had En Bernard Guillem buried till such time as I could carry him to Escarp,³⁰⁸ where he himself had prepared his tomb.

236. Next morning, after mass, I sent for his son, En Guillem de Entença, who was there with me; I made him a knight, and granted him all the land that his father held of me. And the knights and the others who saw that I behaved well to the son and to those who had remained by the father, gave me great thanks for it, and prayed to Our Lord that He would give me a happy life, for the good example I had made of the son, and my resolution to hold that place. When that business was settled, I made arrangements for supplying the garrison till Easter, when I would again come with the whole of my army; and I made Don Berenguer de Entença governor of the place in the room of En Bernard Guillem. But when the men knew that I wished to depart, they agreed with one another (the greater part of them parleying apart) that as soon as I was gone they would quit the Puig; some, for business they had at home, some, for bad excuses they invented, because they did not wish to stay there. I knew nothing of all that; but there were inside the place two Dominican friars, to confess and to preach, one called Friar Pedro of Lerida, and another whose name I do not recollect, and they came to us. Friar Pedro said that he wished to speak apart with me, and then told me that he wished to depart with me and not remain at the Puig. I said to him: "Why do you wish to go? You are much needed here, for one thing, to preach to them; for another, that if one of them came to die, you could confess him better than a chaplain who knows nothing at all about it." He said: "I will tell you why I wish to go. More than sixty knights, all men of account, of the best in this place, have spoken to me, and have said that they will leave, by day or by night, whenever you go." I said to Friar Pedro: "It is a great marvel to me; they have conquered in battle, I have made good to them the horses they had lost, and have besides engaged to supply them with all they might need for their sustenance; how is it they cannot hold out till Easter, to which there are but two months, when I promise to come here with my army, and then go and besiege Valencia?" Friar Pedro replied: "Know, my lord, that if you depart it will certainly be 'viafors'³⁰⁹ with them; they will also go; and that is why neither I nor my companion can stay here. For my part, I do not choose to die till it is God's will that I should, that is, if I can help it." I said to him, "Go you away; I must reflect all to-night, and to-morrow morning will give you an answer." The friars went away, and left me in great concern, for the whole thing seemed to me as a spider's web. After so much work on my part, to lose it all in an hour! That which I had managed to keep up together by dint of so many prayers, and so many "honors" bestowed on them, thus to be undone! Were I and my knights now to give it up, great damage and great hurt and shame would befall us all!

237. Then I went to bed, without disclosing to any one of those with me what Friar Pedro had said. Though it was then January, and very cold, I turned more than a hundred times from one side of the bed to the other, and I sweated as if in a hot bath. After a great deal of thinking I at last went to sleep, worn out with fatigue and the want of rest. Between midnight and dawn I awoke and returned to my anxious cares, and bethought me of what bad people I had to deal with, for in the world there are no people so arrogant as knights are;³¹⁰ they would not, when I left, feel any shame in stealing away by night or by day and going to Burriana, which is only seven leagues off; and through the country, as I had conquered it, they might go, whether they were many or few, when they pleased, without need of an escort. I reflected how, by the help of God

³⁰⁸A celebrated monastery.

³⁰⁹Catalan expression equivalent to *saue qui peut*, or "all out."

³¹⁰"Car elmon non ha tan sobrer poble com son cauallers."

and of His Mother, I had conquered from Tortosa down to Burriana; and if that place of the Puig were abandoned and lost, so might be the other places I had taken. Wherefore I determined to go in the morning to the Church of Saint Mary, and call a council of the knights and all the others. Before addressing them, I asked Friar Pedro if he wished me to keep secret what he had told me; he said, no, on the contrary, that it would please him that I disclosed it. When all were met in my presence I said: "Barons, I know well and believe that you and all who are in Spain know the great grace that our Lord showed me in my youth in the conquest of Mallorca and the other islands, and of what I have since conquered from Tortosa down to this place. You are here assembled to serve God and me. Now Friar Pedro, of Lerida, spoke last night with me, and said that the greater part of you would go away if I went; and I marvel much at it, for my departure, I intended it to be for your advantage and that of our enterprise; but since I understand that my departure disturbs you" (I said this standing up), "I promise before God and this altar of His Mother, that I will not go beyond Teruel and the river at Tortosa till I have taken Valencia. I will send for the Queen, my wife, and for my daughter (who is now³¹¹ Queen of Castile), to come, that you may understand what a will I have to stay here, and conquer this kingdom for God's service."

238. When they heard those words of mine there was no one in the church who did not take to weeping and I with them. I said: "Now be comforted, for I will not leave this till the city of Valencia be taken." They went away all joyful and content with the good fare of the words I had spoken. That discourse ended, and they having left me, I forthwith sent my messengers to the Queen to come to Tortosa, and to my uncle, Don Fernando, to come with her. I stayed at the Puig after I had said that full fifteen days, and then I departed for Peñiscola, for I would not cross the Ebro, seeing what engagement I had taken.

239. And on the day I had appointed for the Queen to be at Tortosa and Don Fernando with her, they sent to me, at Peñiscola, word that they had arrived. I sent them a message to come to Peñiscola, for I could not cross the Ebro on account of the agreement made with the knights at the Puig; on their arrival I would tell them why I had made such an agreement. But when the Queen, my wife, and Don Fernando left Tortosa to come to me, there came great rain, so great that when they had to cross the Ulldecona river³¹² only one knight could cross, who crossed by his horse swimming; they told him before he crossed to come to me at Peñiscola and tell me that the Queen and Don Fernando had come to Ulldecona, but could not cross the river with the ladies, and that I was to send them word what to do. I told the messenger that I myself would go there. After dinner I took horse; the rain had ceased, but there was such a sea raised by the wind that when the waves struck the Castle of Peñiscola on the side of the Grau of Tortosa they went over to the other side of the castle, and when others came from the Oropesa side, they too went over the castle on to the sand. I left, and found that the water at Ulldecona had gone down, but not much. I passed without swimming, but the water was still high, and went up to the saddle flaps. I found there the Queen and Don Fernando, who had already heard what I had said to the barons and knights at the Puig. I nevertheless spoke apart with the Queen and Don Fernando, and told them

³¹¹The king, or the writer of the *Chronicle*, did not intend the words I have placed in a parenthesis to be understood as uttered in his speech, but rather as explanatory of it. This daughter, Violante or Yolande, being the child of the king's second marriage, February 20th, 1234, cannot have been more than three years old at this time. She married in 1246 the Infante, Don Alfonso, who became King of Castile in 1252, after which date, of course, the author of the *Chronicle* must have written this passage. Her title of Roman Empress is not mentioned; Alfonso X.'s (contested) election as Emperor was in 1256.

³¹²The Cenia.

again what I had done at the Puig because of the knights wishing all to return home if I left at that time and season. I told them how, when I learned the wish of those knights and heard their intention, which was to abandon the place, notwithstanding they had nothing to fear after the battle they had won, since I had replaced the horses they had lost and was leaving them food enough, yet for all that they would not stay in the place, and cared not for the mischief they would bring about. I also told them how I insisted upon their remaining there because the place was of much consequence to me for the strong works I had built there, which would be destroyed through their baseness and weakness if I did not hinder it, and because I feared two things: one, that God would be offended at my undoing what He had done so well; the other, shame before the world, that men could blame me and yet speak truly.³¹³

240. Upon that my uncle Don Fernando answered and said, he wondered much at the plan I had formed, and was about to act on. To take Valencia was a great thing; what I wished, my predecessors had till then been unable to accomplish. "Not to be able" (he said) "to enter your own kingdoms because of your engaging to accomplish so great a thing; not to speak with your lieges nor they with you, would be what could not be; such a great thing could not be done!" The Queen agreed with what Don Fernando said, for on their road to Ulldecona they had agreed they would speak thus.

241. I saw their wish was that I should go to Catalonia and Aragon. But for all they said to me, I did not give up the good design I had formed. I told them that I came from the spot and knew how things were; I had seen and heard them, and they themselves had not. I said: "Don Fernando, I ask you how could I take Valencia if the Puig were abandoned? Before I laid siege to Valencia the Saracens could harvest what they have sown; if I went to Catalonia and Aragon before I had done deliberating with my lieges as to what had to be done, certainly the Moors would have gathered in what they have sown, for Valencia and its country is a very warm land, and such a town as Valencia if conquered must be taken by famine. Let us not give them time to get grain, or supplies, or succour from any quarter; that is the best way I can find to take Valencia. Again, I have given my solemn word that I will not pass the Ebro or Teruel till Valencia be taken; and my agreement I cannot break, with the help of God and of those who hold fiefs from me in Catalonia and honors in Aragon,³¹⁴ and of the archbishops and the bishops who promised me aid when I held Cortes at Monzon. I have sent them word that they are to come here with what they promised, and with God's will I shall have done so much before you arrive that everything will be ready for taking Valencia; for before you come the Saracens cannot have harvested the wheat and barley. You will come in time. I commend you to God. Take care to come; you will find the table served; and no otherwise will I do." He and the Queen, seeing that it could not be otherwise, asked me for some grants for their own advantage, which I readily gave. Don Fernando returned, and I and the Queen next morning crossed the river, whose waters had fallen considerably. In two days I returned to Burriana, left the Queen there, and returned next day to the Puig, where they had great joy at our coming, and seeing that I bore them in mind so well.

³¹³This confused and tautological passage suggests strongly the belief that it was taken down from the dictation of an old man reviving his remembrance of old troubles. The passage stands thus: "Et quant nos entenem la lur volentat, ja fos ço que nols calia tembre res per la batalla que haviem vençuda, e nos quels haviem smenat los caualls que haviem e quels lexauem prou que manjar, per tot aço no volien romanir en aquell lloch," &c.

³¹⁴"Nostres feus en Catalunya e honors en Aragon." Feus (from *feudum*) and *honors* are synonymous; both meaning an estate or piece of land held in fief from a superior on condition of fidelity and certain services, which were in general of a military nature.

242. Zaen, finding that I had set my heart on the business, and made my wife come, was seized with great fear; he sent Ali Albaca [with a message] to Don Fernando Diez, whom he was to make swear on the Gospels not to disclose it. After that, Fernando Diez came, and said he wished to speak to me in secret of something to my great profit. When I heard that, I drew apart to a chamber in the house in which I was lodging. He asked me to keep the thing secret, and then said: "There has, my lord, come to you the greatest fortune and the greatest honour that ever came to a man of your house. Zaen has sent me a message by Ali Albaca, which he made me swear on the Gospels to disclose only to you; he says that he would bind himself to this, to give up to you all the castles from the Guadalviar to Tortosa,³¹⁵ and from Tortosa to Teruel; to build for you an alcazar (fortress-palace) in the Çaidia;³¹⁶ and to pay you besides every year henceforth, in the city of Valencia, ten thousand besants as rent." When I heard that proposal I thought it in my heart a good and fine one, and that it was a great thing that they would give me; yet I said I would think of it. I was a great space of time thinking, as long as one could walk a mile in, and then I said: "Fernando Diez, I know and believe that you would seek my profit and honour; but this thing is one that I will not do, for this reason: I have arrived at a time and a point at which I can take Valencia, and so I intend having the hen and the chickens too." Don Fernando wondered and crossed himself, and said he marvelled much that I should refuse such offers, for (said he) "had this proposal been made in the time of your father or grandfather they would all have jumped at it, and danced at such good fortune as had befallen them." So Ali Albaca went back, and could not do what he had come for.

243. While I was at the Puig there came to me a message from Almenara, from the Alfaqui and from another Saracen who was very powerful there, that if they could only treat with me they would willingly surrender Almenara. I was very glad of that message. I rode forth next day early as if I were going to Burriana, met the two Saracens on the road, and spoke with them. They told me that they would speak first with the Aljama³¹⁷ or assembly of notables, and would then settle with me how I should have the place. I went on to Burriana to see the Queen and to comfort her, and bid her be of good heart now that she had come to the front. Next day I left Burriana, and as I passed by Almenara, sent word to those two to come out to me. They came out as soon as they saw my pennon. I asked them to name a day on which they would surrender Almenara. They said that Almenara was such a castle that for the service they would do me in giving it up, I ought to do great things; inasmuch as when the other Moors in the country heard that I had Almenara, all the rest of the country would surrender to me from Teruel to Tortosa. I said it was for them to look after themselves before they thought of others that several other castles were also parleying with me for surrender, and that if they took the lead of the others they would certainly get better terms from me for the good beginning they had made. They asked me to grant to each of them in heritage, besides what he had already in Almenara, three yokes (*jouvadas*³¹⁸) of arable land; that I should grant to their kinsmen who had given their help thirty yokes of land, and that all those

³¹⁵"Tots los castells quants son de *Guardalamar* tro a Tortosa."

³¹⁶"E queus faria un alquacer a la çaydia."

Alquacer, in Spanish "alcazar," is a fortress-palace, from the Arabic {arabic} with the article. Çaidia is name for the citadel of Valencia, {arabic} or {arabic}.

³¹⁷"E dixerem nos que parlarien ab la Aljama, e que endreçarian com nos poguesem hauer aquell lloch."

³¹⁸*Jouvada*, from the Latin *jugum*, in Spanish *yugada* is the extent of ground which a yoke or pair of oxen can plough in one day.

yokes should be taken from the Alguebes,³¹⁹ that is, from those who had abandoned the place and fled; that I should also give them two hundred cows and a thousand sheep and goats; that I should give dresses of scarlet cloth to forty of their kinsmen, who joined with them in the business; and lastly, that I should give to them both hackneys, so that they might count as knights or horsemen.³²⁰

244. When I heard what the two Saracens said, it pleased me well, and I assented, for an old adage says, “He who does not give what grieves him, does not get what he likes.”³²¹ I asked them to name a day when the thing could be carried out; they said they would speak first privately with their friends, and would so arrange matters that within eight days they would let me know that on which I was to come to Almenara. Thereon I left them, and in front of the very castle of Almenara, in sight of those who had spoken with me, and who were still on the hill-side, I let my falcons loose upon a fine heron³²² there, such as I would like to have; it struck high in air and fairly. I was among the first. to ride up to it, but I would not let the heron be killed by the falcons; I took it from them, and gave them instead a fowl to feed on, sending the heron alive to those with whom I had had the parley, with a message to this effect; that I sent them that as a New Year’s present for Almenara, and that I sent it to them alive, for I knew their usage, and that they would not have it if already dead.³²³ They were greatly pleased, and said in the ear of my messenger, “Tell the king to be of good heart, for what he wishes about Almenara will quickly come to pass.” I rejoiced much at their message, and returned that night to the Puig.

245. On the eighth day they sent to me secretly one of their own who came to the camp by night with a letter from them. The letter said that I might come to Almenara when I pleased, for what they had spoken of to me was concluded; and that I should bring with me part, or the whole, of the cattle I had promised them. I had in my camp seven hundred goats and two hundred cows, taken from the Moors in a raid. I sent for Pedro Ramon, of Tortosa, a clothier, who had a workshop at Burriana, and happened to be in the camp; there were also two or three clothiers from whom I could get the stuff their workmen made; to all of them I sent messages to come. I then went to Almenara, and found all the Saracens, except the “caid” who still held the castle for Zaen; he might have inside with him some twenty men, all strangers to the place. But all the people of the town and of the district who were there, said that they would surrender to me both the towers, and the bailey (*albacar*) of the castle, and would join in the attack, so that I might be sure I should take it.

246. On that I gave them the cattle, according to agreement, and told them that next morning, when they had surrendered the castle, they might go with me to Burriana for the cloth, and I would complete the delivery of everything else. It was already evening. I went up into the bailey, I and about twenty knights of my suite, with their respective esquires. They gave me a house to

319“E que totes aquestes jouvades serien de les *alguebes*, ço son de aquells qui havien desamparat lo llogar qui sen eren fuyts.” Alguebe comes from {arabic}, the absentee, or emigrant. In the Spanish version the word is printed *Alquebers*, which has no meaning at all.

320“E que donassem a aquels dos sengles rocins qui anassen en compte de cauallers.”

321“Qui no dona ço que dol, no ha ço que vol.”

322The text reads “grua,” which is a crane, in Spanish *grulla*; but I should think that the “garza,” or heron, is meant.

323“E enviam los a dir que per strena de Almenara menjassen la grua, e que nos lals enviavem tota viva, per ço car sabiem lur costum, que nola volien morta.” Mohammedans, as is well known, do not eat beef, mutton, or game, unless the jugular vein is cut.

live in, formerly a mosque,³²⁴ but so near the castle that they threw great stones at us; so that no one dared go out for fear of the stones they threw. When it was broad day next morning, I sent out of the house two knights in armour, who went up to the gates of the castle, and asked, “Who commands in that castle?” They replied that the commander would come out and speak with them. Then the two knights said to him, speaking in my name, “The king says he is here, and bids you choose which it you like best of two things; if you please he will give you of his own what you will do well to take. If you do not like that, but will have death rather than life, prepare yourselves, for he certainly will take you all before the hour of tierce.”

247. And thereupon the governor of the castle said he wished to speak with me. I went outside with my shield and my iron cap on, lest they should attempt some treachery, and asked, “What do you want? Here I am.” The governor said he knew me well, but wished to know for certain whether I really was there or not. And since I was there, he wished to tell me that he was in that castle for Zaen, the King of Valencia; he himself was a knight,³²⁵ he knew well he could not defend himself against me, for the people of the town were on my side, and I could easily take the castle with the force I had with me; but he prayed that since he gave up the castle, I should deal well with him and those who were in the place. I said that I would willingly do that on condition that he should make ready to come out, and should come to me, when I would make him a proper gift. He replied, he would do so; and he came and asked me to give to him and to a relation of his, who was there with him, two horses, one to each, for they had eaten theirs that they might defend the castle for their lord; and to give besides dresses, and cloth to the men who were there with him. I gave him at once the two horses, and sent to Burriana to Pere Ramon for cloth for the men of the castle and of the town, asking him to make up the quantity of cloth I had to give them. Thus I got the castle at once.

248. Then I sent to the Queen two knights, bidding her come to me, as Our Lord had done me that great favour of giving me the castle of Almenara, where she would be better lodged than at Burriana and safer. When the messenger arrived, the Queen had her dinner ready, and she said she would go when she had dined; it was during Lent. The knights said, “The King bids you come; he has prepared dinner; you will dine better and more joyfully there than you would do here.” When the Queen heard that, she left her dinner. I waited till she came, and went to meet her to the hillside below the castle; she and I entered the castle and dined with great joy.

249. Next day there came messages from Uxó, from Nules, and from Castro, that if I would treat them well they would surrender those castles. As I had taken Almenara, the Saracens knew well that it was the will of Our Lord that I should have the whole land. I replied, that they would be welcome, and that I would go out to meet them at the tower of Forçada (Forçada?), where the two districts of Almenara and Uxó meet,³²⁶ opposite Almenara, and near the Rapita, which tower was called Mancofa in the time of the Saracens.³²⁷ I would not appoint one day for all the “caids” of those castles to come, for I did not wish that one should know the treaty the other had made. So I told the men of Uxó that I would go to them at tierce next day; and appointed with them of Nules that I would meet them on the third day at the fig-garden in their territory, opposite

³²⁴The word used is Mesquita, from the Arabic {arabic}, a place of worship.

³²⁵“Era cavaller e conexia be que a nos nos poria defendre.”

³²⁶“E nos exirlos hiem a una torra, qui es Forçada (*sic*) hon se parten (?) lo terme Dalmenara e de Vxo.”

³²⁷Perhaps this means, “which is *now* called Forcada, or of the fork—and was called Mancofa in the time of the Moors.”

Mancofa,³²⁸ and so would make my treaty with each of them. From each of the municipalities (*aljamas*³²⁹) there were to come ten elders of the principal and most powerful among them. Whilst I parleyed with one body of men the others were not to be there. I bade the men of Castro to stay with me, and I would there conclude their treaty, which was to give them a quantity of sheep and goats, dresses for five of the elders, besides two horses which I was also to give. I granted to them the free exercise of their law (religion) and their franchises, as they used to have them in the time of the Saracens; and I gave them five of my mounted esquires and ten footmen to protect them.

250. Next day I got five sheep and twenty hens, and went with my bread and my wine to the Forçada tower, as I had promised the men of Uxó. When I had waited there for a time they came. I had kept for them two sheep and five hens living, that they might all dine with me. When they came I said I would have no parley with them till I had dined, and they were merry with meat and wine.³³⁰ I granted them fifteen hundred sheep and goats, sixty cows, dresses for thirty men, and besides three hackneys. I gave them charters that they should keep their law and all their usages as they had them in the time of the Saracens, and that they should pay me my dues as they did to their king. They said, "Who will deliver us all that?" And I said that in three days I would give them what I promised. They were not to delay surrendering the castles, for I pledged myself to keep my word. They had faith in me. I had with me only Don Ladró and nine knights, when the Saracens told me to go to the castles, and that they would surrender them.

251. Then I took with them the road to the town, and there came to meet me at the foot of the hill two hundred men and women with great joy. When they came before me, all put down their lances. Of the nine knights who were with me at the time, I sent eight up to the castle, I myself staying below with Don Ladró, and with all those Saracens. When my pennon was hoisted on the Alcazar, I myself went up there; the Saracens also were going up with me, but I told them, "Wait for me here, I shall presently be with you." I thus took possession of their castle, left there my men, and then descended and went to Burriana, where I got the cattle I had promised them, and the horses, and the cloth, and gave it to them. All this was done next day, without waiting for the third day, and sent to them at once.

252. Thence I went to see the men of Nules, taking dinner with me, and the Saracens eating with me; I would not treat with them till they were well warmed with meat and wine.³³¹ After eating, I had the writings drawn; I granted them a thousand sheep and goats, fifty cows, dresses for twenty men, and two horses. I went up with them to the castle, which they forthwith surrendered. I left there my "caids"³³² and my men, and put guards in each of the castles, as was fit.

253. Before I left Almenara, another castle, called Alfandech, surrendered after one day's summons; so that five good castles were won in no time. I then went to the Puig where my army was, and they all had great and brilliant rejoicings with me for the favour God had shown us.

254. I stopped at the Puig, and kept Lent there; the Queen kept hers at Almenara till Easter, when I went to keep it with her; after that I went with her to the Puig. On the third day after

³²⁸"Al Figueral qui es sobre Mancofa." Elsewhere Mancopha and Mencofa.

³²⁹The word used is *Aljames*, in Spanish *aljamas*, the plural of *aljama*, {arabic}, meeting, congregation.

³³⁰The editions of 1515 and 1557 say more explicitly, "till they had dined and were merry," &c.

³³¹"Que no voliem parlar ab ells tro que fossem escalfats del menjar e del vi." It would appear from these two passages that the Valencian Moors were not so averse to wine as their other Mohammedan brethren in the Peninsula.

³³²*Alcayt*, in Spanish *alcaide*, from the Arabic {arabic}.

Easter there came to me a messenger, a Saracen from Paterna, secretly, with letters from the whole Aljama (congregation), saying they would surrender to me the town and the castle. Others came similarly from Betera and Bufila,³³³ saying they would surrender too. I answered that I would go to them; they should hold themselves in readiness to surrender the castles when I came. I would let them keep their law and all their usages, as in the time of their kings, and would do much for them. And on the fourth day, as I had undertaken, I myself went to Paterna with a hundred knights, and the Queen went also with me; all the Saracens, men and women, came to me out of the place with great joy. I told them that I would treat them well, and would free them from dues for two years, for what they had suffered. They gave God thanks for the good words I had said to them, and opened the gates to me. I entered, and left there the Queen with some ten knights in garrison, and in the same manner I got Betera and Bufila, after which I returned to the Puig.

255. When the Saracens of Valencia learned that I had got Paterna, the anger and grief they had were doubled, at seeing I was coming so close to them. I resolved, at the Puig of Santa Maria, to wait for nothing more, but to proceed at once to the siege of Valencia. I then had with me the Master of the Hospital, En Hugh de Fullalquer; a Commander of the Temple, who had about twenty knights with him; the Commander of Alcaniz;³³⁴ Don Rodrigo Liçana, who had some thirty knights under him; the Commander of Calatrava; En Guillem de Aguiló, who had about fifteen; Don Exemen Perez de Taraçona, and my own train of retainers, who might be from a hundred and thirty to a hundred and forty knights, all men of noble birth. There were also in the camp a hundred and fifty “almogavars,” and well up to a thousand footmen.

256. I resolved that next day early, in the name of the Lord, I would begin to move, and would proceed to the siege of Valencia. I passed the marsh³³⁵ at a crossing I had made, and went along the sea shore to the Grau, and there forded the river.³³⁶ When I had got over it, we and the baggage-mules (*adzembles*) went to some houses half-way between Valencia and the Grau, but nearer the Grau than Valencia; there I set up my banners and tents, and took my station; it might be a mile from that place to Valencia. My intention was to wait there for more troops to come from Aragon and Catalonia, with which to besiege Valencia. That day I saw Saracen horsemen from Valencia, who went about between us and the town, to see if they could steal anything from the army, but I kept my knights from foraging till they knew the country well.

257. Next day before dawn, without my knowledge, the almogavars and the camp-followers went to take the Ruçafa,³³⁷ close to the town, within two cross-bow shots. I had at the time a malady in the eyes, and could not open them till I had washed them with hot water. They came and told me that almogavars and footmen had gone to quarter themselves in the Ruçafa, of which they had actually taken possession. En Hugh de Fullalquer, the Master of the Hospital, came to

³³³Or Bulla.

³³⁴Now Alcaniz. A commandary belonging to the Order of Calatrava.

³³⁵“E passam un pas que nos haviem a la marjal e anam nos en riba mar tro al Grau.” *Marjal*, a fen, a low-lying marshy ground. The word is Arabic, and derived from {arabic} *merj*, a field, pasture ground, &c. No doubt the low grounds round the Albufera or lake, are here meant.

³³⁶E passam alli a Guadalaviar, *i.e.*, the white river, {arabic}, for such is the meaning of that name: the *dh* of *Wad-al-abyadh* having been converted by euphony into *r*.

³³⁷{arabic} *Rusafah* or *Risafah*, “a pavement, a floor paved with bricks,” gave its name to a palace in Cordoba (La Rizafa), as well as to a suburb in Valencia. The Spanish word *arrecfe*, a paved road, comes from the same Arabic root.

me and said: "What do you order us to do? They have all gone to take quarters in the Ruçafa." I said: "Let us put armour on the horses, and with banners spread let us go to succour them, or else all are dead men." And he said: "It shall be done as you command." Then we all armed and proceeded towards the suburb called Ruçafa; had I not made so much haste to come, all those in the place would have been killed or taken prisoners. When we entered it, the Saracens were at the other end of it. I made my people halt in an open space there was.

258. Then there came to me En Ramon Çavellá, Commander of Aliaga, and Lope Xemenez de Luziá, who said they could take full fifty Saracens if they made an onset towards Valencia. I said, I wished to see how that could be done. They took me to the gate looking towards Valencia, and there I saw Zaen posted with all the power of Valencia at a tower half-way between that city and the Ruçafa, in a spot where there were some rocks, and where water had collected from the rains and the watercourses. The tower now belongs to En Ramon Riquer. I reckoned Zaen's force at four hundred horsemen, and of footmen, the greater part of those in Valencia; in my opinion, and in that of those who were round me, the Saracens might be about ten thousand, more or less. And within a stone's throw of us and of them, there were thirty or forty peasants gathering beans in a bean-field. These were the Saracens whom Çavellá and Luziá said they could capture if they made an onset towards Valencia. I told them, "You are wrong; it is the nature of an attack, like the one you propose making, that if unsuccessful they who make it will have to come back as fugitives. I do not know whether those fields are cut and traversed by watercourses³³⁸ for the purpose of irrigation; if they are, the horses in coming back through them will get into the watercourses, some of them may fall inside, and we all may sustain great damage; peradventure also if the enemy drives us back in flight to the Ruçafa, we might also lose that and the other places we have taken." Wherefore I would not take their advice on that; but at night I would send trustworthy men to see if the fields were irrigated or not; if they were not, my men might return to me, and then I would allow a charge to be made. In this manner by the favour of God we did so much on that first day that we were actually quartered within two cross-bow shots of the city of Valencia.

259. We stayed under arms all that first day; so that no one of us even ate his food but sitting on his horse, and that was only bread, wine, and cheese. At vespers the Saracens turned head and went back to the city; then I dismounted, put off my armour, as usual,³³⁹ and took food. After taking my repast, I made fifty knights arm themselves to watch the camp by night. When morning came I heard mass; the Saracens did not come out against us, but let us rest, and so, we stayed for five days.

260. Meantime there continued to come to me barons and knights from Aragon and Catalonia; among the first came the Archbishop of Narbonne with forty knights and six hundred footmen; his name was Pedro Arnyell.³⁴⁰ So our army kept increasing, the Saracens being so straitened that they did not dare come out against us, except to skirmish with some of our men, for which it would not do to put armour on our horses, as the Saracens did not close with us so as to do us harm; nor could we, as it was, get at them.³⁴¹ So when the barons and the city bands

³³⁸The word translated by water-courses is *asequies*, from the Arabic {arabic}, "rivus quo rigatur terra."

³³⁹"E puix nos descavalcam, e sempre desquarnim nos, e menjam."

³⁴⁰The right name of this bishop was Pierre Amyell.

³⁴¹"E els Sarrahins strenguerense en tal manera que no gosaven exir ab nos, seno de torneig que havien ab alguns de la host; e per ço no hi calia guarnir caualls, que ells no se acostaven en tal guisa a nos que nos los poguessem aconseguir." *Torneig* is, properly speaking, a tournament, or "*pas d'armes*" in Old French.

(*ciutats*) came, they beset Valencia all around, and set themselves closer to the city than we had done when we first came to it. The city men who took post the nearest were those of Barcelona.

261. I had next to consider from what side I would push the siege, and a council was held for that purpose; some said that the attack should be against the Boatella, but I spoke against those who said so. Of that opinion were also the Archbishop of Narbonne and the other barons who were with me; but I proved to them by reasoning, that we could not push the siege from any place so good as that where we were then, for three reasons. One was that if we set our battering engines against the gate, it would only be where the Saracens could sally out and set fire to them, as it would be near their gate, which they could not do where we then were. The place is farther from their gate, and they will not dare to sally out as far. So I would set the engines there where we then were. If the Saracens attack the engines the army can easily defend them and overtake the enemy before they got back to the city, for at that time there was no gate between the Boatella and the Xerea.³⁴² Another reason was, that the city came to an angle there on that spot, and when the time came for our mining the barbican³⁴³ and the wall, the operation could not be hindered from the towers, for the wall came where the fight would be, and projected further than the rest of the city wall. The third reason was, that if the army shifted itself to the Boatella, they in the city could by their horse get command of the ways between the sea and the army, and we should be obliged to keep, in order to protect the camp, an additional hundred horse in armour, who would considerably lessen the strength of the army, while it would harass those who had to do this guard. When the barons and knights heard my reasons, they all assented to what I said, and held my plan for the best.

262. Then the Archbishop of Narbonne, who was a bold man, asked me why I was there and did nothing; I said I would act when the army came; *I would then attack the Boatella.*³⁴⁴ Meantime there came a “trebuchet” I had made at Tortosa, and two “fonevols.” I set them up and battered the wall opposite to where the camp was. I had besides mantlets made, which extended beyond the engines, having underneath them men in armour. The mantlets were then pushed up to some cubwalls near the moat; wood and faggots were next thrown into the moat, which was full of water; then three men in armour crossed over to the barbican. When they told me that three men had crossed to the barbican, I would not believe their word, and went to see what they were talking of. I saw that the men had actually lodged themselves and could well maintain their ground, and that they in the town could not reach them with missiles. I sent them two picks, and they worked with them and made three holes in the barbican, into each of which two men could very well go.

263. Meantime I sent one of the “fonevols” to Cilla under two barons, Don Pedro Fernandez de Açagra and Don Exemen de Urrea, who attacked it for eight days, at the end of which time the enemy surrendered. So was Cilla³⁴⁵ taken.

264. While we were mining into the “barbican,” and the Saracens were defending it as well as they could, there came against us, to the Grau of Valencia, twelve galleys and six “atzaures”

³⁴²*Xerea* is again an Arabic word, meaning a way (*via*), and also the law prescribed by God, {arabic}. At Granada there was also a gateway so called, Babo-x-xarea, or “Puerta de la justicia.”

³⁴³In Arabic Bab-el-Khanah, {arabic} the gate of the barbican.

³⁴⁴“E combatriem la boatella.” These words are not rendered in the Spanish version and are clearly at variance with what has just been said.

³⁴⁵Also written Ciyla, one league from Valencia on the road to Xátiva.

(smaller vessels) of the King of Tunis, between first sleep and midnight.³⁴⁶ There came also during the night a message from those who were at the Grau, saying that many galleys had arrived, they thought from twelve to fifteen. Hearing that, I got ready fifty knights, with horses in armour, and about two hundred footmen, and I set them in ambush on a bank at some distance from the sea, between certain ditches (*caues*) and the bank,³⁴⁷ where they could lie well. I exhorted them not to sally out till the enemy were well advanced, and not to give up their ambush till half tierce. The Saracens, however, for fear of the ambush, did not land. When it was night, they put up full a hundred signal lights on the galleys,³⁴⁸ that they in the town might see, and they beat their drums. They in the town set full a thousand lights on the walls, and also beat their drums, to let them know that they held the King of Tunis for their lord. When they had done all that display and noise (*algazara*³⁴⁹), I ordered the army also to prepare torches in every tent, and when it became dark to light them all, and throw them into the moat after setting up a great shout; and it was done as I had ordered, that the Saracens might understand that we cared little for their bravados. In this manner did my men throw five hundred burning torches against the rampart. So the Valencians saw that we cared little for what they had done, and that the galleys could in nowise help them.

265. Meantime I sent by the shore as far as Tortosa and Tarragona, bidding them be on their guard and to come in a body, which they did. I had three galleys at Tarragona and Tortosa, which were immediately armed. After stopping two days [at the Grau] the galleys of the Saracens went to Peñiscola, and landed to attack the place. Fernan Perez de Pina was inside with his men. He went out of the castle which he held for me; he had with him ten horsemen between himself, Don Fernan Ahones, and others who were there. With this small force and the Saracens of the town, who gave him very good aid, Don Fernan beat off the people of the galleys, of whom seventeen were slain. Meanwhile the convoy from Tortosa, which consisted of twenty-one sails, armed seven vessels (*lenys*) in such wise that any one of them could take a galley if it ran alongside of her.³⁵⁰ The three galleys [of Tarragona] and the seven vessels [of Tortosa] came all in a body, so that when the enemy's galleys came to know of this, they took flight and disappeared, not daring to wait for them. In this manner there came to me a great supply of bread, wine, barley, cheese, fruit, and other smaller articles. So large became the camp that there were at last in it no less than a thousand knights and sixty [thousand] footmen. One could find in it every article one wished to sell or buy, as in a city; nay, there were there apothecaries from Montpellier and Lerida, who sold drugs and spices, such as one could find in a great town, for the sick as well as the sound. Meanwhile I made my engines batter the walls every day, and my men had frequent skirmishes with those within, or made attacks. In one of these the Exerea³⁵¹ was taken; more than a hundred horse in armour got into it, and full fifteen Saracens were killed in the defence.

³⁴⁶Vengueren a nos xii. galees e vi. *agzaures* del Rey de Tunis, sus entre prim son et mija nuyt. If *agzaures* is, as I believe, a misprint for *at-zaures*, or *az-zabres*, it may be a corrupt form of {arabic} and with the article {arabic} *Az-zabra*, *i.e.*, a small vessel called by the Castilians *zabra*.

³⁴⁷Another copy has *canes*, which means "reeds."

³⁴⁸"Et quant vench a la nuyt faerem be cent *alimares* de foch en les galees," thus in the original text, but I suspect that *alimares* is a misprint for *almenares*, from {arabic}, locus lucis, signum.

³⁴⁹*Algazara* is an Arabic word {arabic}.

³⁵⁰The text has: "E la caravana de Tortosa que foren xxi vela armaren sept lenys in tal manera que cascun dels lenys prenguera una galea si se acostas al leny."

³⁵¹See above, note 342.

266. At another time the men of the Archbishop of Narbonne were skirmishing with those from inside, but the Archbishop's men did not know the way of the Saracens, who on that occasion, as in others, fled from them to draw them nearer to the town. Perceiving that the enemy's footmen were only retreating with that end, I sent my people a message not to pursue, or else the Saracens would do them great hurt. They would not stay for my message; but I, fearing lest thirty or more of them should be killed by the Moors, went up to them on the same horse I was then riding, and made them draw back. As I was coming with the men, I happened to turn my head towards the town in order to look at the Saracens, who had come out in great force, when a cross-bowman shot at me, and hit me beside the sun-hood,³⁵² and the shot struck me on the head, the bolt lighting near the forehead. It was God's will it did not pass through the head, but the point of the arrow went half through it. In anger I struck the arrow so with my hand that I broke it: the blood came out down my face; I wiped it off with a mantle of "sendal"³⁵³ I had, and went away laughing, that the army might not take alarm. I then went and lay down in a tent, when all my face and eyes swelled, so that I could not see for the swelling of the eye on the wounded side. When the swelling in my face had gone down, I rode round the camp that the army might not be discouraged.

267. Meantime Don Pedro Cornell and Don Exemen de Urrea agreed that they would attack the tower which stands at the gate of the Boatella on the street of Saint Vincent.³⁵⁴ This they concealed from me and from every one else in the camp. But though they made the attack and continued it for a good while, what with the forces that came out to it from the city, and the gallant defence of those within the tower, Don Pedro and Don Exemen could not take it, and had to retreat. I told them they had done ill to begin so great an undertaking without my counsel and that of the barons and knights of the army, and that it was right well that they had fared so ill.

268. Thereon I sent for the bishops and the barons of the army, and we agreed that since the thing had been begun, by all means the tower should be taken the next day; that we would arm two hundred horse and all the cross-bowmen of the army; at sunrise we would go to the attack, resolved to take the tower, and no man should draw back till it was taken. At sunrise I went there myself; there were about ten Saracens prepared to defend the tower. We attacked them, and they defended themselves well and gallantly; no men could defend themselves better than they did. But so great was the effect of the cross-bowmen on our side, and of the stones that were thrown against the tower, that no Moor could put his hand out of cover but it was immediately pierced by an arrow. With all that they would not surrender the tower when summoned. Then one of our men set fire to the tower. When they saw the fire they were cowed, and said they would surrender; but I said we would not give them quarter, as they had not surrendered at first. I burned them all there, took possession of the tower, and returned to the camp.

269. When that was done, great fear fell on those inside the city for the capture of that tower; we made our engines batter the city night and day. After a time, when a month was past, a Saracen trader came out of the city under safe conduct; the men of En Ramon Berenguer de Ager met with him and brought him in on the croup of a horse. He came before me and gave me news of Zaen, the King of Valencia, how he managed his affairs and what his plans were. He told me that three things had greatly discouraged the Valencians; firstly, that the galleys of the King of Tunis had done so little for them; the second, the tower that we had burnt; the third, the great

³⁵²“E un ballester tirans e de part lo capell de batut donans en lo cap ab lo corral (cayrel?) prop del front.”

³⁵³Light silk stuff.

³⁵⁴“La torra que es a la part de la Boatella, en la carrera de Sanct Vicent.”

army they saw, that had invested almost the whole of Valencia; he (the trader) thought they could not hold out long because they had not supplies for so many people as were in Valencia,—men, women, and children—owing to our having surprised them and besieged the town before they got in their harvest. He believed it certain that it would not be long before we got it.

270. When I heard the words the Saracen said to me, they pleased me much, as well as those of the army who happened to know of them. And as this book is such that one should not put small matters into it, I leave telling many things there were, and will only tell the greatest, that the book may not be much lengthened; but the things that were great and good, of them will I speak and treat. As to our camp, I can say of it that I, who have made thirty of them at different times, have never seen one so well supplied as that was with the things that were necessary for man's help; so that sick people got the help of apothecaries as if they were at Barcelona or Lerida.

271. When it got to within fifteen days of Michaelmas, Zaen sent me word that if I would give a safe conduct to a Saracen named Ali Albata,³⁵⁵ a native of Peñiscola, he would send him on to parley with me. I said I was well content that he should come, and that I would give him a safe conduct; when the messenger came, he told me what³⁵⁶ the King of Valencia had sent him for; I said I would consider it, and would give him an answer briefly. I reflected that it was not well to make those words of Ali known to any one in the camp, whether baron, knight, or others; for there were many among them who would not be pleased that Valencia should be taken; they would rather it belonged to the Saracens than to me, as I afterwards had sufficient proof of it. I went to the Queen, and told her what Ali Albaca had said, and what my intention was; if it seemed well to her, I prayed and commanded that no one in the camp but I and she, and the messenger who acted as interpreter, should know of it. She said that what I told her pleased her much; no one had so great an interest in my honour and welfare as herself; if God loved me and gave me honour, she thanked Him for it, for her hopes were all centred in me. She thought it well that no one should know of these proposals, that I might not be hindered in my undertaking; for she had seen me take possession of other places and castles, which my barons would rather see as they were than in my power, and as to which they did many things they should not do; wherefore she well believed that since in small things they acted so, they would with regard to Valencia show their power in such wise that I should not take it. She thought secrecy good beyond everything, till I was sure of taking the city.

272. I then sent for Ali Albaca to come again to me, and told him to state what he had come for. He said that the words Zaen had to say were great and of high import. "They are not for me to speak out, but Zaen, King of Valencia, sends me to say that if you will he will send to you the Rais³⁵⁷ Abulphamalet (or Abulamalet) his nephew, his sister's son, and after himself the most powerful man in Valencia and in the kingdom, and the one in whom he most trusts. If it please God, before you and he part, I trust that this business will come to a good conclusion." To that I replied that he might go back to the town, and that the other one should come as soon as possible.

³⁵⁵Elsewhere (p. 356) Albaca. Neither name, however, seems a patronymic.

³⁵⁶As will appear presently, the messenger said only in general terms, that Zaen would treat for the surrender of the town.

³⁵⁷Rais, in Spanish *arraez*, means a chief, {arabic}, but it is not so easy to guess what is meant by *Abulphamalet* or *Abnalmalet*, as in the edition of 1557. If the former reading be accepted, the prefix *Abu*, {arabic} indicates the father of Alfamalet(?); if *Abn*, the meaning undoubtedly is "the son of Alfamalet." Supposing, however, the last letter to be a c instead of a t, we would have {arabic}, *Abnalmalec* or *Ibn Malec*, a very common name among Arabs and Moors.

I gave him a knight to escort him and take him back to Valencia. And he fixed a time, next morning at sunrise, when he would be with me, and that I should send then a knight to escort him to the camp. I agreed to do so. In the morning I accordingly sent a knight, and he came. When he was before me, he said that Zaen, King of Valencia, saluted me. He told me besides, on that king's behalf, that next morning, between tierce and sunrise, I was to send two nobles to escort Rais Abulphamalet,³⁵⁸ who would forthwith come to me. I ordered Don Nuño and En Berenguer Roger de Ager to get ready in the morning to meet Zaen's nephew, Rais Abulphamalet, and to escort him to me; and they said they would do so.

273. Meantime two Saracen knights challenged any two of our army to joust with them, and they made this known to me; Don Exemen Perez de Tarazona, who was afterwards lord of Arenós, came to me and asked me to give him that joust, together with Miguel Perez de Isór.³⁵⁹ I told him I marvelled much at him, that a man who was such a sinner as he was, and of so bad a life, could ask to joust; I had my fears that we all should be brought to shame through him; But he begged of me so hard that I assented; he jousted with the Saracen, and the Saracen overthrew him. Pere de Clariana then went against the other Saracen, and at coming together in the joust the Saracen turned and fled, and he pursued him, till he got across the Guadalaviar, and among his own people.

274. The next morning early, Rais Abulphamalet came out with the Saracen who had jousted, and with ten other knights, well equipped and dressed, with good horses and good new saddles, fit to go into any court as well-appointed men. I had my house well decked out to receive him. On entering, he would not kiss my hand, but prostrated himself and embraced me;³⁶⁰ then he seated himself before me, and saluted me on behalf of Zaen, King of Valencia. He said that he had not before seen me, and was very glad to do so. I told him I prayed God to prosper him, that I was well pleased that he had come to see me, wherefore I would do him honour and good in such wise that he should have to thank me. He said that was what he expected of me, that I was such that those whom I loved had ever good and honour from me. I invited him to eat; he replied that he thanked me much for the invitation, but that he would not eat out of the city, that it was forbidden him by his lord; but he held himself as honoured by an invitation from me. I told him that if he would not take dinner there, I would send it into the town to him; he said that he thanked me much more, that at another time he would come when he could take it better, but then he would not for he really could not. Then I said that if he wished I would send away every one, and he could speak in secret with me. He said that so he wished, that he would not speak to me, except before one or two only in whom I put much trust.³⁶¹ I made every one go away, except myself, him, and the interpreter. Then I asked him what he wished to say.

275. He said that Zaen marvelled much at me that I was so enraged against him that I had made my armies and my power come against his land and his power; he did not think he had done anything against me that he should receive so much harm from me. To that I answered and told him, that yes, he had; when I went to the conquest of Mallorca he came to make a raid in my land, going as far as Tortosa and Amposta; what harm he could do there against men and cattle he certainly did do; he also attacked Uldecona, which is in my kingdom. And that yet in another

³⁵⁸Written Abnalmalet. See previous note.

³⁵⁹Periç Disor.

³⁶⁰That is, my knees. "E al entrar que feu denant nos hanch nons volch besar la ma mes ques humilia a nos e anans abraçar."

³⁶¹"E sobra aço dexem li que si ell lo volia, quen farien exir tos los de casa, et que parlas ab nos tot de segret."

thing he had wronged me; I sent him once a message that I wished to have peace and truce with him, and as during my childhood I was wont to have and take the fifths of Valencia and Murcia, he was told to make good what they of Valencia had failed to pay; I made demand on him of a hundred thousand besants, sending to him as messenger Don Pedro Sanz, my notary; and he, despising my message and my love, only offered me fifty thousand besants. Whereupon I discharged myself of his love, and decided to come against him, since he had preferred fifty thousand besants to my love.³⁶²

276. Thereupon the Rais answered and said: He did not think that I had been wronged in that, for at the time I was entitled to and received the fifths of Valencia and Murcia, Zait Abuzeit was the king. “Things have since come to what God willed; but for what there now is between us and you, let us take counsel, and let it be well settled for your honour, for such is the wish of Zaen.” I answered that he spoke well, and that men had to consult what to do with things in actual sight, not with things past. He said that he wished to know from me what I intended doing in these affairs that God had ordained should come upon them; wherefore he prayed me much that I should discover what my wish was. If I wished his lord to give me according to the means he had, he would give. But I ought to know well what loss in men the city of Valencia had suffered through our power ever since the building of the fortifications at the Puig, and how I had laid waste the corn lands and the garden of Valencia, and done the same harm in other places of the kingdom, in the best of them. To that I replied that I thought it fit for the Queen to be there, and no one else in the world to know but ourselves and she, and he who spoke those words as an interpreter. He said there were two things he gave me great thanks for; one was that I would bring no one but the Queen into the conference, and that no one besides should be concerned in it; the other, because it pleased him well that I should keep the matter secret. It was better so for them and for me, for he knew well that I had to guard myself against many who did not wish my advantage or profit in that, nor in other things.

277. I accordingly sent for the Queen, and when she came sent away all the women who came with her and all the rest. She alone remained with me, and I repeated to her the words that had passed between Rais Abnalmalet and me, as above written. Then I told him that I would say more to him in the Queen’s presence than apart, and this was the answer: “I have reached this place where I now am encamped; God has conducted me in all undertakings up to this day, and I have succeeded in them all. Since I am here, it is my intent and my resolution, never to depart thence till I get Valencia. If the King wishes to avert the great mischief there will be at the capture of a city like Valencia—so many Saracens, men, women, and children, who may then die or lose all they have—it will please me well.” I said moreover that for their good and profit I would take them under my protection, and would escort them, with all they could carry, for I should grieve at their death. If I could get the place by their willingness to surrender it, I would rather have it so than in the other wise, by force; “For the greater part of the army (said I) wishes for the sack of the town, and I will not have it so for the pity I have of you. This is my wish, and nothing else will I do, unless you positively force me to do you hurt.” He, the Rais, then said: “Those words are very weighty (*cares*); I cannot further confer with you without consulting my lord and uncle, Zaen.” I saw that he spoke reason, and told him to do so in good speed. I invited him again to eat, but he declined.

278. On the third day the Rais sent me word that if I would give him an escort he would come out to me. I sent one of my barons to him, and he came immediately. He told me that the

³⁶²“E sopra ago desexim nos de sa amor, e haguem a venir contra ell.”

King of Valencia, Zaen, had considered the thing, and that he knew that the town could not hold out in the end; wherefore, that he might, not cause the Valencians to bear more ill than they had already borne, he would surrender the city on this condition: that the Saracens, men and women, might take away all their effects; that they should not be searched, nor should any outrage be done to them, and they all, himself and they, should go under escort to Cullera. Since it was the will of God that I should have the city, he had to will it so. On that I said that I would consult the Queen, who alone was in the secret. He said that he thought that was good, and he went out of the house, where I and the Queen remained. I then asked her what she thought of Zaen's proposal. She said, that if it seemed right to me to take those terms, she thought it right also; for Valencia was not a thing that a man who could have, should risk it from one day to another. I felt that she gave me good advice, and I told her that I agreed with what she said, but I would add what I thought a very good reason for accepting Zaen's terms, namely, that should the town be taken by force, it would go hard for me if a wrangling (*baralla*) over it arose in the army. Not for base lucre nor for apparel of any sort³⁶³ ought I to put off what my ancestors and myself had so long desired to take and have; and even yet, if I were wounded or fell ill before the town could be taken by force, the whole thing might still be lost. Wherefore, so good a work as that should not be put to risk, and one should follow it up well, and end it.

279. After saying that, I sent for Rais Abnalmalet,³⁶⁴ and answered him in this wise:—"Rais, you know well that I have made a great outlay in this business of mine; yet notwithstanding the outlay that I and my people have made and the ills we have suffered, for all that it shall not be but that I will agree to your terms, and have you escorted to Cullera, with all the goods that the Saracens, men and women, may be able to carry. For love of the King and of you, who have come here, will I do your people that grace, that they may go safely and securely with their apparel and with what they can carry, and wish to carry."

280. When the Rays heard that, he was content; and he said he gave me great thanks, though their loss was to be great; withal he thanked me much for the grace I did them. After a time, I asked him on what day it should be. He said they needed ten days for clearing out. I told him that he asked too much, that the army was growing weary of the delay, for nothing was being done, and it was not for their good nor for mine. And so after long discourse we agreed that on the fifth day they would surrender the town, and would begin to depart.

When that was settled between me and him, I told the Rays to keep the thing secret till I had spoken with the Archbishop of Narbonne, with the other bishops, and with my barons. He said he would do so, and I told him I would speak with them that very evening, and would give orders that from that time no harm should be done to them.

281. When that was done, and I had eaten, drunk, and taken sleep in a pavilion beside my quarters, I sent for the Archbishop [of Tarragona], for the bishops and the barons, as well as for the Archbishop of Narbonne, who was there in the camp. When all were present, I told them how Our Lord had done me many favours, and among others had now done me one for which I and they ought to give Him great thanks. As they had a good share in that great gain of mine, I would make them know, that they all might rejoice in it, that Valencia was ours at last. When I had said that, Don Nuño, Don Exemen de Urrea, Don Pedro, Fernandez de Açagra, and Don Pedro

³⁶³Roba—alluding, I think, contemptuously to what the Moors would take away as mere garments. The word, however, includes movables of any kind. It is the Italian *roba*, and Spanish *ropa*.

³⁶⁴Here, as in many other places, the name of the Rais is written Abualmalot, and Zaen is for Çæen. See note 357.

Cornell, lost colour, as if some one had stabbed them to the heart; all murmured except the Archbishop and some of the bishops, who said that they thanked Our Lord for giving me that gain, and that grace; not one of the others thanked God for it, or took it well. Then Don Nuño and Don Pedro Fernandez de Açagra asked how it was done, and in what wise? I said that I had engaged for the safety of the King of Valencia and of the Saracens, all those living in the town, men and women, and for escorting them to Cullera and Denia; and that they were to surrender the town on the fifth day from that. All said that since I had done it, they approved of it. And the Archbishop of Narbonne added “This is the work of God, and I do not believe but that of three things³⁶⁵ one must be; either you have done service to God, or you are now serving Him in this, or you will serve Him hereafter.” And En Ramon Berenguer said: “We ought to give God great thanks for the love He has shown you, and since that which you and your ancestors had desired is now fulfilled through you, we ought to be very thankful to Our Lord.”

282. Next day, at vespers, I sent to tell the King and the Rays Abulhamalet that, in order that the Christians might know that Valencia was ours, and might do nothing against it, they should hoist my standard on the tower, which now is that called of the Temple; they said they were content, and I went on the Rambla,³⁶⁶ between the camp and the tower. When I saw my standard upon the tower I dismounted, turned myself towards the east, and wept with my eyes, kissing the ground, for the great mercy that had been done to me.

283. Meantime the Saracens busied themselves about departing within the five days I had agreed on with them, so, that on the third day they were all ready to quit; and I myself, with knights and armed men about me, brought them all out into the fields between Ruçafa and the town. I had, however, to put some of my own men to death because of their attempting to take goods from the Saracens, and carry off some women and children. So it was, that though the people who came out of Valencia were so numerous—there being between men and women well fifty thousand—by the grace of God they did not lose between them one thousand sols, so well did I escort, and have them escorted, as far as Cullera.³⁶⁷

284. When that was done I made my entrance into the city, and on the third day began the division of the houses among the Archbishop of Narbonne, the bishops, and the barons who were with me, as well as the knights who were entitled to heritages in the district. I also gave shares to the corporations of the cities [of Aragon and Catalonia], according to the number of men-at-arms each had there,

285. At the end of three weeks I appointed partitioners to divide the lands of the district of Valencia. I made the yoke, “jouvada,”³⁶⁸ to be of six “cafiçades.”³⁶⁹ I had the whole land of the district measured, and the grants I had made carefully examined. When this was done, I found that, in consequence of the grants made to some of the men, the charters came to more “jouvadas” than the land itself. Many men there were who had asked for a small portion of land,

³⁶⁵“E dix Larquebisbe de Narbona, aço es obra de Deus, e yo no crech que de tres coses en vos no haja la una, o que vos hajats servit a Deus, o que ara lo servits, o quel servirets.”

³⁶⁶Rambla, properly “the sands”; in Arabic, {arabic}; the word is still used in Catalonian towns for the public promenade.

³⁶⁷The Spanish translation, p. 265, gives here the text of the capitulation, which I omit for brevity’s sake.

³⁶⁸“Jouvada,” in Spanish “yugada,” from “yugo” (yoke), is the extent of ground which a pair of oxen can plough in twenty-four hours.

³⁶⁹“Cafizada,” from cahiz, a nominal measure of about six English bushels, that which requires that amount of grain as seed.

and I found afterwards that, through their cheating, it was twice or three times as much as they ought to have had. As there was not enough land for the grants, I took away from those who had too much, and redistributed it, so that all had some, as was fitting.

286. So was the land of Valencia divided; but as the division would have been too great a work for me to do, I had appointed Don Assalit de Gudar and Don Exemen Perez de Tarazona, then my steward (*reboster major*) in the kingdom of Aragon, as partitioners. The bishops and barons then came to me and said: "We marvel much that the lands of so honourable a city as this is, the head of all the kingdom of Valencia, you should give to be divided by Don Assalit and Don Exemen Perez; though they may be good men and learned in law, it is not for them to make such a division. You should rather set to it the most honourable men you have here; and we pray and counsel you that you do so, for all people talk already of it, and say that you do not direct this matter well." I said: "Who do you think then that I should set to do it?" They said: "We hold it good, and counsel you that you set to do it two bishops and two barons; just as the place is honourable, ought you to put honourable men in it." I said: "Tell me, that I may better answer you, who you wish me to appoint, and I will consider it." They said they thought it should be the Bishop of Barcelona, En Berenguer, the Bishop of Huesca, En Vidal de Çavalles, En Pedro Fernandez de Açagra, and En Exemen de Urrea. I said: "I will consider of it, and will give you an answer."

287. Thereupon I sent for Don Assalit de Gudar, and Don Exemen Perez de Tarazona, and said to them: "Hear what the bishops and barons say, that I am to take out of your hands the division of the property (*hereditaments*), and put it into those of the Bishop of Barcelona, the Bishop of Huesca, Pedro Fernandez de Açagra, and Exemen de Urrea." They answered: "We knew that they meant to say that to you, but we pray you not to put us out of it; it would be a shame to us." I said to them: "It seems to me that you are not of good judgment in this matter, for if they take up the business I am sure to overthrow them at their very beginning." They asked in what wise, and I answered: "In this: I will do as they desire. I know that there is not land enough for the grants already made, and they will have to give back their charge because of their not knowing how to do the thing." They again said: "We pray you not to take the charge from us; it would bring shame on us;" and I replied, "Leave it to me; in the end I will save you both from shame and reproach." They said, "It must then be as you wish." I accordingly sent for the bishops and barons to come, that I might give them an answer, as I had promised.

288. When they were before me I said that as to what they had asked I granted it willingly, and was content; those they had named should undertake the division; they gave me great thanks and kissed my hand. Thereupon I waited fifteen days for their division, but they made no division at all. Then Don Assalit de Gudar and Don Exemen Perez de Tarazona came again to me and said: "Now we know what you said to us to be true; men of thin wits do not know how to go about in matters of this sort, or what course to take." I told them that next day I would send for the bishops and would hear if they were making divisions of the land, or what they were about. They came and said: "Know surely that we find great difficulty in this business, and we really believe that we shall have to resign our office into your hands." I said: "How resign? Since you have taken charge, by all means make an end of it;" and they went away. On the third day from that they came back, for people were crying out, and saying that those partitioners were in a bad way; they were not dividing the lands at all, but making them spend their money in vain; they themselves said that they would give it up, for they did not believe that they could bring it to an end. I then said: "Since you wish to give up your charge, I will send for the barons, for the knights, and for the men of the cities, before all of whom you will deliver up your charge to me."

I then held a great council in the palace of King Lope,³⁷⁰ and before that council they formally resigned.

289. When I had received their resignation I sent for Don Exemen Perez de Tarazona, and Don Assalit de Gudar, and said to them: “The shame to you comes to nothing, for the bishops cannot make a division of the lands; it would have been otherwise if it had been made in despite of them, and they had interfered with you.” They said they gave me great thanks, and that I had taken the better way. I said: “Now I will show you how to make division of the lands; you must do it as it was done in Mallorca; in no other wise can it be done. You shall reduce the ‘jouvada’ to six cafiçades; it will still be called a ‘jouvada,’ and yet will not be one.³⁷¹ Let those to whom I gave too much have their land remeasured by this scale.” They said I spoke well; there was no other way, and so would they do. I told them also to ask for the charters of the grants, and that when I had seen them I would give to the owners in proportion to the amount of land. They did so, and thus was the final division of the land made. And that men may know when Valencia was taken, it was taken on Michaelmas Eve, in the year MCCXXXIX. [1239]³⁷²

290. Here begins the Conquest of Murcia, achieved and made by the glorious King En Jacme.

After Valencia was taken came En Ramon Folch de Cardona, with his relatives and followers—full fifty knights; and they said to me that since they had not been at the siege they prayed that it might please me that they should make a raid into the land of Murcia. And it pleased me that they should do so; and they took with them Artal de Alagon, son of Don Blasco, who knew the country well, for he had been there before. The first place they attacked was Villena. When they got near that town they caparisoned their horses, put on such armour as they had there, and spurred on against the Saracens of Villena, at once taking from them full two parts of the town. But after that they could not endure to stay, for the Saracens who were there defended themselves well, and my people had to leave the town, although they brought away much stuff and plunder they found in the houses.

291. Thence they went to Saix, and made such a charge that they took possession of the greater part of the town. But the Saracens threw from the roof of a house a great stone, and hit Don Artal on his iron cap, so that it threw him from his horse, and of that stroke he had to die. When they saw Don Artal was dead, they carried him out, and they had to withdraw thence for the hurt they had received, and instead of advancing they resolved, since Don Artal de Alagon was dead, to return home. And in eight days they all got back, and the raid did no good, save that they got many heads of cattle for the army to eat, and En Ramon Folch came back having accomplished that.

292. And I took account of the barons who had been with me at the siege of Valencia, and of the knights to whom I had given “hereditaments,” and I found that besides the barons and bishops

³⁷⁰A former king of Valencia, named {arabic}, Lobb, called Aben Lope by the Spaniards.

³⁷¹The “jouvada” was really of twelve “cafiçades”; so that the king gave only one-half of what had been promised under that denomination. Beuter, *Cron.* II. c. 41.

³⁷²According to all accounts Valencia surrendered to King James on the eve of St. Michael, which corresponds exactly with the date given in the draft of the capitulation at Rusafa, but then the year was 1238 instead of 1239, as the *Chronicle* says, which error is easily explained by the fact that the king counted no doubt from the Incarnation, which, logically speaking, preceded the Nativity by nine months, instead of following it three months after. The writer of the *Chronicle*, whoever he was, must have thought that the month of September of the year 1238, or else the Nativity coincided with that of September 1239, of the Incarnation. This is one of the arguments produced by Villaroya, *Cartas, &c.*, against the authorship of King James. See Introduction.

there were fully three hundred and eighty knights to whom I had given “hereditaments.” I called them before me, and made them my speech in this wise. Our Lord had done me such favour, that though there had been other kings as good and even better than me, yet it had not been His will to give those before me that favour and that victory which I had gained. I and they owed thanks to Our Lord, since through Him we had witnessed the taking of Valencia. And that in taking Valencia I had also conquered the rest of the kingdom. Wherefore it was necessary, since God had done so great good and honour to me and to them, and since the whole land was conquered, that I should keep it; for which purpose I had endowed with “hereditaments” three hundred and eighty knights in the kingdom, besides the barons and bishops, on condition, however, that those whom I had so endowed should stay a year with me; after that year they might return home, and do what they pleased, and sell what they had had as their share of the spoil, of which I would take charge while they were away until a proper time.³⁷³ Don Fernando said for himself and for all the rest that they would meet and consult thereupon, and would answer in such wise that I should be content with them. They went out to deliberate, and the answer was not long delayed.

293. Having told Don Fernando to speak for all the others, he stood up and said, that they thanked God greatly, he and the rest of the barons and knights, for the favour I had done them; they well knew how I had endowed them, and how they ought to serve and aid me; but they begged of me that I would graciously listen to their prayer. And this was what Don Fernando and they prayed: that while I asked the three hundred and eighty knights to stay there, at Valencia, in my service—which was a just and proper demand on my part, and such as they could not deny in return for the “hereditaments” they had received in gift—that I should grant them, as a great favour, that only one hundred knights should serve me at a time during four months, so that the three hundred should take their turn in rotation. And that I should be content with thus much from them; if I should do them that favour, they would take it as if I had given them “hereditaments,” and as if I had done them the greatest boon a lord could do his vassals.

294. When Don Fernando had done speaking, I answered him thus: “Don Fernando, will you and the barons and knights be content with me, if I grant you what you ask of me?” And they all said, “Yes, content”; and that they would deem it a great boon and a great grace. I said: “Then take it for good and granted; in whichever way you have set it forth I grant it you, that you may know what a lord you have in me.” They all rose, approached me, and kissed my hand for the grace I had done them.

295. I then fitted out a galley in which to go to Montpellier, to ask them to give me aid towards the outlay I had made in conquering Valencia. I went there, and left in the country, to govern in my absence, En Astruch de Bellmont, who was Master of the Temple, En Hugh de Fullalquier, Master of the Hospital, Don Berenguer de Entença, En Guillem d’Alagó, and Don Exemen Perez de Tarazona. About this time En Guillem de Alagó rose, with some knights, footmen, and “almugavars,” and harried the Saracens, as well those who were already our subjects as those who were not. Rebollet, too, was besieged and taken by him. Whilst these things were I had gone to Montpellier. When I got to Lates³⁷⁴ the consuls and chief men of Montpellier came out to meet me, full a hundred on horseback, and En Pere Bonifaci with them; he was at

³⁷³Obscure. “E que se aturassen un any ab nos aquells qui haviem heretats, e de un any a enant que porien tornar a lur terra, e fer lurs feynes, e vendre ço que havien lla per venir açi: e que nos la tendriem mentre ells serien lla tro a un termin couvinent.”

³⁷⁴Lattes, a small village seven kilometers from Montpellier. Its port, long since sanded, communicated then with the sea by means of a channel.

that time the most powerful man of the whole town. Don Pero Fernandes de Azagra and Don Assalit de Gudar kept close to me. En Pere Bonifaci said: "Leave the King to us, for it is long since we saw him, and we ought to go next to his person." Don Assalit then said to him, that they (he and Fernandes) were better entitled to that place than either Don Pere Bonifaci or the others. En Pere Bonifaci replied that in my land they ought no doubt to go next to my person, but that since I had got to Montpellier they ought not to go beside me. I made sign to Don Assalit not to oppose Bonifaci, and Don Assalit saw very well that I bade him be silent. I seemed to take no heed of what was said, but I thought at the time that En Pere Bonifaci's pride was very great.

296. At that time this En Pere Bonifaci had the greatest power in the Consulate, together with En Grau³⁷⁵ de la Barca, and En Berenguer de Reguardana,³⁷⁶ who was a good clerk in Laws, and En Ramon Beseda.³⁷⁷ I alighted at the house of En Atbran,³⁷⁸ who was my bailli in the town: they bore him great enmity, and had planned in the Consulate that if I did not arrive immediately they would pull down his house. They had accordingly prepared a great hook on a pole³⁷⁹ and at the end of it a beam armed with iron, and with rings on each side, to receive ropes, with which to pull down En Atbran's house, and those of any citizens who might stand by him.. When I had taken up my quarters in En Atbran's house, about twenty citizens of Montpellier said they wished to speak privately with me. I went up on a terrace of En Atbran's house, which was open to the sky. En Pere Bonifaci stood up and said to me: "My lord, the Consuls and part of the Council of Montpellier have come here, and rejoice greatly at your coming; now we wish to say thus much to you, and I say it for them and for myself, that we intend to honour you and keep you in our hearts, as we should do to Our Lord. Now we know that En Atbran makes you believe that he can give you Montpellier; know that is not true, for he has no power to do either wrong or right in this town more than any other man living, for in you alone lies the power and the possession, and but for us they would drive him out, and those who would defend him, even from the vilest sewer in the town. And what time we have endured him we have done so for your sake, for we have force of men and of arms and of money; his power would be nothing to us. And in that we pray you to believe us." After that En Grau (Guerau) de la Barca stood up, and spoke in the same way.

297. When they had spoken I answered them thus: "Barons and good men: the words you have just spoken are words you should not have said to me, for I do believe that you have my service at heart. En Atbran has served me and serves me as well as he can; he is your townsman and one of honourable descent. If you desire to act right, this is the way that you and he and they who can, should take. Do you guard my rights and my lordships, for that you are dearly bound to me by the great native ties I have to you and you to me, as well as by my lordships, and because the town has increased since it was Our Lord's will that it should come into my power; and there should be no contest among you, save as to who should serve me best. And I should hold and esteem you as one should hold his men and his countrymen." And thereupon they went away from me.

³⁷⁵En Guerau, which I believe to be the same name as Gerard.

³⁷⁶Regordana, or Berenguer de Reguardan.

³⁷⁷Bessède.

³⁷⁸Thus in the text of 1557; the Spanish translators have Narbran; his real name was Atbrand V. Germain.—*Hist. de la Commune de Montpellier*, tom. i p. 377

³⁷⁹"E havien feyt un buyco, e una perxa que havien ferrada al cap primer, e anelles que havia de ça e della hon se tinguessen les cordes ab que derrocassen les cases de Natbran."

298. I then sent for En Atbran and told him what had been said, so that he might not be moved or enraged. He thanked me much, and prized little their talk and their threats. He said that I should see the service he would do me thenceforward in Montpellier. He spoke thus: “I will make the *scales*³⁸⁰ of Montpellier, the greater part, come to you.” I asked, “How is that?” He said, “I have spoken to the Diggers, to the Tanners, and to them of the Orgeria,³⁸¹ that they come with torches to do you honour, and we will draw them to our side little by little. When they keep your gates, nothing will be in the hands of the others, but I will act, and will put all into your hands, and you can do as a king and as a lord, and revenge yourself on them you wish revenge on, and who want to take this town from you.” I told him that he spoke right well, but that he should work gently and softly till I saw that the power was with me altogether.

299. In the evening, when I had supped and it was night, full five hundred of the diggers (*fossors*), of the greatest and best among them, came with torches and candles, and said to me: “My lord, we have come before you, and bid you welcome a hundred thousand times. We have come to do and to say as you command.” On that En Atbran spoke, and said. “My lord, you have here a part of the diggers, who represent all the rest of them; were they all here there would be six or seven thousand of them. Thus they speak, and I speak it for them, for they have told me to say so. They are all prepared to act for you as for their born lord, in everything and for everything³⁸²; wherefore I have come to tell it to you, that you may better believe it.” I answered him, that I thanked them greatly for their coming and for the good countenance they showed me, and that what they said I believed; that I had at heart to love them and do them good, and that for all time to come they would be of more esteem with me, for the good will they had towards me. Thereupon they departed very joyfully.

300. When they departed there came the tanners.³⁸³ There were two hundred of them, with torches and with candles, and they told me that I was welcome to them a hundred thousand times, welcome as is the glorious Easter Day; and that they had come before me to do and to say what I wished, for their guild had never yet deserted the lord of Montpellier, and as now it was in more honour than ever it had been, good reason was it that they should serve me. Thereon En Atbran said: “My lord, I hold your Grace’s place in the town, inside and outside, when you are not here; and I ask your favour for the tanners, from whom in aid and in council I always have what I ask for. Know that they are yours, to do and to take your commands, and they come here to offer it,

³⁸⁰Scales were the seven quarters, or wards, into which Montpellier was then divided, the inhabitants of each having a certain corporate existence. The lord, at this time King James, appointed the chief judge or magistrate, the *batle* (bailli); he, his assessors, the under-*bailli*, the *veguer*, or judge of first instance, the notary. The town elected twelve *consuls*, who managed its regulation or police, and who were the council of the governor, who seems to have been an officer reigning but not governing; it is not clear what he could do without their concurrence. No tax could be raised but by consent of the town. See *Hist. du Languedoc*, lib. 20, c. 83.

³⁸¹“Fossors, blanquers e aquells de la Orgeria.” The Spanish translators render this last by *alfiareros*—potters. What the *fossors*, diggers or excavators, were it is not clear to me. Great work on the fortifications was at this time on hand, and the French writers call them “serrassiers.” As to Orgeria, from *Orge*, in Span. *cebada*, in Cat. and Val. *ordi*, that is, barley, it might mean the corporation or guild of the “dealers in barley”; but I prefer “the potters,” or “alfareros,” as in the Spanish version, though I must confess that I do not understand how *orger* and *orgeria* could be made to signify that; perhaps *orger*, or *orllers*, for *otllers* (*los ollereros*), is the right reading after all.

³⁸²“E quant se guarden aquests vostres fauces;” very obscure, probably corrupt. The Spanish translators make it mean, “Cuando ellos lo adviertan no estarán ya las hoces en sus manos.” I do not see how; but I am not sure that my version is right. The meaning of the whole passage is evidently that he, Atbran, would steal a march on his enemies.

³⁸³Blanchers, or “courroyers,” as they are called in French.

that you may the better believe them.” I answered, that I gave them great thanks, and that I knew well the good will they showed me, and that as they had much at heart to serve me, so had I at heart to do them much good. And further, I thanked them for having helped so, and wishing me well in my concerns, for when they helped En Atbran they helped me.³⁸⁴ So they and En Atbran went away. He sent word to others, who wished to come, that it was late, and that they should come next day to me; on which they stayed their coming.

301. At vespers, next day, came the *orgers* (potters),³⁸⁵ with torches and candles; there were full two hundred of them, who came, like the others, to offer their service, and to say they were ready and prepared to do what I commanded, as good vassals should do to their lord. And thereon En Atbran said: “My lord, well can you see the great joy the town of Montpellier has over you, and especially those who love you. You can tell and order me what you desire should be done, and they are ready to fulfil your commandments. They do not want so many lords, they have enough with you alone; and they mean to show you that they mean to increase and advance your lordships.” I told them that I thanked them much for what En Atbran had said on their behalf, and that I always hoped this from them, that no one could do me hurt with their will in Montpellier. And since that was their will, with the power I had there I could do whatever I pleased and was of right, for I should do nothing but according to right; and I gave them great thanks for the good will they showed me.

302. When the “orgers” had gone they of the *Alsunnaria* (*Saunerie*)³⁸⁶ came, and proffered me their hearts and their estates, and all they had in this world, and bade me welcome, and said that now could I put Montpellier right, if any one in it had done me wrong. When that speech was ended, En Atbran said: “My lord, now can you avenge yourself if any one has done you wrong in Montpellier, or done anything against you.” I answered: “En Atbran, you speak well and gently; but this is at our heart, and it is our will, that since you have such good desire to preserve my rights, and it would grieve you if any one did me wrong, so will I have at heart to do according to right and reason and with council of yourselves.” So they departed, and I remained very glad and content with what I had seen and heard, and if I had not good prospect of keeping my lordship in Montpellier, it was not En Atbran’s fault if I had not secured it.

303. In the morning I went to the house of the Friars Preachers (Dominicans). When I came out from mass, I met five thousand men from the guilds above named and from others, and all with one voice cried out that whoever was in the wrong towards me in Montpellier, should now rue for it, and that I ought to set right what was wrong; that I should examine who in truth had done me wrong, and could now take amends of whoever had done it. I made them all be silent, and said that it was always my thought that they loved me greatly, but that now I wholly believed it, for I well knew the good will they bore me, and that for what I saw in them I should always be bound to love them, keep and defend them in all they possessed or might acquire; that they might depart, and from that time protect my rights and their own in Montpellier.

304. Thereon I sent word to En Pere Bonifaci, En Guerau de la Barca, En Berenguer de Riguardana (*Regordana*), En Ramon Beseda (*Bessède*), and others of their party, to come to me next morning; but they, knowing the great movement among the people, and that they had come

³⁸⁴“Que quant a vos aguden a nos aguden” are words addressed to En Atbran; but mistakes of this sort are frequent in the text.

³⁸⁵See note 381.

³⁸⁶The *Saumarie* was the quarter of the city where the salt granaries were kept.

at night to me, took their goods out of their houses, put them into convents³⁸⁷ and other places in the town, and never came to me. And on the morning of the third day from my entry into Montpellier, when they should have come to me according to summons, and my porters had gone to their houses again to summon them, word came that they had gone. I made a proclamation that within a month they should all return to answer to me. In that month they did not return. I then seized all that I could find of their goods and “hereditaments,” and with that very engine³⁸⁸ they had made I pulled down the houses of those who had taken flight; that is, three or four of the houses of those who had made themselves most conspicuous as chiefs, for the others I left standing not to disfigure the town. Thus did I punish those who deserved it; and En Atbran and his supporters, as well as the consuls, councillors, and the bailli (governor), since I put them in office, or those whom they appointed, have maintained themselves there up to this time.

305. During my stay at Montpellier there came to me the Count of Toulouse and the Count of Provence;³⁸⁹ and I had besides a great court of men of importance of those countries who came to see me. It was a year after the taking of Valencia that I went to Montpellier. One Friday, between midday and nones, there was the greatest eclipse seen in the memory of men now living, for the moon covered the whole of the sun, and one could see seven stars in the sky. When I had ordered my affairs in Montpellier well, and to my advantage and honour, I fitted out the ship called *Montpellier*, which carried eighty oars, and went in her to Collioure, and thence by land to Valencia.

306. When I was at Valencia I had great complaints from the Saracens, who had surrendered to me, saying that En Guillem d’Aguiló and the company of “almugavars” and footmen I left there had done them hurt and robbery. I sent for them; they would not come to me, but took flight, and went, some to the King of Castile, some to Aragon, and here and there. I sent for En Guillem d’Aguiló, and he said he would come if I gave him a safe-conduct. I gave him one, that I might hear why he and the others had done that mischief. He came before me, and I asked him why he had done that mischief? and said to him that he had not served me well according to the benefits I had conferred on him. He owned that he had done hurt to the Saracens, but did not consider by so doing that he had done me disservice. I said “Yes, you have done me disservice; for one thing, in that you have done hurt to the Saracens; for another, in that you have broken my commandments; for the Saracens are living under my faith, and you have broken my promise to them.” En Guillem went away, and I wished to seize what I had given him in Valencia, that is, Alguerres and Rascanga; but I found that he had pledged them to another person before he committed that misdeed; wherefore I could not seize them. He then sent me word to say that he would return to me as much as he could return. In this manner I recovered a few Saracen captives and part of the property and goods. I then spoke to the Saracens, and told them that I was sorry for the hurt done them; and I put back each into his farm; and they felt safe as long as I was in the country.

307. When that was done, I went into the valley of Bayren, and parleyed with the Alcaid, who held the castle of Bayren, and with those of Villalon, Barre, Vilella, and Palma, all of which were castles on rocks, large and strong. I was told that as soon as the Alcaid of Bayren had treated with me, they in the valley would surrender. Zaen was still in Denia; I sent for him, and

³⁸⁷“En ordens.”

³⁸⁸“Aquell buço que elles avien feyt.”

³⁸⁹The Count of Toulouse at this time was Raymond VII.; as to him of Provence his name was Remon, or Raymond, Berenguer, James’s cousin, whose daughter Margaret was married to St. Louis on the 27th of May, 1234.

he said he would come. I sent him word to go to the Rapita of Bayren; he came in an armed galley, and I set up two tents there. He landed, and saw me in my tent. He told me that if I would give him Minorca to hold of me, he would surrender the castle of Alicante, which was then in his power, and could not be taken. I was to give him besides five thousand besants. I told him I would give him an answer when I had considered the matter. When it was vespers, this was the answer I made to him: That I thanked him greatly for the love and affection he professed to me, which well showed itself in the offer he had just made me, for certainly the castle of Alicante was of more value to me than to any other man. But he should not take it ill of me that I could not accept the bargain, for I had made agreements with the King of Castile, and we had divided the country to be conquered; that was done in the times of my father and of the grandfather of the King of Castile; and that castle was in his division;³⁹⁰ wherefore I would not break the existing treaties. And Zaen then said that I ought at least to acknowledge that he himself was no hindrance to the project; he was not to blame if the offer was not accepted, and so he parted and went away.

308. Next day I parleyed with the Alcaid of Bayren, and told him that he might well know it was Our Lord's will that I should have the land. And since He willed it, he should not attempt to bring harm on me, nor on himself; cutting down the wheat and the trees was not a good thing, for the Moors after all would become my subjects, and I had at heart to do them good; they would remain for ever with me and my successors: that he could not hinder. As to him and his kindred, I would do so much, for them that they could be for ever in honour and riches. The Alcaid said he gave me thanks; but that he held so good a castle that I knew very well that he would do a base thing if he surrendered it at once. I said to him: "Since you will not surrender the castle at once, I ask you to give me sureties that you will not fail to the agreement on the day on which I shall fix with you." He asked what surety I required. I told him: "I want your eldest son." And as I had learnt the names of two nephews of his, I told him: "You will put them with your son, and that without delay." He said he would consider, and would answer the next day early, and I agreed to that.

309. Next morning early he came to me, and made this answer. I was not (he said) to take it ill if he did not like to give his son or his nephews; but he would make oath, together with twenty of the best sheikhs of the Saracens within that castle, that he would keep his agreement. And I told him that I would at once consider his proposal. Then I said that I accepted the oath of twenty of the best men in the castle on condition of his at once putting me in possession of the Albarrana tower,³⁹¹ in pledge that he would surrender the castle to me, and should besides make his Saracens construct a "barbacana" round the tower. He begged that I would let him go away and consider that.

310. At vespers the Alcaid came again to me, and said that he agreed to the terms; he would give me the Albarrana (tower) as security, and he would order the "barbacana" to be constructed.

³⁹⁰“Car nos hauiem conuinences ab lo Rey de Castella, e hauiem partides les terres, ja en temps de nostre pare, et de son aui, e aquell castell era en la sua partida, porque la conuinença que nos li hauiem feyte no la voliem trencar.”

³⁹¹An Albarrana appears to have been an outwork detached from, and in advance of, the outer line of walls. Barbacana in Spain means a second outermost and lower wall; this the king wished to be added to the Albarrana, that he might isolate this last and defend the castle. In England, the word "barbican" had a different meaning. Albarrana, which I take to be from the Arabic {arabic} *barrana*, with the article "al-barrana," means a tower detached from the outer wall, literally, one that looks towards, or stands against the country, for *barro* is "earth" and "land." A fine corn district in Extremadura is called to this day "Tierra de Barros," and in Old Castile is another that bears the name of "Tierra de Campos."

I drew up a treaty, and it was appointed that within seven months from that date the Alcaid should surrender the castle. I was to give him three horses and enough fine woollen red cloth to dress fifty men, besides one dress for himself of scarlet cloth, and green ones for his nephews,³⁹² also that I should give to him and his nephews twenty “jovadas” of land, besides what they already possessed, making up to them what was wanting. So it was agreed, and he surrendered the tower, and I gave it in charge to Don Pelegrin de Trocillo,³⁹³ till God should give me the castle. I promised him that he should hold the castle for me when I had got it from the Alcaid of Bayren, which was acceptable to him. Don Pelegrin willingly accepted, and saw that the barbican was made as the Alcaid had promised to do.

311. At the end of the seven months, Don Fernando, with those of Calatrava, Don Pedro Cornell, Don Artal de Alagó, and Don Rodrigo Liçana, went to besiege Villena, taking with them an “almajanech.” They went thither by their own council; they had resolved on it when they themselves told me of it. I told them to go, and good luck be with them, and take the place if they could. They went there and besieged it, setting up a “fonevol” against the town. Don Pelegrin de Trocillo then came to me and said that in eight days would come that on which the Alcaid of Bayren was to surrender the castle; if I myself went to Cullera he would make the Alcaid come to me, if he could; and when he was with me, he trusted in God that the castle would surrender. When Don Pelegrin had said that, he went away directly, and I myself went to Cullera. I could not take many horses with me, for they were all gone to Villena, and I could only get together about thirty knights. When I was at Cullera, Don Pelegrin de Trocillo sent to say he had asked the Alcaid to come to me, and that he had agreed to do so. Don Pelegrin then went down from the tower, and the Alcaid from the castle; there went with Don Pelegrin about thirty men of my own train.³⁹⁴

312. When they came to a fountain under the castle rock, the Alcaid asked Don Pelegrin to wait a little for him, as he would presently come down. While Don Pelegrin waited he saw the Alcaid taking off his “almexia,”³⁹⁵ and sitting in the fountain, and bathing and throwing the water over him. When he had bathed he sent word by a Saracen, who knew Latin, that fever had suddenly seized him, and that he could not go. When Don Pelegrin saw that, he took it for a bad sign, and he sent me a letter by a messenger, a porter or usher, of his, informing me of what the Alcaid had done. Don Pelegrin himself dared not to come to me, but he was getting in order. If the enemy were about to attack him, he would make two signal fires, by which I might know that the Moors showed fight; should they not show fight he would make only one fire. That was the day on which he had promised to surrender the castle. When I had done supper, I went up on the terrace of the castle of Cullera. At sunset (it was in August), one signal fire was made from the tower, and immediately after it another.³⁹⁶ I then knew from the letter sent me that the Moors would fight; directly I gave barley to the horses, and after midnight began with my suite to cross in the boat I had sent for. Then I again saw signals made from another boat at the mouth of the Stany de la Marjal, which boat had come from Corvera, that there had been great rains, in

³⁹²“E vestir a l. homens de drap vermeyll destam fort, e ell quel vestissem de preset vermell, e sos nebots de vert.” Estam fort (*estambre?*); *preset* is a finer kind of cloth.

³⁹³Also called Datrosillo, or Palegrí de Trosillo.

³⁹⁴Servents.

³⁹⁵*Almexia*, from the Arabic {arabic}, or {arabic}, means *tegumentum capitis, seu corporis*, shirt. The Alcaid, therefore, was making his ablutions.

³⁹⁶“Faerem una alimara (almenara?) e sempre de mantinent faeren ne altra.”

consequence of which much water was coming down.³⁹⁷ I saw plainly that I could not, on account of the rains, cross the great pool without wetting the saddles of the horses, which would have to swim; so I had the saddles stored in the boat; I and my suite went into it, and we crossed the water in turns, and held our horses by the reins, swimming them across, three or four at a time. So was that water crossed, but in doing so we had to delay at that place time enough to march half a league. I there left the boat and the rest of the company, told them to part and to come after me.

313. When I got farther I came to the Grau (strand), which comes from the valley of Alfandech.³⁹⁸ I then bade one of my esquires to go in on horseback and try with his lance whether there was a ford;³⁹⁹ he found no ford; whoever had to cross would have to swim the length of a knight's spear; and besides that, there was no boat to be had. I said, "Let us cross, and good luck be with us, for the thing has to be done anyhow." We got over that water as well as we could, as we had got over the other. We arrived in front of the castle of la Rapita, about nones; we had bread and wine and salt meat by sea, for fresh meat could not then be had. While we were there, Don Pelegrin came to me with one esquire only. I asked him what was the matter? and why had he made those signals? He said that they in the castle had sounded their trumpet⁴⁰⁰ and made smoke signals to them in the villages to come in. "And I (said Don Pelegrin), seeing them come in, made the two signal fires which you have seen, meaning that the Moors of Xativa intended to fight. I thought that when the Moors saw those signals they would change their minds and abstain from fighting." I said to Don Pelegrin: "Go to the castle and tell the Alcaid⁴⁰¹ that I am here with my banner; he is to come down, and I will parley with him." Thereupon Don Pelegrin⁴⁰² went to the castle, and told the Alcaid what I had said. The Alcaid answered that it was evening, and therefore begged me to allow him time till morning, when he would come to me. And I, seeing that it could not be otherwise, agreed to that.

314. When it was morning the Alcaid came to me, and I said to him, "Anencedrell,⁴⁰³ you well know the agreement you made with me, and the stipulation by letters between you and me, and how I accepted you for my vassal; wherefore I pray and command you, in virtue of that agreement, that you surrender to me the castle of Bayren; I will perform that which I promised to

³⁹⁷"E pus que vim los signals quens feu una barca a la gola del stany de la marjal, que venia de Corbera, que hauia feytes grans pluies, e per les grans pluies que hauia feytes exia gran layque." *Lo stany de la marjal*, the pool formed by the marshy ground in the neighbourhood of Cullera.

³⁹⁸"Quant fom aenant trobam aquell Grau que ix de la vall de Alfandech." Literally, that strand or shore which stretches out of the valley, &c. Al-fandech is from the Arabic, {arabic}, handech (hollow, ditch, valley).

³⁹⁹"E dixem a un scuder que passas a cauall *en* una llança si hi hauia guau;" literally, "And we said to an esquire to pass [the water] on a spear [to see] whether there was a ford," yet, to translate the passage as I have done, *ab* ought to be substituted for *en*.

⁴⁰⁰"Los del castell faeren tocar lo anafil e faeren fums als de les alqueries." *Anfil*, from the Arabic {arabic}, is a trumpet.

⁴⁰¹Caid, Cait, Alcaid, or Alcait, are all different forms of the Arabic word {arabic}, which means a chief, a captain, and also the warder of a castle.

⁴⁰²The name of this knight, En Pelegrí de Atrocillo, or Datrosillo, is frequently spelt *Palegrin*, and *Pellegrin*, p. 424, note.

⁴⁰³"E dixem li: 'Anencedrell, ben sabets vos,'" &c. Anencedrell does not seem to me to be an Arabic name, and yet the two copies of this *Chronicle* preserved in Barcelona are said to afford the same reading. Ibn, or Ebn, which in that language means son, is generally turned by the Spaniards and Portuguese into *Aben*; *b* is often changed into *u* or *v* (indeed, the pronunciation of those letters has always been the same), and therefore the right name of the governor of Xativa might be Auen Cedrell.

you and to your relations.” He said: “I will send for the sheikhs of the town and of the villages in the neighbourhood, and I will appear before you; do you prepare for me the charter deeds I asked you for, and I will sign them; that being done I will surrender the castle, and after that you will have the whole of the valley, for no castle will dare resist, or rise against you.” When it was vespers the Alcaid came out with full twenty Saracens, the most honourable of those in the castle and in the valley; they drew out their conditions according as had been stipulated, and I granted them what was reasonable, and something more, that I might enter into so good a place as the castle of Bayren. When the charters had been drawn out, I delivered them in due form, and it was settled with them that next morning they should surrender the castle. I rose early, heard mass, and stationed myself near the town and castle. The Alcaid then came before me; he, his son, and his relations, and I set my banner with armed men in the castle, which was surrendered well and peaceably. When I had furnished it with arms and provisions, I gave it in charge to Don Pelegrin de Trocillo to hold it for me as agreed, and I returned to Cullera.

315. At Cullera I heard news of Don Fernando and of the knights of Calatrava with him; they had raised the siege of Villena, for those of that place had made a sortie against the “fonevol,” in guard of which Don Pedro Cornell was, and had killed two of his knights, the siege having been raised in consequence. Then they all came back to me, and returned to Aragon. After this the Commander of Alcanys,⁴⁰⁴ with the knights brethren (frares) of his Order, and the almugavars, made a “bastida” at Villena; and they remained there before it. The people of Villena then came to me, and said that if I desired them, they would surrender Villena to the Commander; I desired them to do so, and they immediately surrendered it to the knights brethren of his Order.

316. Presently I had to leave the kingdom of Valencia and go to Catalonia, and afterwards to Aragon, leaving in the conquered country Pedro Liçana as governor-in-chief. When in Aragon I heard that in one of the raids which a cousin of his named Pedro de Alcalá had made against Xativa, the Moors had lain in ambush for him on the side from the coast, and defeated him, taking Don Pedro de Alcalá and five more knights prisoners. After that En Berenguer de Entença left Xativa to make a raid on the Cabanes de Teruel; he passed between Ribarroja and Manizes, and Don Rodrigo Liçana, the Master of the Hospital, and those of Valencia, dared not go against him. En Berenguer accomplished his raid, as the others dared not attack him, not venturing to cross the dry bed of a river that passes by Torrente and Catarroja.⁴⁰⁵

317. This news I heard in Aragon and knew that it was going ill with the Moors of the kingdom of Valencia, for they dared not go out of that city for fear of the raids that my people were making, and that there was great evil in all that. I went thither myself, and housed in Altura, which they had surrendered to me. The Archbishop of Tarragona, Mestre Pedro de Albalat, then came to me, and with him Don Rodrigo Liçana; they gave me good welcome, saying there was

⁴⁰⁴Alcañiz in Aragon is a commandery of the Order of Calatrava.

⁴⁰⁵“Son cosí de Don Rodrigo Liçana, per nom Pere Dalcalá, qui dona salt als Moros de Xativa per un descenden de la costa los Moros donaren li salt als pujent (?) de la costa, e venceren los Moros,” &c. The whole of this passage and what follows is exceedingly obscure. “E puix anassen en Barenguer Dentença de Xativa á correr a les Cabanes de Terol e passa entre Ribarroja e Manizes,” &c. If Xativa had not yet surrendered, how could En Berenguer leave it to make a raid? It is only by supposing, as Zurita does, that Don Berenguer was at this time serving under the Moorish governor of Xativa that the words of the Chronicler can be explained. Indeed that historian (*Anales de Aragon*, lib. iii. C. 37) says: “At this time Don Berenguer de Entença had left the king’s service, and taken refuge in Xativa; thence he made a raid on Cabañas de Teruel; he passed between Ribarroja and Manizes without Don Rodrigo de Liçana, the Master of the Hospital, and those of Valencia daring to attack him, as they disliked to cross the dry river that passes by Torrente and Catarroja in order to get at him.”

great need of my presence, and that I had come at the right time. I told them: "I am very glad that it is so." There were with me at the time only twenty-five knights. When I reached Murviedro, Don Rodrigo spoke with me, and said before the Archbishop, that his cousin and his company had gone in a foray towards Xativa and that he and five other knights had been taken prisoners; he prayed me to rescue them, since I could do it. I asked, how? and he said, "If you only go out of Valencia and lead your army against Xativa, and make a semblance of ravaging their lands, the Moors will at once give up my cousin and the knights." I told him that I would willingly do it; I had come for that very purpose, and that what good I could do him, I would.

318. I called together my army, and went to the ford of Barraga, and there waited a day for the army to join. The Kaid⁴⁰⁶ of Xativa knowing that I was coming against him, sent to me Ibn Ferri, who had been at Liria, and was then with him.⁴⁰⁷ He said he wondered that I should act thus, as it was his desire and will to do all he could for me in reason; but that my men had broken the truce that I had made with him. If he had done wrong to me and mine it was for that reason, and in his own defence. My answer was: "If any wrong has been done to you it shall be made good; but I desire you at once to surrender to me Don Pedro Alcalá with the other knights, for certainly I will not suffer that; unless my request is immediately complied with I will do you damage, and ravage your territory." Upon which Ibn Ferri went away. At vespers of the same day, I said to Don Rodrigo Liçana: "Don Rodrigo, let me have some thirty knights who have not yet seen Xativa, and wish to see it, and let us go to that peaked hill near the castle." When we arrived at the top of it, we had the finest prospect that could be imagined; we saw the most beautiful garden (*horta*) round the town and castle; there were more than two hundred flat-roofed cottages in it, the finest that man could devise, and several pretty villages (*alqueries*) besides, thickly set all round. I saw too the noble castle surrounded by most beautiful gardens. Great was my joy at such glorious sight; I thought that not for Pedro Alcalá alone would I come against Xativa with my host, but to gain that castle for Christendom, and that God should be served thereby. But this I would not say to Don Rodrigo.

319. Next day Ibn Ferri came to me and said: "My lord, the Kaid would give you the prisoners willingly, but he cannot, for the Moor who has bought them keeps them by him and asks for such a price that the Kaid has no money withal to ransom them." This answer of Ibn Ferri pleased me much, but I made no immediate reply, for in reality I thought more of getting Xativa than of the knights who were prisoners there, and I sent the Moor away. I then told Don Rodrigo Liçana, "The Kaid has sent me word, that he cannot surrender Don Pedro Alcalá and the others because he has not withal to redeem them." All the time, as I said before, I thought more of getting the castle than the knights themselves.

320. Meantime I went to lay siege to the castle in the plain. When that was done, Don Rodrigo Liçana, with two knights, went with me, and we examined the Puig (hill) to see if it was a good place to set our camp in. We found a small spring in it, and Don Rodrigo said that that was but little water for the host. I told him, "You are right." I then sent word to En Beltran de Hones to go up to the Puig Scardeyno⁴⁰⁸ with three knights and nine esquires; he went up, and said that we could nowise pitch tents there, as nothing but goats could dwell in the spot. I then went up another hill, and none of the three would satisfy me. I saw a hill besides that was a very

⁴⁰⁶"E envians a Ben Ferrí qui era stat de Lyria, e era ab ell."

⁴⁰⁷"E anassen a Beni Ferrí" (?).

⁴⁰⁸Puig Stardeyno?

steep one; I sought for one lower, and nearer to the water; but none of those hills would suit me. I ate, and returned to the camp.

321. When I had eaten my dinner, I again sent for Don Rodrigo Liçana, and said to him: “Don Rodrigo, let us hear mass early to-morrow; I have seen in the distance a hill that I think will be good for our purpose; we can construct a ‘bastida’ (intrenchment) upon it.” Next morning after mass we saddled; while saddling and getting under arms, Aben Ferri came again, and said, before my interpreter only,⁴⁰⁹ that if I promised not to ravage the country they would give up the prisoners. I told him to go his ways; he had delayed so long that now I would no longer agree to that. I, however, told Don Rodrigo Liçana that the Alcaid of Xativa would not surrender the prisoners, and so concealed the truth from him. I thought that it was better for me that the knights should remain in prison, and that in that way I should get Xativa, since God had given me power of taking it. Thereon I went to the hill, but found that I was deceived by appearances, for, although it was steep on the side from which I had seen it, on the opposite side it was perfectly flat, and could easily be ascended. God, however, showed me a small village at the foot of the hill, a strong position, with the water of a river at the foot of it, such as was needed. Here were our intrenchments made, from which we ravaged their lands and destroyed their dams and their mills. These once broken, the Moors did not repair them. The farm (*alqueria*) was called Sallent; it was near a river that passes by Ana, and is further increased by the water that comes from the spring of Ana. I afterwards learned from prisoners we made, that great harm had been done by cutting the water courses (*cequies*), and destroying the mills. I, who knew what a great evil it was for the town, so populated as Xativa was, to take away their water, tried to cut off the streams and “cequies” (water courses) wherewith they watered their lands and worked the mills; but I could not entirely succeed, for I had few men with me; the place was confined, and a good number of workmen was needed for the task.

322. The Kaid then sent to us a Moor named Sexi, a very powerful man in the town, and one of the Kaid’s own council. He sent him to ask why I did him such harm, since he was ready to give me Don Pedro de Alcalá and the other knights. I made him the same answer I had made to Aben Ferri, namely: That since at the beginning when I asked for them he did not give his prisoners up, now I would rather take Xativa itself than the knights. When the messenger heard that said, he went back in great fear: and they of the host went on making raids against the castles about Xativa.

323. One morning, as I was going down to my quarters, which were at the foot of the hill near the village, I saw, among others, a tent that had come from over the sea.⁴¹⁰ I had lent it to Don Garcia Romeu, who was then with me with a hundred knights, for which service I paid him in honour lands and money. This Garcia was a son of Don Guillem Romeu, who was a good man in my father’s time. While I was going down, Berto Squierdo, an “adalil,” having had words with a man, struck him with a knife in my very presence, and went hurriedly into the tent I had given to Don Garcia Romeu. I sprang after him, as he was going into the tent, seized him by the hair, and dragged him out. Don Garcia was not in the tent at the time, nor was there any one inside. I gave him over to the porters to keep him; if the other man should die, he was to be punished for it; if he did not die, they were to release him.

⁴⁰⁹Torchmany (in Spanish “truchiman”) means “interpreter” It comes from the Arabic {arabic} *turdjiman*, which has the same meaning.

⁴¹⁰Said by the Spanish translators to be a present from the Sultan (Soldan) of Egypt, who, fearing lest Don Jayme should join in the crusade against him, wished to propitiate him.

324. Thereupon came to me two knights of Don Garcia Romeu, one named Guillem de Vera, and another; they said they were sent on behalf of En Garcia, who wondered greatly at me, who instead of showing him honour for having come to do me service had done him harm; he did not look to receive such great shame for the service he did me. I asked them what shame it was I had done to Don Garcia, that he should send a message couched in such strong words? They said: "My lord, we will tell you. You know well that if ever a man, after committing a crime, gets into the house of a knight, he is to be secure, especially in the house of Don Garcia Romeu (who is one of your barons (*rich-homens*) and a very honourable one." I said: "Has Don Garcia any other complaint against me, except this?" They said: "No; but he holds that to be a very great one, and so do we." I then said: "God be praised that he has no other complaint against me but that! In the present instance he is quite wrong; for certainly the houses of my barons are not churches, out of which those who wound or kill men cannot be taken. Moreover, it was not En Garcia Romeu's house, but a tent I had lent him. I did not do him such an unseemly thing that he should take ill of me; I saw a man strike another with a knife in my very presence, I seized him, and caused justice to be done to him and to those who are here with me. Farther, in taking the man out of my own tent, I did not deem I did any wrong. And tell him (Don Garcia Romeu) from me, that as I have treated him well, and have called him with distinction to my service, I beg him not to seek pretexts against me, especially at this time, when I am engaged in so fair and honourable an enterprise as the siege of Xativa. In this affair I beg him to do what it is his duty to do, otherwise he will err very grievously against me and against himself; for no man should seek pretexts against his lord or friend for quarrelling with him, above all, if he is not in the right. If Don Garcia will not assent to this, tell him from me that I will speak with him face to face." Upon which they departed; but neither for messengers I sent to Don Garcia, nor for what I myself did tell him afterwards, would he abandon his displeasure against me.

325. Now, one good morning, Sexi and Aben Ferri said privately to the Alfaqui, whose name was Don Bahiel Rey,⁴¹¹ "Why is the King so bent on this, of taking Xativa from the Kaid? We could have on our side the best part of the King's retainers if we chose." The Alfaqui said: "On my faith, you should say who they are." "By our law," said they, "we could, if we chose, have Don Garcia Romeu and his train, who would make the balance turn against the King." The Alfaqui then inquired: "Could you prove that, that it is so?" They said: "Yes, we could prove it; and we will tell you how. Let the King give us a man in disguise, and when he (Don Garcia) shall come to speak with the Kaid, or with us, as to deserting the King's banner, the man can see and hear him; no man would come on such business against his lord's wish, unless he intended treason."⁴¹² If you wish, we will put the man behind a curtain, or in a hiding-place, and he will hear what passes between Don Garcia and us; then the King will know that we speak the truth." The Alfaqui, however, brought Sexi and Aben Ferri before me, and said: "Repeat what you said, on the faith you owe to God and to us; let them say to you (the king) what they said to me." I asked them what it was, and they repeated what they had said to the Alfaqui. By that I learned the great treachery Don Garcia intended to do me. I said that I cared little about it; it was indifferent to me

⁴¹¹Elsewhere, "Bafiel, the brother of Salamó" (another Jew at the court of James). As to the title of *Alfaqui*, here given to Bafiel, I very much doubt of its being properly applied, inasmuch as {arabic} in Arabic, means a clerk well versed in the *fikh* or *Juris ac rerum Mohammedicarum scientia*, which appellation cannot be adequately given to a Jewish doctor or "rabbi." As to Sexi, I believe it to be a patronymic from *Saix*, a town in the kingdom of Murcia.

⁴¹²"Don nos lo Ray un hom encubert, e quant ell venra parlar ab Lalcayt, e ab nos al exir poral hom veer, que nul hom no hi vendria menys de volentat de lur senyor."

whether he was with me or with the people of Xativa. And I left them to suppose I was little concerned about it.⁴¹³

326. I however told the Alfaqui in private, and without the others hearing me: “These Moors ought to say what the Kaid wants; if his terms are such that I can accept of them, let me hear of them; if they are not, tell them that I do not intend to depart hence till he gives me one of the two castles which he holds, either that of Xativa or that of Castellon.” They said they would go to the Kaid, and urge on him to make a treaty with me; and so they departed.

327. Next day, Sexi and Aben Ferri came back, and told me that the Alcaid was ready to surrender Castellon, and at once acknowledge me as its lord; and that if he had to give up Xativa also, he would certainly surrender it to no one but to me. So I made treaty with him, and on the third day he gave up Castellon, and I got back Don Pedro Alcalá and the four knights who had been taken prisoners with him in Don Rodrigo Liçana’s unfortunate raid. I told them that the Kaid should come out to me with the hundred chief men of the town, and accept me for lord; moreover that he should never surrender the place to any one, in case he gave it up, except to myself. All were present at that ceremony; seats for which had been got ready in the tent I gave to the Bishop of Valencia, En Andreu, who was a Dominican friar, and afterwards Bishop; and that was the beginning of the compact between me and the people of Xativa.

328. That done, I went to Aragon, and stayed there and in Catalonia full a year and more.⁴¹⁴ Exemen Peris of Tarazona, remained [governor] in Valencia for me. When I had been a year or more in Aragon and Catalonia, I returned to Valencia, because I wished to finish what I had begun there, and have the whole of the kingdom, as I afterwards had it up to the Xucar.

329. On my return, the Rais⁴¹⁵ of Algezira (Alcira) suddenly left the town for fear of me; he left with thirty knights and went to Murcia, so that the power and dominion of the town remained with the Saracens.⁴¹⁶ Thereupon a message came from the inhabitants to say that Algezira was a good town and honourable, one among the best in the kingdom of Valencia, and that if I wished they would come to an agreement with me, provided I would leave them in the town. This proposal pleased me greatly. My answer was that I would willingly receive them into my grace, and leave them in the town, on condition, however, of their delivering up the towers of the gate looking towards Valencia. They said they would consider it and give a reply. I asked when the reply would be, and they said on the third day, at which I was much pleased.

330. On the third day there came to me at Valencia some of the leading sheikhs of the town, four of them, on behalf of all the others. They told me they were willing to surrender the great tower, near the bridge of the “calzada” (highway), which was the tower of the gate I had asked for. I told them that it pleased me to see that they too accommodated themselves to my requirements, and that I would thereby love them and treat them well. They made treaty with me that they should remain in Algezira with the same customs as in the time of the Almohades; that they could have service in the mosques as they were wont, and that every captive (Moor) who

⁴¹³“E dixem los queu preuem ben poch, que aytant preuem que si fos dins com de fora. E partim nos dells en semblança queu preuem poch.”

⁴¹⁴Zurita, the historian (*Anales*, iii. c. 41, 42), gives no account whatever of the many quarrels of James with his family and with his nobles that filled up this year both in Aragon and in Catalonia.

⁴¹⁵It has already been said that *rais*, *rays* (in Spanish *arraez*), are from the Arabic {arabic}, meaning a “chief.” As to Algezira, {arabic}, it simply means “the island,” and such is the modern Alcira, situated between two arms of the Xucar.

⁴¹⁶This would imply that the rais or governor of Alcira was an African, perhaps an Almohade, whose dynasty ruled at Valencia till the conquest.

might escape to Algezira should be free, and that I could not take him, nor any one for me. And they appointed the fifth day from that for me to take possession of the town. I told them that I would be there on that day, and that they should have all the sheikhs and the other people outside the place, to swear fealty to me, and promise to be loyal to me and to mine.

331. I came accordingly on that day; all the sheikhs of Algezira came out and swore on their Koran that they would be good and true to guard me, life and limb, as well as the men whom I should leave to garrison the place on my behalf. And when I had possession of that tower I asked them to give me as far as the third tower, and that I would build up a wall to divide the Christians and the Saracens, so that the people of each nationality and creed could live separate by themselves. I would have a postern made leading to the “calzada” (highway) as a way into the town, that they might not say that the Christians did them harm. They said they could not give me an answer without consulting the other Moors, and that within five days they would give an answer. I begged some of the chief Saracens to consult about it. They replied that they would act in a wise that I should be content.

332. When the day came they answered that they agreed, and that they granted me to put up a wall between me and them. So was the castle enclosed and fortified. In this manner did I get possession of Algezira (Alcira), and from that day received the same revenues which the Rais, who was the lord of it, used to receive.

333. After a year and four months, the Moors whom the Kaid of Xativa had in his lordship, and those of Tous, Terrabona, and Carcel, fell on a cavalcade⁴¹⁷ of certain almogavars, returning from a raid under Don Rodrigo Liçana. The raid had not been against the Moors under the Kaid of Xativa, but against other Moors who warred in his lordship; but his men and the horse of Xativa coming suddenly upon it took away their mules and five or six baggage horses, and killed besides two warhorses. Thereon Don Rodrigo Liçana sent me word of the mishap that had befallen him through the Kaid of Xativa and his power. When I learned that, it pleased me for this reason: the Kaid had broken the agreement he had with me, and so I had cause to go against him at Xativa. On hearing of it I went from Aragon, where I then was, to Valencia, and from Valencia to Algezira (Alcira).⁴¹⁸

334. Arrived there, I sent word to the Kaid of Xativa that I wished to see him, and that he should come to me. I was quartered within the town in my own palace, and the Kaid came there. I would not speak with him on the day he came, that he might have time to see and consider well on the great force I had there round me. Early next day he came to me, and said he had come at my bidding, and in consequence of the letter I had sent to him, and that he was ready to hear what I wished to say. I told him: “Kaid, I sent for you for this reason, that your Moors and your power, the knights you have in your pay, have done me wrong, and have attacked and defeated a company belonging to the force in charge of Valencia. You know well the agreement between you and me; the charters are divided by A, B, C; you have one part and I the other.⁴¹⁹ And according to what is contained in them, you have broken the agreement you made with me. Not

⁴¹⁷*Cavalgada*, which is evidently derived from “caballus, cavallo, cavalgar,” &c., cannot be here translated by “cavalcade” but by foray, the “almogavars” being soldiers on foot.

⁴¹⁸See Zurita, *Anales*, iii. c. 42, 43, for what was done in this year and a half.

⁴¹⁹A, B, C. During the middle ages two copies of the same deed were written on a sheet of parchment perpendicularly, and separated only by a scroll containing three or more letters of the alphabet, according to the size of the parchment; when divided or cut asunder for each contracting party to take his part, the identity of the deed could be proved, even to the illiterate, by showing that their separated edges fitted one into another, and reproduced the perfect letters.

only in that have those men of yours, and those you have in your pay, done me wrong; but they have offended me in two or three other things, for they have slain men of mine, who would not otherwise have died. Wherefore that agreement and truce you have with me, it is not seemly that I shall be held by it, since you yourself have broken it; and whereas I already possess the greater part of the kingdom of Valencia, and Xativa belongs to this kingdom, I wish to take it. And as it is you who hold it, I bid you to surrender it to me immediately.”

335. When the Kaid heard that, he lost colour, and thought himself a prisoner: he pondered, and could not answer for the great fear he was in. I said to him: “Kaid, be not afraid; you are as safe here as if you were in the castle of Xativa. I do not want you to give me an answer here, but go back and consult with your sheikhs and with whomsoever you choose. When you have taken counsel, either come to me again or send me your answer in writing; for my resolve is that no one who comes to me shall be arrested, be his offence what it may, but if you will not settle it so with me, be sure that I will demand it of you in such wise that you will be compelled to do what I now ask of you; it is better to do it with a good grace and will than to be forced into it.” Thereupon he and the other Moors kissed my hand, he the first, and said they well knew the good faith and honour that was in me. So they went to dine, and stayed all that day. I desired them before they left to fix a day for their answer to come. They said that what I demanded was so great a thing that they needed eight days, and asked me to allow them those; after eight days the Kaid would come or send a message to me. I granted them. The next day they went to Xativa, and I to Castellon, taking with me the Queen, my uncle Don Fernando, and other barons.

336. When the eighth day came the Kaid sent to me a learned Moor, whose name was Almofarix,⁴²⁰ the most learned man in all Xativa, and one of the greatest; another Moor came with him. I had with me Don Fernando and the other barons who were in the town, and I told the Saracen to deliver his message. He rose and said: “My lord, the Kaid and the other sheikhs of Xativa greet you well. On the day you bade them to come before you they make you this answer. The harm of which you complain they did not do, but for the reason that the Christians took away what was the Kaid of Xativa’s, as well as what was of those who raised the war-cry. On summons made they had to make a sortie, and took back what they had lost, and did no other harm. And the Kaid’s answer respecting the castle of Xativa is this—that you well know what the castle of Xativa is; there is none better in all Andalusia;⁴²¹ and that both Moors and Christians would hold him for a coward and a villain if he were for so little cause to surrender it to you. Though the Kaid and the Moors are not of your faith, they would fear your scorn too, if they did what would be base of them. They pray, therefore, that you do not wish them to do it.” And then he sat down.

337. Without any previous consultation I made the following answer: “Almofarix, you are a learned man,⁴²² as appears by two things—by your repute, and by stating your case so well. But if in the things that in this world are debated by many, or by party to party, there were no way of deciding which side was right, nothing would come to an end. The Kaid is my vassal; he became such a vassal when he made treaty with me in my camp near the town, and he engaged to guard

⁴²⁰Almofarix in the edition of 1557; in that of Barcelona *Almofays*, neither of which seems to be an Arabic name. {arabic}, *Al-mofaris* (the horseman) would be by far a better reading, unless {arabic} (*Al-moxárif*), or, {arabic} (*Al-mokhárif*), be meant, which are likewise proper names, or rather appellatives.

⁴²¹There is no need of remarking that Xativa is not in Andalusia, but in Valencia. Perhaps the interpreter hearing the word Andalus, {arabic} in Arabic, which means “Spain,” translated “Andalusia.”

⁴²²“E dixem li: Almofarix, uos sots saui hom.”

me and defend me and mine. Since he is my vassal, he ought to submit to justice at my hands, and take a judge from me. I give him for judge Don Fernando, who is one of the truest men in all Spain by descent and nobility. If he say that I ask what is just, let the Kaid agree to it; if he say it is not, I will withdraw at once the demand I made. What talk I might have with you on behalf of the Kaid would be of no avail without a judge to decide; and that judge from this moment I give you.”

338. To that the Almofarix said that it was not the will of the Kaid and of the sheikhs that the matter should be submitted to a judge; but that he would go back, and, after consultation, would make me an answer. I asked when that would be ready; he said, on the third day after this. I easily granted him that delay, for I did not wish to oppose him, and saw that what he asked was reasonable. The Almofarix accordingly went away, and on the third day returned, and made answer before Don Fernando and the rest of my court. He said that it was not at all a case for a judge to decide, but that if I stated what my wishes were, I would get an answer. I deliberated, and said to Don Fernando: “Almofarix speaks ill. In every question raised by lord against vassal, or by one man against another, there should be a judge, especially if the one do not admit the other’s claim; and the judge should have security from the parties that his judgment shall be performed. To you, who are the Kaid’s messenger, I reply, that if the Kaid will accept Don Fernando for judge, and give security that what I may gain by the judgment I shall get, I will be satisfied.” He then said that he could not say or do more than what he had been ordered. Thereupon I called to witness the barons and the citizens of Valencia, who were there with me, that the Kaid would not accept a judge from me nor give security that he would submit to the award of the judge I appointed. When I had thus called them to witness, the Almofarix mounted, and went his way; and from that time forward there was war between the Kaid of Xativa and myself.

339. Thereupon I summoned the knights of the kingdom of Valencia, and those of my own train (*mesnada*), and the Almugavars, and went with the barons to besiege Xativa. I pitched my tent in the Garden plain (*orta*), beside the river. On the other side, where a ravine comes down, I raised a wall, and so the camp was inclosed. While I was in the camp many were the skirmishes with the Moors of Xativa. There was inside the town a relative of the Bishop of Cuenca, a native of that city, who had told me before I went to the siege [of Xativa] that the Infante Don Alfonso wanted a tent made there, and for reason of that tent, while they were making it, a parley went on between the Kaid of Xativa and the then Infante, King Alfonso who now is.⁴²³ I saw plainly that the making of the tent was nothing but a stratagem that the Kaid of Xativa might have an interview or treat with the Infante Don Alfonso, and that the tent was being made merely for the sake of concealing what they were about. When the man of Cuenca knew that I was besieging Xativa, he himself came there, with the Bishop’s privity, that he might be where he could communicate with those in the town, tell them that Don Alfonso was coming, and that they ought to treat with him in preference. Wherefore I suspected what was being done, and knew that the making of the tent was only a stratagem through which I might perchance lose Xativa.

340. I therefore caused to be proclaimed throughout the camp that any one found to hold intercourse with the Moors of Xativa, unless he asked my leave first, should at once be arrested and brought before me. One day the Moors made a sortie against those of the army who were ravaging their lands and foraging; the cry to arms was raised; my men went out against them, under the command of Don Pedro Lobera, and in the skirmish that ensued, the man from Cuenca,

⁴²³Alfonso X., called “El Sabio” (the Learned).

who was actually parleying with the Moors, fell into the hands of my people. In virtue of my proclamation that any one who parleyed with the Moors without my leave should be taken prisoner, Pedro Lobera went up to the man, and told him he should come to me. The man of Cuenca said: "Why do you want to take me to the king?" "Because the king forbade any one to parley with the Moors, and you have been parleying. I want to know if the king ordered you to do so or not." The man could not help himself, and he was brought by force into my presence. When he came before me, Don Pedro Lobera said: "My lord, this knight was parleying with the people of Xativa." The man did not deny that he had been parleying, but maintained that he had said nothing against me or the army. I asked him, "How long have you been in the camp?" He answered, "Fifteen days." I then said: "If you have really been here fifteen days, it is only eight days since a proclamation was made that no one should dare parley with the Moors unless he asked for my leave; you did not apply for it, then why did you parley with them?" He said he had not parleyed with them to my hurt. I replied: "Yes, you have; you are the very man who brought letters from the Bishop of Cuenca, and who wanted a tent made for the Infante Don Alfonso, and on the excuse of having that tent made have been at Xativa treating with the Moors to my injury, that they should surrender the town to him. That I know for certain, through the Moors in the town. You know very well the proclamation I caused to be made, for all in the camp must have heard it. And for what you have done against me I will not trust you, but will punish you so that any one who wishes to take Xativa from me shall keep aloof for fear of the punishment I am about to inflict on you." And thus I ordered the porters to seize him, let a priest confess him, and hang him on a tree.

341. A month after this news was brought to me, that Enguera and Muxent had surrendered to the Infante Don Alfonso; at which I wondered greatly that he should take anything in the dominion of Xativa, the conquest of which belonged by right to me; the more so that we were already related and that my daughter was his wife.⁴²⁴ In order to ascertain if the news was true I myself went to Enguera. I told the Saracens to surrender the town to me; they said they had already surrendered it to the Infante Don Alfonso, and that his Kaid (governor) was already there. I then saw clearly that the report about the tent was perfectly true; that if the Infante took any one of the castles attached to Xativa he would, if he could, take Xativa itself. I then sent for the knight in command of the place to come to me, and I asked him: "How are you here?" He said to me, he was there on behalf of Don Pedro Nuñez de Guzman; the Infante had given it in charge to Don Pedro Nuñez to hold for him. I said to him, "I did not think the Infante would hold anything in the world that belonged to my conquest."

342. Thereon I went away, and ordered light horsemen from the camp to do these people what hurt they could. Next day I myself laid an ambush for those of Enguera, and my men took seventeen of them. They were brought before me, and I bought them of them. Next day I went to Enguera, and told its people to surrender the town, for if they did not I would have all the seventeen executed, and would do the same with all those I could take, till the place was empty of men. But for all I said they would not surrender the castle; upon which, and in their very sight, I had half the men beheaded⁴²⁵ and the other half hanged, and went back to my camp before Xativa.

⁴²⁴Early in life, in 1248, Prince Don Alfonso, afterwards Alfonso the Learned, not the Wise, had married Yoland, the daughter of James.

⁴²⁵"E a uista dels faem ne la meytat escapsar, e laltra meytat enforçar." "Escapsar" (in *Span.* "descabezar"), to take the head off.

343. Fifteen days after this the Infante Don Alfonso sent me word that he wished to see me, and asked me to meet him at Algezira (Alcira). I sent him word that he had done me wrong, and that when he had repaired it in some manner I would willingly see him. Before his answer came, however, I arranged with a knight of Calatrava, who held Villena, that he should surrender to me both that town and Saix, and besides that I myself should get from the Moors Los Capdets and Bugarra.⁴²⁶ When, therefore, the Infante came and wished to enter Villena and Saix, and the other two castles [Capdets and Bugarra], they would not receive him, because of their being held for me. The Infante then sent to beg me that I would come out to see him. I therefore left in the camp two hundred knights and what footmen there happened to be, and I myself went to see him, accompanied only by En Guillem de Moncada, the Master of the Hospital, Don Eximen Perez de Arenós, En Carrós, and part of my own train; with the Infante Don Alfonso were the Master of the Temple and the Master of Uclés, and Don Diego de Viczaya, and other barons (*ricos homens*) of Castile and Galicia, whose names I do not recollect. The interview took place midway between Almizra⁴²⁷ and Capdets, where the Infante had pitched his tents, I myself being quartered in the former place (Almizra). I had with me now a third more knights than there were with him; and so we met. After our meeting he came to my camp to visit the Queen, my wife. I wished to give up to him the castle of Almizra and the town for his quarters, but he would not, and encamped outside at the foot of the hill of Almizra, where he had tents set up. There we had great rejoicing and love.

344. Then the Queen, my wife, came, for he had begged that I should let her come to the meeting, that the dispute between me and him, her son-in-law, should be settled. As soon as the Queen came the Infante came, all that day being spent in joy and mirth, for it was not well to speak of business on the very first day of our meeting.

345. Next day, after hearing mass, the Infante⁴²⁸ came to see the Queen again. I asked him why he had sent for me to see him. The Master of Uclés and Don Diego de Vizcaya said on his behalf that the Infante had come for this reason: he had married my daughter,⁴²⁹ and he believed I could not have married her better to any one in the world but himself (*sic*); he expected to have some piece of land with her in marriage, and I ought to give him Xativa, as I had once offered by Ovieco Garcia, who treated for their marriage. I told him that I would consider, and make answer. I consulted with the Queen, and with the barons, who were with me in the camp, and sent word to the king to send the Master and Don Diego, and that I would give them an answer. They Came, and it was thus: That I and the Queen well knew that we had married our daughter well, and yet we had made no such promise to Ovieco Garcia or to any other man in the world, as to give her Xativa or any other place as marriage portion; that when I married his aunt, the Queen Doña Leonor,⁴³⁰ they gave me neither land nor domain, house nor holding, with her. I do not believe that I should give more to any king with my daughter than he to me with his; he should not take it

⁴²⁶These places (Capdetz and Bugarra) appear to have been all within the limits of the “conquest” or district occupied by, or assigned to, Castile. In 1179 a treaty had been concluded between Ferdinand of Castile and James of Aragon drawing a line of demarcation for their respective conquests from the Moors.

⁴²⁷Almizra, also in the kingdom of Murcia; the Barcelona edition reads “Almura,” perhaps a misprint for Almiçra.

⁴²⁸Don Alfonso, at the time Infante, but King of Castile when this *Chronicle* was written.

⁴²⁹Yoland, or Violante, as the Spanish chroniclers call her.

⁴³⁰Doña Leonor was no doubt Alfonso’s grand-aunt, she being the sister of Berengaria, or Berenguela, Queen of Leon, James’s grandmother; in February, 1221, she married James at Tarazona, in Aragon.

amiss if I would not give up Xativa to any one in the world, for it was mine and belonged to my conquest; he himself had abundance of land, and should not envy what I had; and I prayed that he would not find fault with me if I came to no other conclusion.

346. The Master and Don Diego went away showing discontent, and returned to their camp. They came again at vespers, and said that what they had asserted they would prove by the testimony of Ovieco Garcia. I said to them: "I hold Ovieco Garcia to be so good a knight that he will not fail to tell the truth to me for the sake of Don Alfonso, his lord; yet according to law the evidence of a vassal is not received against that of his lord; this is a weighty matter, and I will not stake Xativa on the word of a man who is a vassal of the other party. I know what the truth of the matter is, and God also does; the Infante ought not to ask land with my daughter; other great and good aids he might have from me to his honour and profit; for if he ever needed a thousand or two thousand knights he could have them for his aid, with me at their head, and that not once only, but twice, thrice, or ten times if need were; but Xativa I will not give up one way or other. Such an offer and my good will are better than the other thing with ill will." So that night passed with those words between me and them. In short, I told them that I would not in any way do what they asked, and so they parted that very night from me.

347. Next day they came back and said, "My lord, it were well you gave Xativa to the Infante; if you do not, he will get it, for the Kaid will certainly give it him." I said, "How is that? how will he get it? How can the Kaid give it him?" They answered, "Because the Kaid really wishes to give Xativa to the Prince." I said, "I have no fear of any one but myself getting it; the Kaid will not dare surrender it to any one but me, nor will any one dare to receive it from him, for Xativa is mine, and whoever enters it must pass over my body. You Castilians imagine that your threats can make an impression upon me, but you are much mistaken; I will wait and see what you do; if you have anything else to say, say it at once; otherwise our conference is at an end; know that I shall go my way, you may do your worst."

348. Thereupon I ordered my horses to be saddled and the mules to be loaded; the Queen took to weeping, and said, "In an evil hour was I born, since I came here to make it up between my husband and my son-in-law, and I see them separate on such bad terms!" The Infante was told that I meant to go away, and had ordered to saddle. When I had saddled, there came the Master of Uclés and Don Diego de Vizcaya and said to me: "King of Aragon, is it for your good to rage so greatly?" I answered: "There is no man in the world, however temperate, but you would put in a rage; you do everything with such haughtiness and pride; you imagine that every thing you wish for should be immediately granted." They said to the Queen: "Lady, do you speak to your husband, and tell him not to depart while he is in passion; we will go to Don Alfonso, and the separation shall not be as now it is." The Queen, weeping, prayed me to consider, and not take to horse; she would go to Don Alfonso, and they would arrange matters to my satisfaction and his. I said: "Since you and they ask me, I will stay; let the ambassadors go and return quickly with their proposition." They went to the Infante Don Alfonso, and negotiated thus: he was to give up his demand for Xativa, and I was to divide the conquered lands between him and me, so as to separate completely the kingdoms of Murcia and Valencia. I was to surrender to him Villena, Saix, the Capdets and Bugarra, and he was to surrender to me Enguera and Muxent.

349. This was the division of the lands; that the Infante should have Almansa, Sarazull, and the Cabriuol river; I was to have for my share Castalla, Biar, Releu, Sexona, Alarch, Fenestrat, Torres, Pelop in la Mola, near Agnes, Altea and Tormo, and that is inclosed within those boundaries. Thereupon sealed charters were made between me and the Infante Don Alfonso, and we parted good friends; each of us returning to the other what he held that was not his own. I then

returned to Xativa, and to the army, and stayed fully two months before it without the Kaid offering to capitulate.

350. At the end of two months the Kaid sent to me a Saracen named Albocacim;⁴³¹ I made every one leave my tent, and remained alone with him. When Albocacim saw there was no one there but us two, he said to me: “The Kaid of Xativa salutes you, and commends himself to your favour, as to the man on earth he has most at heart to love, serve, and honour. He sends me to ask why you keep besieging him, for you must be aware that his father ordered him not to surrender the castle to any man in the world, whether Christian or Saracen, but to you, if he were to lose it. You ought not to keep it besieged or do him, the Kaid, any harm, for he is in fact holding the place for you, and would do no one’s will but yours.” I replied that I knew by report the words which his father had delivered to him on his death-bed; but it had been God’s will that I should become King of Valencia, and as Xativa was the noblest place in it except, perhaps, the capital itself, the Kaid ought to make it up to me, for I then could do him such good that he and his could live in honour. There was besides, I said, another argument in my favour, for the castle of Xativa was the key of the kingdom, and I could not be king of Valencia if Xativa were not mine. Wherefore I prayed him to consent, as otherwise I would never leave the place till I had it in my possession. Besides which, the money I would have to spend in taking the castle would be out of proportion to what he would have to spend in defending it; there would be consequently two losses, one to him and one to me: all which expense and loss might he saved and compensated by the love and kindness I would show him hereafter; he would be better off for what I intended to give him instead, and Xativa would be mine.

351. “My lord,” said Albocacim, “what do you wish of the Kaid of Xativa?” I said, “Let him give me the castle, and I will endow him and his family.” Albocacim replied: “How could he part with such a castle as that of Xativa, which is so good a place, without thinking first what he should ask you for, and what he should not ask?” I said: “He will part with it to one who will be his lord, and will henceforward protect him from evil, and will give him ten times as much as his family ever had.” He said: “My lord, these words of yours are of great weight, and if it please you, I will return to the Kaid and repeat them to him.” I said: “It pleases me well that you should go and say those my words to the Kaid; go, and work well for me; you are the chief scribe⁴³² of Xativa, and have great influence over the Kaid. If you succeed, I will endow you well, and give you more than ever you had in your life; you know well that you cannot avert the fall of your city.”

352. Thereon Albocacim went into Xativa, and next day he returned to me and said that it was not the Kaid’s opinion that Xativa could be surrendered on any account. My answer was: “Since the Kaid does not wish to give it to me, he must prepare for the defence, for certainly I must have it, and will stay here in this camp until I take it.” Albocacim then prayed me to send Eximen de Toviá into the city, for that the Kaid wished to speak to him. “Eximen,” he said, “should come with me into Xativa, that he may witness the love and affection the Kaid entertains for you.” This was on a Wednesday, and Albocacim prayed us not to do anything against the city till the following Sunday, for the sheikhs (he said) would meet in the Mosque⁴³³ on Friday, and deliberate until Saturday; for that reason he asked that the truce should last till Sunday. To this I

⁴³¹{arabic} Abu-l-Kásim.

⁴³²“Escriua major de Xativa”; but I should say that {arabic} cátib,—in *Spanish* Alcátib—is meant; *i.e.* writer, scribe, man versed in law, also a secretary.

⁴³³“La mesquita,” from the Arabic, {arabic} *mesjid*.

agreed: but I will not enter into many details as to the parley, for it lasted a long while, and it would lengthen this book of mine beyond measure.

353. Next day there came to me Albocacim, Sexí,⁴³⁴ Almofarix, and En Eximen de Toviá, to discuss with me the terms of the capitulation they had just made, and ask for my approval. Eximen de Toviá said: "My lord, the Kaid of Xativa lays before you his whole mind, and opens his heart to you; what these his delegates may do, you may consider as secure as if he himself did it." The proposals were: that the Kaid should surrender immediately the lesser castle of Xativa, and keep the greater one for two years, to be counted from Pentecost next. I was to name what place of importance I would give him instead, for him to hold in fief of me. I then asked them what lordships suited the Kaid best. They asked for Montesa and for Vallada, both good castles in the neighbourhood of Xativa. I said I would consider of it. I left my tent and went to the Queen's apartments. There I found some of my Council, such as the Master of the Hospital, En Hugh de Fullalquer, En Guillem de Moncada, Eximen Perez de Arenós, En Carrós, and others. I told them what capitulation the Kaid proposed, and asked them to advise on it. They asked the Queen to speak first, and the Queen said: "My lord, what counsel can I give you in this matter? none at all: yet my advice is, that since you can have Xativa, you ought not to delay for the sake of a castle or two; for Xativa is the finest castle, and the richest that I or any man has ever seen." The Master of the Hospital said: "I can add nothing to the Queen's words: for her advice is good." All the rest assented; and I said they had given me good counsel, and as such I accepted it; for I bethought myself that when the lesser castle was surrendered, the larger one could no longer remain in the Kaid's hands.

354. So I sent for Eximen de Toviá and for the Saracens, and made them this answer: that I so loved the father of the Kaid and the son himself, whom the father had left in charge to me, that although I had not got the business ended as I wished, yet would I for his love grant the capitulation as proposed. They then asked on behalf of the Kaid, and of the sheikhs in the city, that I would consent to Eximen de Toviá holding the castle; for the Kaid, said they, trusted in him, and I also. I consented to that, and took possession of the lesser castle: thereupon I withdrew my army, furnished the castle with provisions and men, and returned to Valencia.

355. While I was there, two Moors of Biar came to me, both old men more than fifty years of age, and told my porters that they wished to speak with me. They came, they said, for my great advantage. I made them come in, and asked what they wanted. They said: "If you will come to Biar, we will give up the castle to you; it is the best on this frontier." I said: "Now tell me how is it that you can give the castle to me? and how that can be done?" The answer was: "We are among the best connected people in the town; we have spoken with some of our own relatives and friends who have the power of giving it over to you; and we know for certain that should you show yourself, the thing would be soon done." I said: "Do return home; I will collect some hundred knights in this place, and will be at Xativa on such a day. Bring me thither a clear plan of your design, and I will see whether the thing can be done or not"

356. When the appointed day came, I was at Xativa, where one of those Saracens arrived. I asked him what had become of his companion. He told me that all the Moors of Biar had agreed

⁴³⁴Sexí is the patronymic of Saix, or Sex, a town in the kingdom of Valencia. From the manner it is used in this passage it might be supposed that it formed part of the name of Abolcasim, or Abu-l-kásim, on account of his being a native of Saix; but the reading in the Barcelona edition agreeing entirely in this particular with that of 1557, and naming distinctly three persons: *Abolcacim e Setxi, e Almofoyis*, is not in favour of the above conjecture. I must add that Abu-l-kásim's name is sometimes written Albocasim in both editions, owing to the frequent transposition of the *l* of the article *Al*.

to surrender the town to me, and that his companion had remained behind that he might lead them all, and persuade them to make their submission the moment I should make my appearance. I therefore determined to go to Biar confidently, for up to that time no Saracen had ever broken faith with me, or refused to surrender his castle when he had promised to do so, except, perhaps, Landrach at the affair of Roguar.⁴³⁵ The Saracen made such strong representations that I went thither; yet, when I arrived there, I found the Saracens of Biar all under arms outside the town. I then told the Saracen who was with me, “Do you go to them, and tell them I am here.” He went to them, and they said they would not treat with him, and that if he went near them they would stone him. I stayed there three or four days, on the side of the town leading from Ontenientes, on this side of the water.

357. Thence I removed to a hill on the side towards Castalla. It was Michaelmas, and I had my house set up there; those who could not have houses, built good huts; some in houses, and some in huts, we stayed there three months, during which I had a “fonevol” constructed, and but few days passed without a skirmish between my men and those of the town; for there were inside no less than seven hundred footmen, all good men, and well armed.

358. On a certain day I collected my barons, and knights, and such of the military Orders as were at hand, besides En Guillem de Moncada, who had come from Tortosa with sixty cross-bowmen, all very good men. I made an attack upon the town, and tried to take up quarters in it. The Saracens made a stout defence, giving up nothing but through sheer force; many knights on our side being wounded, and as many or more men on their side. In this manner I stayed there from the middle of September till the beginning of February of next year. I will not recount the deeds of arms that were there performed, nor all the parleys between me and the people of Biar, for it would take me too long a time to relate.

359. To make the matter short, when it came to the last, the Kaid of Biar, whose name was Muzalmoravit,⁴³⁶ surrendered the castle to me. I left the Saracens in the town, and granted them charters for their “zunes,”⁴³⁷ and that they should for all time after remain under me and my descendants.

360. When that was over, I returned to Valencia, and determined to ask Zeit to surrender Castalla, which he was bound to give up to me according to the terms of the capitulation; but Don

⁴³⁵The text here is much vitiated or else very obscure. “E nos anam la ab aquesta fiança, car anch sarray nons trenca fe quens hagues promesa per rao de cartell quens hagues promes de retre de Lançrat enfora en lo feyt de Rogat.” Thus the modern Barcelona edition, which is, generally speaking, more correct than that of Valencia, 1557. This one, however, has: “De rendre de Landrach enfora en lo feyt de Roguar,” which, though not differing materially from the above, is far from solving the difficulty. *Landrach* and *Lançrat* might be corruptions of Al-azrach, the name of a Moorish rais, of whom more will be said hereafter; but where was Rogat, or Roguar, situated?

⁴³⁶*i.e.*, {arabic} {arabic}, or Musa, the Almorávid.

⁴³⁷“E faem les cartes de lurs Çunes, e que romanguesien tots temps ab nos e ab los nostres.” Çunes is derived from *sunna*, or *sonna*, {arabic}, meaning traditional law founded on the deeds and sayings of the prophet Mohammad. {arabic} *xariâ* is civil law. In all the charters granted to the Moors in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by the Christian kings of the Peninsula, the words *çunna et xâra*, {arabic} {arabic} are generally used as expressive of the laws and customs, both religious and civil, under which the conquerors allowed the Moslems to live for a time. As long as that great bulwark of Islam in Spain—the mighty kingdom of Granada—from Gibraltar almost to the gates of Murcia existed, these charters, many of which have been published in various collections, were in full vigour, the Christian kings being practically tolerant and faithful to their engagements; but after the taking of Granada, in 1492, the capitulation signed by Ferdinand and Isabella was most wantonly infringed. James, himself, after a rebellion of his Valencian subjects, of which some account will be given hereafter, had them expelled, notwithstanding the opposition of his great vassals, who lost thereby thousands of agricultural labourers.

Eximen Perez de Arenós told me there was no need of that, inasmuch as Zeit held it as a fief of my crown, and I could easily agree with him for it. He said to me: “Don Guillen Perez de Castalla holds it for Zeit, and can surrender it to you whenever you have made terms with that Saracen.” I asked Don Eximen: “What terms do you think I could make?” He said: “I think that Zeit will accept in the kingdom of Valencia one fifth of what Castalla is worth.” After a rather long debate, it was agreed that I should give Zeit the towns of Xest and Marxiant; I gave them to him, and in that way I got possession of Castalla. And when the Saracens saw that I had Xativa and Biar, they surrendered to me the whole country, from the Xucar up to Murcia, on condition that I should leave them in the kingdom. And so I had it all to myself.

361. I then left for Aragon, passing through Teruel and Daroca, and came to Catalayud. One day I went to hear mass in the great Church of Saint Mary at Catalayud. After mass, Don Eximen Perez de Arenós came to me, and said: “My lord, need be that you look into your affairs, for difficulties are arising that you know not of.” I said: “What difficulties may those be?” He said: “You will soon learn.” I replied: “You do ill, Don Eximen Perez; if you know of anything to my disadvantage, I would be glad to know of it; it would please me greatly to hear of it; for if it were something hurtful, I would at once take counsel, for if one can provide against such things beforehand, so much the better.” He said: “Do you really wish me to tell you the bad news?” I said: “Certainly, I do wish it.” Don Eximen then said: “Alazarch⁴³⁸ has taken from you some castles and lands in Valencia; we did not dare tell you of it.” I said: “You and they did ill not to tell me, for you know I will not willingly lose anything of my property; but, on the other hand, it pleases me much, for if, on account of the treaties made with the Saracens I did not drive them out of this country, should they now have done anything owing to which I should be justified in driving them out, I would be delighted to be the means of destroying them entirely and their accursed sect, and that those temples where the name of Mohammed has long been proclaimed and invoked, should be retrieved for the Faith of Christ.” I then asked Don Eximen if he knew what castles had actually been taken. He said: “Gallinera, Serra, and Pego.” I said: “Since those are the news, I will see who does me harm; I will go to Valencia and take counsel.” Then I told the Queen what Don Eximen Perez de Arenós had just said to me. She said: “I knew of it already, but dared not tell you.” I said to her: “You were grievously wrong not to tell me, for the sooner a man takes good counsel on any harm done to him, the better is it for him; it is my will to go to Valencia and recover my land as soon as possible, for the more Alazarch settles himself in my land, the worse it will be to get it back from him.” She said: “You speak well; good luck attend you. I beg you to take me with you.”

362. Thereon I and the Queen departed and went to Valencia. Whilst there the Kaid of Xativa arrived with a great company of Saracens and about ten of his sheikhs; he came very joyfully before me and kissed my hand, and asked me how it went with me. I answered: “Well, thank God; but I am much grieved for the injury Alazarch has done me in taking my castles, and I wonder how you have permitted it.” The Kaid and his companions then said: “My lord, if it grieves you, know that it annoys us as much, and that it is grief to us.” But yet, though they spoke good words, I observed that they seemed joyful and contented and while I expected that the harm Alazarch had done me would grieve them, and that they would offer their help, they offered none, but merely said they had come to see me, and were glad to have done so. They also said that by

⁴³⁸This is the first time that the name of this rais, or chief, is expressly mentioned in the *Chronicle*. His name is variously written Alzarach, Alaçrac, and Alazrat, all derived from {arabic}, Al-azrak, or he of the light blue eyes; in Spanish, *zarco*. See also above, note 435.

God's grace, and ours, Xativa was presently so full of people that they jostled against one another. The Kaid and his men stayed two days with me at Valencia. On the third day they went away, and I said to the Queen: "Have you observed what those Saracens did? how joyfully they came, and how they turned aside from our troubles and went away so lightly?" She said: "I did not observe it; but I understand that you speak the truth; these people care little or nothing about our troubles; not a word did they say about your going to them, or inviting you to their city."

363. When the Kaid of Xativa and his sheikhs had departed from Valencia, I went to Burriana to hunt. I had been there two days, when one night, as I was in bed, they knocked at my door, and said that a messenger was there from the Queen.⁴³⁹ I thought at first that the messenger must be concerning some new rising that had occurred. He came in and gave me a letter from the Queen, of which the contents were, that Alazarch had lately taken the castle of Peñaguila. I was deeply concerned at it, since that instead of my arrival at Valencia having made Alazarch repent of what he had done, he was doing still greater mischief, taking from me a place of so much importance and honour as Peñaguila was. I was greatly stirred within myself. On one side I was greatly annoyed at the affront, on the other I was pleased, for it afforded me good opportunity for taking revenge on the Saracens. I could not sleep at all that night, but sweated as if I was in a warm bath.

364. Next morning I mounted and went to Valencia. I found there the Bishop of Valencia, who afterwards was Bishop of Zaragoza, named En Arnau, of the Peralta family; Don Pedro Fernandez de Azagra, Don Pedro Cornell, Don Eximen de Urrea, En G. de Muncada, castellan of Tortosa, Don Artal de Alagon, and Don Rodrigo Liçana, all of whom came out to meet me. I told them to come next day to me, that I wished to speak with them of a great, high, and precious matter. They said they would come as I commanded. And next day after mass I had two clerks of the church of Valencia, both men of importance, and five of the citizens, and some barons, and the debate began. I said to them that I had come expressly from Borriana on a letter from the Queen, in which she informed me that Alazarch had taken the castle of Peñaguila; that the news had greatly grieved and angered me, considering that the Saracens should have so much audacity as to take two or three of my castles; and what was more, that they would not refrain from doing me injury when I had let them remain in the country, close to Valencia and to my own house. "And now it is to my shame and yours that, while we are in our own country, the Saracens should esteem so little my love and my sovereignty over them. It has grieved me much, and it behoves you, as good vassals, to take part in my grief; for just as you shared in my prosperity, so you should bear a part of my adversity and loss, and of my disgrace in this instance. Wherefore, I pray you and order you, by the sovereignty I have over you, that you grieve for me, and help me to revenge the injury received; for it is at my heart dearly to avenge the wrong. And it seems to me as if the thing were the work of Our Lord, and that He wills that His sacrifice be over the whole kingdom of Valencia; and that He shields us from breaking the treaties made with the Saracens, giving me cause and reason to go against them, since, while I was leaving them in peace in my own country, not driving them from their homes, nor doing ill to them, but allowing them, on the contrary, to live in plenty among us, they should thus do us harm. Know ye that with God's will I intend to repay them well and hardly. And, moreover, since they have taken the land from me, besides that in which I had settled them, I have good cause to drive them from it and repeople it with Christians, and I will tell you how I intend setting about to do that, after first hearing the opinion of each of you, and seeing whether it is better than mine."

⁴³⁹At this time James's queen was Yoland of Hungary, daughter of King Andrew (1205-1235).

365. “My plan is to reinforce the garrisons of the castles which are in our hands, that is Xativa and the others, with four hundred knights; when they have been thus reinforced, to hold [in Valencia] the festival of Epiphany, which will be in a month hence; and then publicly and formally, before everybody in the church of Our Lady Saint Mary, after exposing first all the wrongs they have done us—to say that I will reassume possession of the land and settle it with Christians. When the people of our kingdom and of other countries shall hear that I have that good intention for the service of God, it will not be necessary to call by proclamation for an army or a raid; we shall get more people than if we did. But bear in mind that those who have not rebelled against me, nor taken my castles, will take no hurt from me or mine. I will appoint a suitable day for them to prepare for leaving the kingdom of Valencia with their women and children and what goods they can carry away; they shall be conducted by me till they are in the kingdom of Murcia, and there they will learn how to go on to Granada, and further on if they like.”

366. My speech at an end, the Bishop of Valencia replied, and said that he gave Our Lord and His Mother great thanks for the good intention with which He had inspired me; that no man had served Our Lord so well as I had; that my name would be reported throughout the whole world, and that I could not give the Pope and the Church of Rome more pleasure than by accomplishing my purpose. I then told the barons to speak, each in their turn. Those who had Saracen vassals spoke with reluctance, for what I proposed did not seem to please them. I said to them: “Why does this not please you? why do you not counsel me for your own advantage? You should not abstain from giving me advice for the good of God, and mine, and your own in the end. Though your revenue will be lessened, and not be so great by Christians as by Saracens, yet you ought to consider how great is the gain that I and you will derive by the latter giving me cause to drive them out of this country, without, however, breaking my faith with them. Another very weighty consideration is, that if, perchance, for the sins of us Christians, it should sometime happen that the Saracens beyond the sea, and those on this side, should come to an agreement, and those especially who dwell in our towns should rise, they might perhaps take so many castles from us, and from the King of Castile, that every one who heard of it would be astonished at the damage thus done to Christianity. And it is better that harm should happen to others than to ourselves, for time changes in one day, and every man should take care that the change do not happen to his hurt.”

367. Thereupon the citizens of Valencia, the bishops, and the clerks, supported me strongly in maintaining the opinion I had given. I was, therefore, enabled to overcome the resistance of the barons, who, perceiving that my opinion was more favourably received than theirs, gave in at last, and had to agree to my proposal. It was decided that Xativa and all the castles I held in the kingdom of Valencia should be strengthened. That of Xativa I at once assigned to En Guillen de Moncada with sixty men between knights and squires⁴⁴⁰ properly armed. I also ordered other castles to be strengthened; where the garrisons could not defend themselves well and stoutly in case of attack, companies of men were sent till there were enough in each place. To the Saracens I despatched letters and messages written in Arabic, summoning them at a fixed time, and within the period of a month from that date of the letters, to be ready to leave the country with all their goods and chattels, and, in fact, with all they could take away; for it was not my will (I said) that they should remain in my kingdom after they had behaved so ill towards me and my people.

⁴⁴⁰“Ab lx. cauallers e escuders ab armes” in the Barcelona edition.

368. When the Saracens in some of the more important towns heard of my determination, they sent me such envoys as they could find, saying that they marvelled greatly at my wishing to drive them from their country; if more revenue was wanted they would willingly give what was reasonable and just. The people of Xativa, in particular, who had made a previous treaty with me, offered to pay yearly a hundred thousand bezants. After holding council on it, I answered the envoys that I well knew that they could, if they chose, increase their payments to me, and that the land would thus produce more than it did before; but that since they had begun a rebellion without any help or assistance from beyond seas, I knew, very well that should their power become greater, and the opportunity favour them, they would rise again, since they had had the audacity and the folly of rising single-handed against me. Wherefore that I desired them all to prepare to leave the country immediately, safe and sound, with all their goods and chattels. Thus the messengers, weeping and in great grief, departed from me; but when my orders had to be carried out, the Saracens set themselves against them wherever they could, rising in such towns as could not resist, and attacking castles and villages, with the help of their neighbours, all round. So vigorous, indeed, was their onset in different parts of the kingdom of Valencia, that they actually took ten or twelve castles from us, and a great war arose between Christians and Saracens. Those who could not attack or take a castle wherein to defend themselves, left the country and retired to Montesa, so that full sixty thousand fighting men, without counting the women and children, collected in that town.

369. Meantime fear seized the Saracens lest I might take from them the goods and chattels they were carrying away, as well as what of their clothing was valuable. They deputed Don Eximen Perez de Arenós to say that they would willingly surrender to me half the goods and half the clothing they were taking away, on condition of my having them escorted out of the kingdom with the other half.⁴⁴¹ I replied that on no account would I do such a thing, for I had promised them security, and now to rob them on the road was what I would not do for anything in the world. I had told them that they would be under my safeguard, and that I would take care of them, provided they gave up their houses, hereditaments, and their native country (*natura*); since I had pledged my word to them that they should depart safe and sound from the land, I would take no ransom (?) or service money from them.⁴⁴² I was much grieved for the hurt I was involuntarily doing to them; my heart would not bear to add further to their sorrow, and take from them anything they were carrying off. I had them escorted as far as Villena; the barons and knights who accompanied them assuring me that from the van to the rear the train of Saracens was fully five leagues long, and that certainly at the battle of Ubeda⁴⁴³ not more people were massed together, men, women and children, than on this occasion. Don Frederick,⁴⁴⁴ brother of the King of Castile, was then in Villena, which he was holding for the king [Ferdinand]; he took for each Saracen man and woman who arrived there, a bezant. Thus they paid, as I was told, a hundred thousand bezants, and then went into Murcia; some leaving for Granada, others for the land of the King of Castile, and so on. In this manner did most of the Valencian Saracens depart from the country.

⁴⁴¹“E faaren aço parlar per tal quels guiassem ab laltra partida;” literally, and such was their proposal to me, on condition that I would give them a “guiatge,” or safe-conduct for their property as far as the other countries.

⁴⁴²“Que no voliem pendre serueig dels.”

⁴⁴³More properly called of “Las Navas de Tolosa,” fought in 1212.

⁴⁴⁴The Infante Don Fadrique.

370. Those who remained made Alazarch their captain. One day there came word to me that that Saracen's men were besieging Penacadell, and preparing engines (*alzaradas*) to batter the walls with, and that besides that very often fighting went on with lance and shield. I was then at Valencia; I sent immediately for the bishops, barons, and knights, who happened to be there, men experienced in war, as well as for the chief men (*prohomens*) of the city. I told them to get ready to go with me against the enemy, for news had come that Penacadell was being besieged, and I was determined to go there and raise the siege. "If Penacadell were lost (said I), no one would dare to go to Cossentayna, or Alcoy, or any place in the district of Xixona or Alicante, to the great injury of the Christians on this side of Deslida and Lleo. I hear that the Saracens have defeated a body of three thousand Christians, from the districts of Tortosa, Alcaniz, Castellot, Orta, Villalonga, Alcanada, Vallderoures, and other places which the Moors have evacuated. The Saracens happened to go against them, when no less than one thousand and four hundred of our men were slain in that encounter. Should Alazarch take Penacadell, it will be a great disaster for all the Christians of this kingdom." All the bishops and knights there present approved of my marching to the relief of the besieged. Don Eximen Perez de Arenós alone objected and said: "Saving your honour, I am not of that opinion; the Moors are many, and much emboldened by the victory they have just gained over the Christians, and by the castles they have taken. The part of the country which they hold is mountainous, and such as no heavy-armed horses can act in, and where we should not risk sending our king; for should he be unsuccessful, and be obliged to come back without beginning or ending what he desires, there would be no repairing the mischief done. On the contrary, should the king stay in Valencia, if we happen to receive a check, his power will be sufficient to retaliate, and repair our losses." All present agreed that Don Eximen spoke truth and reason; they entreated me humbly and earnestly not to go, but send some one thither. I felt that they spoke well, and gave the advice that was soundest; I agreed therefore to do what they asked of me.

371. Thereupon my men went to the place. The Saracens held two hills, one on this side of the rock (Penacadell), and the other beyond it. Our people with armoured horses and footmen attacked the enemy, and took from him the hill which was on our side. There, on that hill, was killed a Saracen, by name Abenbazel,⁴⁴⁵ the best man Alazarch⁴⁴⁶ had in his host, and the most powerful of all; indeed, in valour he was greater than Alazarch himself. So by God's help was one of the hills gained. When the Christians saw that, they pushed on towards the other; but the Saracens who were on it, seeing that Abenbazel was dead, took themselves to flight, and gained the hill on the other side. The Christians believing that the Saracens would not so soon abandon that position, set no guard at the foot of it, in consequence of which all the Saracens fled and went to take shelter in Alcalá, and in the country held by Alazarch. Ever since that time the Christians took courage, and the Moors lost it. The war, however, lasted three or four years, until Alazarch made certain overtures, first to En Manuel, the King of Castile's brother, and then to the King of Castile himself.

372. The King of Castile then begged me to grant Alazarch a truce for his sake. Alazarch (said he) had sent to him his banner [with a messenger], besides another he had sent on a previous occasion. The King had also sent his to Alazarch, so that he had him, as it were, under his protection, and was bound to defend him if he could. Alazarch said so to his own people and

⁴⁴⁵Elsewhere Abetibasol, or Aben Bassál, {arabic} which seems more correct.

⁴⁴⁶The edition of Barcelona has Almaçarich, which is decidedly wrong.

to others who reported it to me. He had, in an interview with Eximen de Foces, held out the King of Castile as a threat to me. I granted Alazarch a truce, to last from one Easter to another.

373. In the beginning of Lent a messenger came from a Saracen, a great confidant of Alazarch, who always went with him, and by whose advice he did great deal. The message, which came through a Christian to whom the Saracen had spoken privately, was thus worded: "My Lord, such a Saracen," naming him, "salutes you, and says that if you will only grant to him what he may ask, he will contrive that Alazarch shall sell all the grain he has in store, so that if you attack him next Easter, you will find him absolutely unprovided and unable to defend himself, for he will get him to sell all the grain he has." I asked the messenger if the Saracen was of Alazarch's council and in his confidence. He said, "Yes, he is, more so than any one else about him; you may trust in him, inasmuch as he does not want any reward from you till he has accomplished what he is about to undertake, in the most satisfactory manner." I said to him, "Now tell me what the Saracen wants of me." He said, "Only three hundred bezants and three 'jovadas' of land in Benimazor,⁴⁴⁷ and that you make an agreement and charter that on his performing what he says, you will give him the bezants and the land." I said I would do so, and had accordingly an agreement drawn up in the way I undertook. Then he told me further; he said that when he had persuaded Alazarch to sell his corn, he would at once come to me, and desert his master's company. And that nothing more was needed then but that I should then fall on him, for all his affairs would be irretrievably lost; I might do with him as I wished.

374. Thereon I fixed a day for En Guillen de Cardona, En Guillen de Angresola,⁴⁴⁸ and other Catalonian and Aragonese barons to be with me without fail sometime before Easter Sunday. I had great need of them (said I) and they would do me great service and honour by coming. The Saracen meanwhile spoke with Alazarch, saying, "Alazarch, you have supplies, but no money, and yet you have to pay soldiers and give them a great deal of your substance; now the King of Castile is your friend; he craftily got for you a truce from the King of Aragon; let us send to beg him to obtain the same for another year. The King of Aragon is so afraid of him, that he will not refuse him that, or even a greater demand if he should make it. We are sure to have a good harvest next year, and you can then have money enough to pay your troops with, if you will only sell the corn you have now in store, and have it replaced by that of the next harvest."

375. Alazarch answered, that the advice was very good, and that he would follow it. He accordingly sent at once a messenger to the King of Castile to beg him to get from me a prorogation of the truce for another year, for he was entirely at his service and command. When the King of Castile saw Alazarch's letter, he wrote to me asking to have the truce prorogued. This was about Lazarus Sunday.⁴⁴⁹ Meanwhile the Moor himself came to me, and said that he had accomplished all he had offered, and that I would find, by inquiry, that Alazarch had sold the whole of his grain. I then wrote to my people of Concentayna and other places close to Alazarch's camp and ascertained that he had really parted with all his corn. I then replied to the King of Castile that I wondered much how he asked me to do what was to my injury. Alazarch (I wrote) had some time before come to me pretending that he wished to become a Christian, and take a relation of En Carróc for his wife; but when I was going by night to a castle of his, called

⁴⁴⁷Benimaçor.

⁴⁴⁸In the Barcelona edition Dangleola, by the omission of an s, for the right name is d'Angresola, or Anglesola.

⁴⁴⁹"E aço fo en torn del digmenge de Latzer poch mes o poch menys."

Rognut,⁴⁵⁰ he had planned treachery against me, and it was thus: I had only thirty-five knights with me, and he lay in ambush, with seven different bodies of men and with great sound of horns and clarions, and with many crossbowmen and buckler-men nightly. But for our Lord's help he had⁴⁵¹ overthrown and slain me. When after that I sent a hundred and seventeen Christians to build a tower near the castle, he captured them all and held them prisoners. I sent word to the King of Castile that he should show no love, nor ask me for anything for a man who had thus contrived my death. To the Moor, who had thus arranged matters for me, I duly sent the promised sum of bezants, besides a charter for the hereditament, as I had undertaken.

376. I held Easter at Valencia, and went thence to Xativa next Tuesday, taking with me no more than sixty knights. On the Friday after Easter I left Xativa and went to Concenterayna, where I learned that the barons were coming, and that some of them were already in Valencia. By the following Thursday I had met the kaid of Planes, of Castell, and of Pego. Next day I went to Alcalá, but Alazarch dared not wait for me, and shifted himself to Gallinera, I preferred going to Alcalá, for there rather than elsewhere were Alazarch's headquarters. I will not relate all that was done on the occasion, for it would lengthen this my book beyond measure; suffice it to say that on the eighth day after my arrival there, I was in possession of Alcalá, Gallinera, and sixteen more castles that Alazarch had taken from me; until at last that chief himself made an agreement with me to leave the country for ever, and never return to it. I gave Polop to a nephew of his, to hold for his life; that was the settlement between me and him.

377. Before this occurred, however, the King of Castile came to Alicante and sent a message to Alazarch to meet him, and he accordingly went thither. The King of Castile was hunting; Alazarch came with ten Moorish knights besides his "exortins"⁴⁵² or body-guard, who preceded him. The King of Castile was told that Alazarch was coming, and he stopped. Alazarch came to him and kissed his hand. The King asked, "Dost thou know how to hunt? Alazarch answered: "If you be pleased I can hunt the castles of the King of Aragon." A Gallician (one of the King of Castile's people) who was present, said, "A poor Moor! who can hunt nothing but castles." There happened to be there a knight from Aragon who overheard the words; his name was Miquel Garcés, who in aftertime repeated those words to me. When I had taken from Alazarch all he had in the world, and expelled him from the country, I thought of that talk of his, and caused a letter to be written to the King of Castile, wherein I said how I had been told that Alazarch had gone to him, and had made the above taunting remark. I gave the King of Castile to understand that in a week's time I had taken sixteen of Alazarch's castles, and informed him that I also knew how to hunt; and that the end of Alazarch's hunting had been what he would learn by my letter.

378. Presently, when I had completed my work in the kingdom of Valencia, and thus recovered what had been lost, I went to Aragon. Some time before I heard that the King of Castile had fallen out with the King of Granada, and that the latter had sent for Moors from over sea, and that light horsemen⁴⁵³ of the Africans and Saracens were overrunning the land; it might

⁴⁵⁰In the Barcelona edition Rogat.

⁴⁵¹"E ell donans celada ab vii celades de moros, e ab gran brugit de corns e danafils e balesters, quey hauia molts, e ab dargues." Anafils is the plural of anafil in *Span*. añafil and añafir from the Arabic, {arabic}, a "trumpet."

⁴⁵²On the meaning of the word "exortins" see note 195.

⁴⁵³At this time Mohammad I., Ibnu-l-ahmar, surnamed *Alghálib billah*, ruled at Granada. One of the copies has *gents*, "perço quan ja nauia passat gran companya de gents;" but I prefer *genets*, as the light cavalry of the African Moors was generally called at that time. The Spanish words *ginete*, for the horseman or rider, and *gineta* for the peculiar mode of riding with a high saddle and short stirrups, seem to me derived from the {arabic}, sometimes written {arabic}, or African tribe of the *Zenetes*.

well be after all that, thus helped from abroad, the Granadine Moors would recover all the country of the King of Castile, and all they had ever lost through me, through the Castilians and others in Andalusia.⁴⁵⁴ The King of Castile was at Seville⁴⁵⁵ when he heard of this; he sent a defiance and declaration of war to the King of Granada, for that he had secretly got over [from Africa] a large body of men. The Granadine had besides laid his plots in all the towns and castles of the King of Castile, wherein there were Moors still, as well as in Seville, where a great number of them were living. All together they were to rise on a given day and attack the Christians everywhere, so that the King of Castile and his wife should be taken prisoners, and the lost towns and castles recovered at one blow. And matters were so arranged, that had not the King of Castile discovered the conspiracy in Seville, he might have lost body, wife and children. As it was, he had hardly left Seville when the Saracens, who were in great multitude there, rose up in arms, and in less than three weeks the King of Castile lost three hundred large towns and castles.

379. I was then at Sexena,⁴⁵⁶ keeping Palm Sunday, in honour of the monastery there erected by Doña Sancha, my grandmother. I was told that the Queen⁴⁵⁷ of Castile had sent word that she was at Osca (Huesca); the message came by Bertran de Villanova, my own born subject, a man whom I knew and loved well. When I heard of that I went to Agranyen,⁴⁵⁸ one of my towns, four leagues from Huesca. There I found Bertran de Villanova, who gave me the Queen's letters. Their purport was, that she loved me much, just as a daughter should love her own father, well and faithfully. I had married her to the King of Castile, who was one of the highest and most powerful men in the world, by whom she had already several sons and daughters—eight or nine. She prayed me, for God's sake, for our kindred, and for our own credit (valor), not to let her be disinherited, and to consult how to assist them. They had no one to consult or seek help from but me. The Moors had taken possession of nearly all their country, except perhaps a little; she prayed me, as her father and lord, in whom she had hope and confidence, to help her and her husband, that she might not see herself, the king, and her children deprived of their royal inheritance. My answer to En Bertran, when I had seen the letters, was that I could take no resolution where I was, but that I would go to Huesca, and there assemble my council, and make such answer as should satisfy the Queen. En Bertran kissed my hand, and thanked me as much as he could on her behalf.

380. Next morning, after mass, I rode to Huesca, and ordered the barons who came with me, and those who were already in the town, to be early on the following day with me and with others in my house; that we wished to confer with them on very important and pressing business. There were there, the Bishop of Huesca, the Abbot of Montaragon, Fernando Sanchez de Castre,⁴⁵⁹ Berenguer Guillen d'Entenza, En Eximen Perez de Arenós, Don Gonzalo Perez, his nephew, and the Archdeacon of Valencia. I exhibited the Queen's letter, and bade them give counsel as to how I should act in respect of what the Queen had sent to say. The Bishop of Huesca was requested to speak first, and he said, "Since you and the King wish it, I will speak.

⁴⁵⁴Here the word Andalusia as written in the *Chronicle* may probably be meant for {arabic}, Andalus, or Spain. That {arabic}, or the "Land of the Wandals," is the generic name for Wisigothic Spain, the "Hispania" of the Romans, cannot be doubted. See above, note 421.

⁴⁵⁵All the copies have *Xibilia*, which is the right spelling for {arabic}, Ixbilia Hispalis, now Sevilla.

⁴⁵⁶Sexena, now Sixena in Aragon.

⁴⁵⁷Yoland, his daughter, married to Alfonso.

⁴⁵⁸Granyen, now Grañen in Aragon.

⁴⁵⁹Ferrant Sanxes de Castre or Castro.

381. “My Lords, this is too great a thing for me to advise the King to determine it exclusively with your help, he having so many barons in his own land, as archbishops, bishops, and so forth; he should take their counsel on such important business, as this is a greater affair even than that of Ubeda,⁴⁶⁰ or any other in Spain. I am of opinion that the King assemble together his court, and lay this before them, and with their advice do what he may do.”

I told Fernando Sanchez de Castre to speak, and he said, “Let Don Berenguer Guillen d’Entenza speak first; he is older than I am; I will speak after him.” En Berenguer answered, “Never mind that; do you speak first.” Don Fernando then said: “This is what I say: It seems to me as if the King cannot avoid affording his help to the Queen on her sending him such a letter; on the other hand, I think that now is the time for our King to get amends for the wrongs the King of Castile once did him; for he can rightly ask for an indemnity, since not only the expedition will be an expensive one, but the assistance to be given will be more needed and seasonable than ever was help from one king to another. Now let the King get back the castles that he has so often demanded from Castile; unless he gets them beforehand I will not advise him to give his aid to the King of Castile, however much the latter may need it, for true friends are known in the hour of need.” When Don Fernando had finished his speech, I told Fernando Sanchez to give his opinion. He said: “I support the Bishop of Huesca’s motion. Let our King hold Cortes, and consult his barons first; I share, however, Don Berenguer’s opinion, that before giving his help to Castile, our King should get back the castles to which he has a right, for certainly there never was so good an opportunity as this. We will help him as much as we can in this his undertaking, and I believe that others will do the same. Let him, as I say, hold Cortes, for without that this business cannot be settled; it is too important.” The Abbot of Montaragon, Don Eximen Perez de Arenós, and Don Garcia Perez de Tarazona were of the same opinion. But it is not my wish to make too long a story; all said that they held the advice as good, and that I should send a message to the King to return to me Requena and the other places which I once held; I wished and intended helping him in his difficulty, but could not give him a complete answer till I had held a court: then we would make such an answer as should satisfy him.

382. Then they asked me to speak, and I said I was content to do so. “In the first place,” said I, “I do not assent to anything you have said to me. I will tell you how this business really stands. Know that this is very like the case of one who is tasting wine before buying it, with the full intention of watering it afterwards. If he taste the wine, it is for the purpose of ascertaining whether it has been already watered, or is pure and strong, so that he himself may water it.⁴⁶¹ The King of Castile has put my daughter to this use; for the wrongs he has done me he dare not ask for my help, but tries to get it through my daughter. Should he find by letters from her that I feel inclined, other prayers for help will certainly endorse the first. To the advice to hold Cortes thereon, my answer is, that I think it a right thing to assemble them. I will have two, one for Catalonia and another for Aragon; the first at Barcelona, the second at Zaragoza; yet I shall not ask counsel of either of them on this present business, for in no country in the world have such assemblies of men the sense and worth required in such cases.⁴⁶² I have had experience enough to know that members are generally divided in opinion, and that whenever I asked them for counsel

⁴⁶⁰The battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, fought in 1212.

⁴⁶¹“Sapiats que aquesta es una manera dome qui tasta vi el uol enayguar, car aquels que tasten vi el volen enaygar (*sic*) uolen saber si es enayguat o fort primerament.”

⁴⁶²“Mas no quels deman de conseyl daquest feyt en neguna de les corts, car en les terres del mon no ha tant de sen ne de valor com deuria.

on matters of importance, they could never be made to agree. I will therefore, speak to them, explain the case, and ask them to help and stand by me. For this is a thing I cannot decline to do for three reasons: one, because I cannot absolutely desert my daughter and her children when it is sought to take their heritage from them; another, and one greater than any mentioned by you, that were I not obliged from honour and duty to help the King of Castile, still should I wish to help him, owing to his being one of the most powerful men in the world; and if I do not help him, and he extricates himself from this difficulty in which he now is, perhaps he will for ever after hold me for his mortal enemy on account of my not helping him in his great trouble, and if at any time he can do me harm he will most certainly do it, and will be in his right. The third reason, and perhaps the strongest of all, is that which naturally occurs to me: if the King of Castile happen to lose his land I shall hardly be safe in mine, and if any loss and expense is thereby to be incurred, it had better be sustained in protecting Castile from its aggressors, and helping its king, rather than in defending my own kingdom. There is in my opinion no other counsel but to send a message to the Queen that we will help her with all our power. I will go into Catalonia and hold a Cortes there; I will also hold them in Aragon; but in neither of those assemblies shall I ask for counsel,⁴⁶³ I will apply for aid, and as soon as I get it, will I run down to the assistance of my daughter, and of the King of Castile, her husband.”

383. I accordingly departed thence, went to Catalonia, and called together the States at Barcelona. When they were assembled, barons, citizens, and clergy, I asked them, since they and theirs had always helped me in such undertakings as that of Mallorca and others, that they would now help me in this one, as was much needed. Their answer was that they would deliberate thereupon, and as En Ramon de Cardona and some of his house claimed redress for some wrongs they had suffered of me, they would first speak with him thereupon, and then make such answer as should satisfy me. I replied that any one in my land who had any complaint to make, should come forward at once, and right would be done unto him; that ought not to be a reason for refusing me the aid I asked for. It was not good sense, I said, that whilst I asked them for one thing, they should reply by talking of another quite unconnected with it. Wherefore I prayed and commanded them to think better of it, for certainly the answer they gave did not become such good men as they were. They deliberated again, and then gave me answer as bad as, or worse than, the first.

384. When I saw how badly they behaved to me, I told them that they had not sufficiently considered what might happen thereafter. If the King of Castile ultimately lost what was his own, I and they would find it harder to keep our property than we had done until then. I then addressed the clergy in these words: “What will you gain by the churches where our Lord and His Mother are now worshipped being lost, and the name of Mahomet proclaimed therein? And if what belongs to me and to the King of Castile as Christian kings, be lost, how can you expect to keep what you yourselves own? Why answer me so ill and so basely! I never thought that I should ever assemble the States in Catalonia without obtaining from them what was reasonable; for surely had I asked from you urgently what was unreasonable, I really think I should have prevailed with you to grant it to me. But since such is your answer, I will depart from you, as much displeased as any lord ever was with his people.”

385. Saying which I arose, and would hear nothing more from them, and went to my house; they prayed me earnestly not to be angry, for they would again deliberate and give an answer. But

⁴⁶³A note on this passage at page 329 of the Spanish translation alludes to the business transacted in these Cortes.

for all that I would not wait; part of the members followed me to my own house, others remained behind; but ultimately those who had come with me went back to the others.

386. When I was about to sit to my dinner,⁴⁶⁴ the Assembly sent to me four of its members, En Berenguer Arnau, En Pedro de Berga, and two other barons, whose names I do not recollect, who begged to speak to me. I took them apart and heard what they had to say. They stated to me on behalf of their colleagues that it had never been, and should never be, the mind of the States on any account that I should ask counsel or aid of the prelates and barons of Catalonia without finding it at once. And that as I intended to leave the town, and had said so to some of their colleagues, they begged me to remain, promising, if I did, to behave in such wise that I should be satisfied with them. And this they prayed so much and so earnestly of me, that I had to grant it.

387. At vespers they again came to me, saying that on no account would they (that I ought to believe) let me leave in anger with them. I ought to hear what they had to say, for their words in the first instance were not intended in bad sense. They, therefore, begged me, before they granted what I asked of them, to settle Ramon de Cardona's claims. It was, they said, their intention to grant me after that the service known by the name of "bovatge," although they maintained I had no right to it, having already had it twice since the beginning of my reign; once when I came to the throne, and again when I went to Mallorca. They would, however, grant it again, since I wished it, and would serve me in that business so that I should have reason to thank them. I was content with their answer, and called together the States in Aragon, to be present at Zaragoza within three weeks.

388. I accordingly departed thence and went to Aragon. I called together the bishops and the barons, and they assembled in the Dominicans' Church. I rose and began by a text of Scripture: "*Non minor est virtus quærere quam quæ sunt parta tueri.*"⁴⁶⁵ Though our Lord has shown me great love, and given me great honour in the business of Mallorca and Valencia, and in other things up to this time, there are reasons in other quarters which compel me to defend what I have won during my reign. For which cause, and inasmuch as our Lord has by His favours enabled me to remedy what ills others suffer, we all ought to give Him thanks, since by your power and mine we can give aid to the King of Castile, so closely allied to me. We ought indeed to be grateful to our Lord that the Saracens have done treason and wrong to him. For after all it is far better that they should have done it on the lands of another prince than on ours. Wherefore I pray you for the love you owe me, the service you have done me on other occasions, and the ties there are between you and me, that you help me in this matter. The aid you give will be but little in comparison with what I shall do for you; for every *maravedi morabetin* I take of you, I will give you ten. I do [not] ask this as a debt due to me by you, but only that I may the better conclude this business in which I am now engaged. If you will consider what honour I and you can gain by righting what is amiss elsewhere, nothing should be of account to us beside it. If I went beyond seas on a crusade against the Saracens, I should not merit one third as much as by defending what God has here, in Spain, given to the King of Castile and to me. This is a thing whence I may get both shame and loss; for if the King of Castile lose his, I may also lose mine. If you wish that I

⁴⁶⁴The text here has: "E quan nos estauem aixi que no uoliem menjar, enviaren nos," &c., which literally translated into English means, "And we were in this state, and would not eat, when they sent us a deputation," &c. Such is also the reading in the new unfinished edition of the *Chronicle*, which, as stated in the Introduction to the present volume, is by far the most correct. Yet I cannot help thinking that the passage is somehow vitiated, and that the natural construction is that given above.

⁴⁶⁵The text quoted is not from the Scripture, but from Ovid's *Ars Amandi*, lib. ii. v. 13. It is, besides, incorrectly given: "Non minor est virtus quam quærere parta tueri."

should state how I propose to act, let two barons come to me, and I will tell them how the thing can be done. And thereon you can consider how to make good answer to me, such as may be to the honour of God, of me, and of you.”

389. A Minorite friar then arose, and said: “For the greater⁴⁶⁶ comfort of the King and you all, I will tell you of a vision which one of our Franciscan brethren, a Navarrese, saw some time ago. While he was asleep, in his convent, he saw a man robed in white who called him by his name, asking him if he slept. The friar was at first afraid, and made the sign of the cross. He asked, ‘Who are you who have awaked me in this manner?’ And the man said, ‘I am an angel of our Lord, and come to tell thee that trouble has lately arisen between Saracens and Christians in Spain; be thou certain, however, that a king will set it all right, and hinder harm from coming to Spain.’ The Navarrese friar asked what king it would be, and the reply was, ‘The King of Aragon, named James.’” The friar added that the Navarrese brother, who saw the vision, had told it to him in confession; he certainly had seen it, and that it grieved him much that the King of Navarre was not the one designated. Wherefore you should comfort the King and yourselves; I tell you that our King is destined to set right what is so amiss, and hinder further harm. And this I tell you for your comfort.”

390. Then Don Eximen de Urrea arose and said, that visions were very good things; yet that they would retire and return after deliberating on what had been said. I told him that he spoke well, and he accordingly went away, the meeting in the Dominicans’ church separating, and I going to my private apartments. I had not been there long when seven or eight of the Aragonese barons came up to me. I said to them: “Barons, what I have to tell you, I will not say before the people, for these are things that must be said privately, that you may help me in such wise as may turn to my honour and yours. True is it that I held Cortes at Barcelona, and I can boast of the clergy and barons of Catalonia, that when I showed my good intention of serving God and helping the King of Castile, their wish and their will was to assist me at once. At first they proposed to help me with money levied on their vassals, and to grant me the “bovatge.”⁴⁶⁷ Then they prayed me to help with my own [vassals] as well as with theirs, and said they would do service for all they then held of me or might afterwards hold in fief;⁴⁶⁸ wherefore I pray you that you consent that your men aid me in like way as the Catalonians engaged to aid me, and I myself have engaged to aid them. And if that manner of grant do not please you, let us consider the matter in another way, which will come to the very same thing. For if you reckon it well, the most I shall get from your vassals will not amount to five thousand sous, whereas you may have from me as much as thirty thousand; wherefore it is good to stake five thousand for thirty thousand sous; for the most that a knight will have from me will not exceed five hundred sous, whereas I will give you that of it which you may get two or three thousand to give away.⁴⁶⁹ Further, I will grant you charters, that what I now ask of you, if you grant it, shall not be made a

⁴⁶⁶“Per major anagement e major confort.” I cannot explain the word *anagement*, the sense of which cannot be material.

⁴⁶⁷Feudal tax levied on each yoke of oxen.

⁴⁶⁸This rather obscure passage stands thus in the original: “Primerament quens aiudarien dauer quens darien sobrels homens lurs, et que fos bouatge. E despuix pregaren nos quels ajudassem del nostre, e del lur, e que nos servirien sobre tot ço que tenien de nos a feu; ço quels donariem, e aytambe els feus quels tenien per nos quels donariem.”

⁴⁶⁹“Car si be ho estimats, daquell que mes haïam de nostres homens no pujara a v. milia sous, e uos porets ne hauer de nos xxx milia, porque fa bon metre v. milia sous per xxx milia que hom vos anadesca; e caualler per molt quey do no puyara de D sous aenant, E nos darem a uosaltres quels en porets donar ij miliao ij milia sous.”

precedent against you and yours hereafter.” On which they were all silent, and answered nothing. I said to them: “I marvel that you are thus silent; I have proposed to you nothing that is not perfectly honourable; nothing that should vex you.”⁴⁷⁰ When I saw that they would not speak, I said, “I wish to know from thee, Fernan Sanchez de Castre, what your answer is.” He said, that since I wished him to speak, he would speak, and he spoke thus: “I do not believe that the Aragonese will agree to that, nor will I. As to myself, if you want to set fire to what I have, do you begin at one end, and go out at the other.” I said to him: “Hast thou no better answer to make, Fernan Sanchez? I am not here to set fire to thy land, but to defend it, and to increase your possessions, as I have done hitherto; that is the way I will set fire to you, not in the other way.”

391. Thereon I asked Don Berenguer G. de Entenza to make answer; and he said: “My lord, if you want anything of mine or of the lands in my possession, I will give it willingly to you; but I cannot do this thing you ask of me.” En Eximen de Urrea⁴⁷¹ said: “My lord, we do not know in Aragon what ‘bovatge’ is; but we will consult, and make answer to you.” I said: “Barons, it behoves you to come to a better resolution than the one you just brought me; for I want nothing but what is not for my good and yours.” They accordingly went away to deliberate, and did not return to me on that day nor the next until the hour of vespers, when Don Berenguer G. de Entenza came. I said to him: “Don Berenguer G. de Entenza, you are rather late with the answer you were to bring me.” He said: “The barons did not wish to send it for this reason; they thought it would not please you.” I said, “Why should it not please me?” Don Berenguer replied: “Know for certain, that they are not minded to make you a favourable answer.” I told him to depart, and ordered my porters to go to each of the barons, and tell them to come to me next morning.

392. On the appointed day and hour they actually came, and stood some time before me, saying nothing. I inquired of them, “What have you agreed upon as to what I asked of you?” One said to another, “Do you say.” Then they told En Eximen de Urrea to speak first, and he said, “We do not know, my lord, what ‘bovatge’ means, and I can tell you that when my colleagues first heard the word, all cried with one voice, that they would have nothing of the sort.” I said to them: “I marvel greatly at you; you are a hard people to deal with, and it is difficult to make you listen to reason. You should consider the matter well, and see if my demand is made with good intent or with ill. No man, I assure you, can think ill of me for asking what I do ask of you, for certainly I do it for good motives; firstly, for God’s sake; secondly, to save Spain; thirdly, that I and you may hereafter deserve this great praise and honour of saving Spain from the Saracens. And by my faith in God, since the people of Catalonia, which is the better sovereignty, and the most honourable and the most noble, for there are there four counts, the Count of Urgel, the Count of Ampurias, the Count of Foix;⁴⁷² and the Count of Pallas; besides so many barons (*richshomes*) that for one here there are four in Catalonia, and for one knight you have here there are five there, and for one clerk there is here there are ten there, and for one substantial citizen you can show there are five in Catalonia; since the people, I say, of the most honourable land in Spain are willing to give me of what they have, you should refuse to give me good aid, you who hold of me countless honours, some of twenty, some of thirty, some of forty thousand sous a year. And above all, when all these are sure to come back to you, by what I should give you in return.” Their reply was that they would not do it in that way for anything in the world. I said,

⁴⁷⁰“Que nos nols degem (deyem?) vilania, ne res que pesar los degues.”

⁴⁷¹Nexemen Dorrea or En Exemen Dorrea.

⁴⁷²El Comte de Foix. In the modern reprint Foix, both of which titles are pronounced and written in Spanish *Fox*.

“Yes, you shall do it in one way or other.” They were silent. Then I said: “Will you not do it in such a way that it will cost you nothing but words?” “How?” said they. “I will tell you how. Promise to aid me before all the rest, and pay nothing yourselves; in that way I will not lose what the clergy, the military orders, and the knights and citizens should pay; you yourselves will keep your part.”⁴⁷³ They said they would deliberate, and would make answer.

393. Next morning they met at the Dominicans’, and sent two knights to me. I was at the time engaged at the Bishop of Zaragoza’s, hearing a law-suit of Doña Teresa, and Garcia de Vera, and Miguel Perez de Alagó.⁴⁷⁴ When I had done with that, they sent to me Sancho Gomez de Balanrassa and Sancho Aznares de Arbe,⁴⁷⁵ who addressed me in these words: “My lord, the barons and the knights send to say that they consider the business asked of them the greatest thing that a King ever at any time proposed to the Cortes; and they declare that they will do nothing of it; they would rather lose all they have.” I looked at the Bishop of Zaragoza, who was then with me, laughed, and said, “Certainly the barons do not make a fitting answer to my request; but at another time, please God, they will make a better one on this matter.” When these words of mine were reported to the knights assembled, they all shouted aloud, and said, “To Alagon, to Alagon! let us take council there, and see what is to be done.” All accordingly left the town; only two of them remained with me.

394. When I had dined, Pedro Jordá de Exea [one of the two knights who had stayed behind] came up to me and said: “My lord, it grieves and annoys me much to see what mischief is being done by so rash and unwise a resolution;⁴⁷⁶ but I cannot help going to my colleagues. Is it your pleasure that I should say anything to them for you?” I said, “I do not wish you to say anything to them.” “Mind you,” said he, “if you wish me to say anything to them, tell me, and I will say it.” “Do you really mean, Pedro Jordá, that you will repeat to them what I will tell you?” He said, “Yes, my lord, whatever your message be, I will deliver it.” “Then go and tell them this from me, that I have no doubt that to-morrow they will be more stubborn than to-day, and in a fortnight, and even in a month, more stubborn and intractable than they are now; but at the end of the year they will wish they had granted my request: and may God confound you, Pedro Jordá, if you do not repeat to them my very words!” And so after secretly taking their oath at Zaragoza, the members of the Cortes withdrew to Alagon, and thence to Mallen, and I went to Calatayud.

395. Once there I sent them a message by the Bishop of Zaragoza that I would do them justice if they had any grievance to complain of; but that I marvelled much at their behaving in such a manner against their natural lord, so harshly and so obdurately. Thereon they sent me word that they would send to me Don Berenguer Garcia de Entenza, Don Artal de Alagó, and Don Ferris de Liçana, if I would only grant them a safe-conduct. This I gave, and sent them besides another message, to the effect that if they had any complaints to make I was ready to do them justice. Don Berenguer and his companions came to Calatayud. I was then staying at the church of Saint Mary, where more than a thousand inhabitants of Calatayud being present heard what was said. I first desired the deputation to tell me why had they taken an oath, and made a league at Saragossa, without ascertaining first whether any wrong had been done to them, and

⁴⁷³“Nos uos direm com: proferits nos denant tots, e nons donets res del uostre, per ço que nou perdam dels clergues, ni de les ordens, ni dels cauallers, car tot ho haurets vos altres.”

⁴⁷⁴“Que era jutge dun pleyt Daçuer que hauia Dona Teresa ab Garcia de Vera [e] ab Miquel Pereç Dalagó.”

⁴⁷⁵Thus in the first edition of 1557. The modern one has: “E nos que exiem de aqui enviaren nos Sanç Gomes de Balamaçan, e Sanç Açnares de Luna, e dixeren nos,” &c.

⁴⁷⁶Ab rauata e no ben.

whether I was prepared to make it good or not, for certainly it was a marvellous thing, I said, for vassals to swear a league against their natural lord, without his knowing why. They replied, that they had done it because I had broken the *fueros* (liberties) of Aragon. I said “You should show me how, and I will make it good. I have a copy of the ‘Fueros of Aragon’ by me, and will have it read before you, chapter by chapter, that you may point out wherein they have been infringed; if so I will make it good to you.” They said: “There is no need of having the ‘Fueros’ read; we will state in a few words how the infraction stands.” My reply was: “I am willing to hear your complaints, provided you deliver them in writing.” They accordingly produced a memorandum of the charges they had to make, namely, that I had infringed the “Fueros of Aragon,” in that I had with me a number of clerks learned in civil and canon laws,⁴⁷⁷ who gave judgment according to them. That in this manner I had done wrong to Don Berenguer Garcia de Entenza, one of the speakers, in the matter of Montpellier. Other complaints they made, which had neither top nor bottom, but were only designed to cover the misconduct of the Cortes in that instance.⁴⁷⁸

396. My answer was that it was true that I had civil and canon lawyers in my household, but that I was bound to have such lawyers by me: every king’s court ought to be accompanied by canon, civil, and “Fuero” lawyers, for there were law-suits in all those branches.⁴⁷⁹ I myself, by the grace of God, had three or four kingdoms to my share, and law-suits came before me of many different kinds. If I had not with me those who could judge and sentence such suits-at-law, it would be a shame to me and to my court, as neither I nor any layman could know all the law-writings there are in the world. That they might help me when necessary, I had them with me wherever I went, especially on account of my different states not being under one “Fuero,” or one custom. Therefore it was that I took them about with me, and made them follow my court. I then desired the deputies to say whether I had ever judged them by any other “Fuero” than that of Aragon in such cases as it could be applied; for if I had, I would willingly redress it. The “Fuero” of Aragon says that every man resort in equality to his lord.⁴⁸⁰ They did not, however, consent to having the “Fuero” read word by word in the matters in which they said I had done them wrong. Whereupon, having answered every one of their complaints, which were quite unreasonable, and should not have been made, I addressed them in the following words:—

397. “Barons, it seems to me that you wish to treat me as the Jews treated our Lord, when they took Him on the Thursday, at the Supper, and brought Him before Pilate there to be judged, crying, all the time, ‘Crucifix, Crucifix.’ You say that I break your ‘Fueros,’ and you do not say in what nor how. You are not willing to accept judgment from me: this is the most novel pretension that ever men raised against their lord. But I will tell you, barons, there are two things that embolden you in that evil counsel; one is the aid we have to give the King of Castile, of which I cannot fail, as it has been promised to him; the other is my own wisdom which keeps me from revenging this on you. Were it not for those two things, there is no plain or wall or rock from which I would not drag you; for, for every knight you have, I would bring three knights into the field, who would be no friends of yours, nor would they spare doing you harm in body and in

⁴⁷⁷“Car menauem pladesses en lleis ne en dret.” The modern edition has: “Car menavem pladeses en lleis ni en decret.” If the word *pladeses* be meant for pleaders, in French, *plaiders*, I should imagine that the meaning of the sentence is that given above.

⁴⁷⁸“E vns altres clams que no hauien cap ni sol, sino que uoliem cobrir lur errada.”

⁴⁷⁹“Car en tota cort de Rey deuie auer decretalistes, e legistes e furistes hi anassen.”

⁴⁸⁰“Que vaja hom a sen natural e a equaltat;” such is the reading in the edition of 1557. The reprint has: “Que uai hom a sen natural e a equaltat.”

property. Besides which I have in my favour all the cities and citizens of Aragon and Catalonia, who would be against you, knowing as much of war as you yourselves do. And since the greater power and greater wealth is with me, it seems to me that you should not encroach on me wrongfully.” Thereon the deputation took leave of me and departed.

398. When the barons departed I learned that they meant to meet at Almunien⁴⁸¹ on a fixed day, and as I knew what day it was to be, I determined to go to Huesca, and begged the Bishop of Zaragoza⁴⁸² to go with me, for I had need of him and wished to send him to them. The Bishop said that he would. When we got to Huesca, I sent the Bishop to Almunien, where the barons were to meet, and sent them word, that I prayed and commanded them by my lordship over them not to do so great offence against me as the one they were planning. The Bishop went thither and told them this in my name; he then came back, and said that Fernan Sanchez de Castre and Don Berenguer Garcia de Entenza would come to me, if I gave them a safe-conduct. The safe-conduct was granted; but as I had already sent them word that I would leave the business in the hands of the Bishop of Zaragoza and of the Bishop of Huesca,⁴⁸³ when the deputation came, I did not receive them. To shorten the story, for it would be too long to tell, nothing was done with me, or with the bishops, and matters remained in the state they were. Though it was again offered to them that I would give judgment in their case,⁴⁸⁴ they would not accept my offer, and went away.

399. When I saw things in this way, I sent for En Pere an En Ramon de Moncada and other barons of Catalonia, and for the men of Lerida, Tamarit, Almenara, and other places, to come to me and to the army, with their men and their arms, appointing a day on which I would be at Monzon.

400. While the letters patent summoning my vassals were on their way, I being then at Barbastro, the Aragonese knights sent to say that if I gave them a safe-conduct, they would come to me. I gave it them, and there came Fernan Sanchez de Castro, Don Berenguer Garcia de Entenza, and Don Ferris de Lizana, who among others had bound themselves by oath to make a league. We met in the great church of Saint Mary of Barbastro; Fernan Sanchez spoke for them, and said that the oath they had sworn was not against me individually, but because I, as King, had infringed their “Fueros,” and had asked of them things contrary to custom. In Exea, for instance, I had, he said, caused divisions among them, when Don Exemen de Urrea, Don Artal de Alagó, and the other barons and knights held with me, against Fernan Sanchez, Don Berenguer Garcia, and Don Ferris.⁴⁸⁵ I replied to those three that I had done them no injury, broken no “Fuero,” taken nothing from them; on the contrary, I had given them hereditaments; Don Ferris was the holder of a good honour when he went into this business, and I had endowed the father of Don Berenguer Garcia with all he had in the world; wherefore I marvelled much they did so harsh a thing against me. And that I may make it short to you [reader] they could not come to terms with me, and I told them, since it was thus, I would have to defend myself against them.

⁴⁸¹Almunien, on the road to Saragossa. Munien, without the article, seems to be the dual of {arabic}, Munya or Minya, a “garden,” of which name there are still several villages in Aragon, such as Almunia del Romeral, Almunia de Doña Godina, &c.

⁴⁸²Don Rodrigo de Ahones.

⁴⁸³The Bishop of Huesca at this time was Don Vital de Canellas.

⁴⁸⁴“Quels fariem dret”; giving them formal hearing and judgment thereon.

⁴⁸⁵“An Exea los haviem partits quant contenien ab nos don Eximen Durrea, e don Artal Dalagó e els altres richs homens e els cavallers, levat Ferran Sanxes, e don Bñ. G. e don Ferris.”

401. I went to Monzon, where there first came to me the men of Tamarit. There was near that town a fortress built by Pedro Maça, son of En Arnau de las Celles, and I made them attack it; it was taken and demolished. Then I went to Arafals,⁴⁸⁶ and by the help of the men of Almenar and Tamarit besieged it, and it surrendered to me. Then I went to Lerida, and begged and commanded its men to make ready to join my army; for I had resolved to go to the aid of the King of Castile. I departed thence, and because the waters of the Cinca were high, went to Monzon, crossed the bridge there, and stayed a night. Thence I went to Pomar and had a “fonevol” constructed, besides a wooden tower; but with a “brigola”⁴⁸⁷ which the men in the place had, they prevented our bringing up the “fonevol,” or the wooden tower, so that we could not do them hurt. When I saw that, and that I could make no progress, I sent to Tortosa for a “brigola” that I had there, with which to destroy that in the town.

402. Then came Pedro Martinez, a clerk, son of Don Martin Perez, Justicia of Aragon, and said that if I would consent to raise the siege of the place, they would meet me in this way; they would refer the question between me and the knights to the Bishop of Zaragoza and to the Bishop of Huesca. On my part, I was to return the honours which, as they said and thought, I had taken from them; on their part they assured me that they would do me justice, otherwise I might take their lands from them. They would (they said) give the bishops such security that I should be satisfied; if I only appointed a place for the meeting, they would surely come to me; and thus the question between me and them should be settled.

403. I was content with what Pedro Martinez said, and accordingly raised my camp and went to Monzon. I desired the men of Gil to receive them within their town, and they did so. The deputation came to Gil, and took up quarters there; there might be as many as a hundred and fifty knights; with them were Don Berenguer Garcia de Entenza, Don Ferris de Liçana, Fernan Sanchez de Castre, with others, besides the sons of En Fortunez de Berga, and several others, who were pensioners of mine, and yet friends of theirs. Then the matter was referred to the Bishop of Zaragoza and to the Bishop of Huesca; and they undertook to do right as to the wrong they had done me by coming against me and my sovereignty. If the judgment was that I should restore them their honours, they should be restored. It was stipulated that there should be truce till I had come back from assisting the King of Castile, and for fifteen days afterwards. This was put down in writing, and a day was appointed on which I would be in Zaragoza, and they were to be there also. I consented to this for two reasons: the first, because I knew very well they could not⁴⁸⁸ give me further security to abide the proposed judgment, for all they had, nay, their very persons, were already in my power; again, because it was then harvest time, the middle of June, and I could not keep my men with me, so great yearning had they to go home. I could not make them stay; neither blows, nor a close watch, nor prison could prevent their deserting the camp, and though I myself frequently watched them, and when detected punished them severely and beat them, I found it impossible to stop them.

404. When the day agreed on with the knights came, I went to Zaragoza, and they went also; the Bishop of Huesca came as far as Almudevar, where he was seized with illness; he said that it grieved him that he could not go on, so ill was he, and he had to go back. So I told the knights that the Bishop of Huesca could not come to the appointment, which they already well knew. I

⁴⁸⁶Rafals.

⁴⁸⁷*Bricola*, and *brigola*, an engine to throw stones. “Brigole machine à jeter des pierres”; Lacombe, *Dictionnaire du vieux langage Français* (Paris, 1767, 8vo), vol. ii. p. 73.

⁴⁸⁸The original has: “Que ells nons podien assegurar dret.”

then told the Bishop of Zaragoza that I was ready to submit to his decision, which should stand as good as if both bishops had joined in it. The Bishop said he would speak with them and, learn if they consented to that. They said to him, “For what does the King wish us to give him security?”⁴⁸⁹ The Bishop said, “For that which you have undertaken; and he will perform what has been agreed in writing between him and you.” As I afterwards learned the Bishop thought from what passed between him and the knights that they were too deeply committed by their oath against me to submit to his judgment. For all the property they had was not enough security, and they would have to put their own persons in my power to do my will. On which he spoke with me and said, “My lord, it seems as if the knights had undertaken something towards you which they cannot fulfil, and that they now are aware of it. It appears to me that I cannot order them to do you right, for all they have would not be a sufficient caution.”

405. I said to him, “Bishop, it is not for you to give excuses from one side to the other; let what you say be your decision; I will hold the honours of the knights as security that they will obey your judgment.” The Bishop’s reply was that he did not think he should give a judgment in the case likely to disinherit the knights of everything they had in this world. I said, “What is that to you, if they put themselves into the noose?” The Bishop would say no more about it, and the “honours” remained as a pledge in my hands, for the knights broke the written engagement they had made with me at Monzon. They would not abide the penalty thereof, whereas I abode by the truce they had sworn to, as set forth in writing between me and them.

406. After this, relying on the truce the knights had granted me, I went with what forces I could to assist the King of Castile. I passed through Zaragoza and went to Teruel, and sent word to my sons,⁴⁹⁰ and to En Ramon de Cardona, En Ramon de Moncada, and the others, to come to me at Valencia with what forces they could. I had summoned in all two thousand knights, but from Aragon only one came, namely Don Blasco de Alagon; so that of two thousand knights in my pay I had only six hundred with me. In Teruel I spoke to the chief men of the town, and asked them to assist me in the enterprise on which I was. I told them what I had done, and how; for nothing in the world (I said to them) could keep me from helping the King of Castile, since I had promised to assist him. I entreated them earnestly to furnish grain and cattle that I might provision the army with. They said they would deliberate about it; they could not do that till next day, but would immediately after give me an answer.

407. In less than an hour the townspeople came back, and Gil Sanchez Munyoz made, answer for all: “My lord,” he said, “you know well that what you commanded or asked of us has never met with a refusal; it never did, nor will it now. We will supply⁴⁹¹ three thousand loads of corn (a thousand of wheat and two thousand of barley), twenty thousand sheep, and two thousand cows; and if more is wanted take it from us as a loan.” I answered, that I gave them great thanks for their offers, and that I knew them to be good vassals, who loved their lord and trusted much in him. They told me to give them one of my bailiffs⁴⁹² to go with them through the villages, and

⁴⁸⁹“Quin dret vol lo Rey de nos que li façam ni le firmem? De ço, dix lo bisbe, que li hauets feyt, e el seguir uos ha ço que es encartat entre uos e ell.”

⁴⁹⁰“E enviam mensatge a nostres fiyls.” King James had at this time several sons living.

⁴⁹¹“Emprestaremos iii. mil cargas de pan e mil de trigo e ii. mil de ordio,” &c. Probably by the 3,000 loads (mule) of “bread” 1,000 of wheat and 2,000 of barley are meant. I have usually translated *pa* as corn, “bread stuffs.” The men of Lérida, it must be remembered, spoke Spanish, not Catalan. Instead of “dos mil vaquas” the reprint of Barcelona has “et iii. milia vacas.”

⁴⁹²“E ells dixeren quels donassem, porter”; *i.e.* “a gentleman usher of mine, or an alguazil.”

they would take the grain wherever they found it; that they would arrange matters in such a way that when I left Valencia with my host I should have it all. I gave them a bailiff to go with them, and departed from them very much satisfied with the love they had expressed and the way in which they had shown it.

408. At Valencia I also spoke with the chief men of the city, and prayed them to remember how they had been settled there by me from the time it was God's will that I should conquer the place; how it was that I trusted more on them than on any others for help in assisting the King of Castile against his rebellious subjects. Since I had departed from them (the Valencians) I had lost much of my influence in my other states.⁴⁹³ I entreated them as earnestly as I could to remember that I had settled them there, and I begged them to give me such aid as might enable me to carry out that enterprise with honour and reputation; they had hitherto shared my honour, and this campaign would certainly be one of the most honourable and important made during my reign. They said they would consult, and come again next day before me, for they wished to do the most they could for me.

409. Next day they came and said that I should tell them what I wanted of them, for they were ready to do my will. I told them that I wanted corn, wine, and barley. "I beg you to do this: go through the town, and let him who has corn, reserving what he wants for his household sustenance in a year, lend me the rest. And if there be any dealers in that article, let them lend their corn to me, and I will give them what security they want. Let you and the townsmen help me in this, and disclose to my bailiff⁴⁹⁴ where such dealers may be." They said that they would willingly do this for me, for they saw that I stood in need of it; they knew the pressure and the want as well as the dishonour and mischief that might befall them and me, if they did not comply with my request. They did so, and furnished all I wanted. Then there came the Infante En Jacme,⁴⁹⁵ En Ramon de Moncada, and other companies whom I do not remember. I went to Xativa and from Xativa to Biar.

410. At Biar I sent word to the Saracens of Villena,⁴⁹⁶ desiring and commanding them early next morning to come out to meet me. In the morning I myself went to the place, and they came out to me. There I took them aside (they were thirty of the best people of the town), and asked how they came to do such a thing as rising against their lord, Don Manuel. Though they had committed a great error, I would (I said) accept their excuses, and would willingly persuade him to pardon them, for he depended so much on me that he would do what I said. If they refused, I should be obliged to use violence against them, and they must know well that they could not defend themselves against my power. Therefore it were better for them that I should reconcile them with En Manuel, and that they should stay in their houses and hereditaments rather than have to desert them and go to foreign lands, where they might not be able to gain a livelihood nor find any one to help them. They told me that they thanked me much for what I had said, but that En Manuel's bad behaviour to them had forced them to rise against him. They further said that I might return to Biar, and at night they would make answer.

⁴⁹³"Perço car de tots los altres de nostra terra nos erem desexits, pus en Valencia erem."

⁴⁹⁴"E quens hi siats uos bons, e quens ho descubrats de la on ho sabrets."

⁴⁹⁵The "Infante en Jacme," his son.

⁴⁹⁶Written "Billena," a town in the province of Murcia which belonged once to the Infante Don Manuel, son of Ferdinand III., and brother of Alfonso X, or "the Learned."

411. That night they sent me two Saracens, one of whom knew “romance,”⁴⁹⁷ and the answer was, that if next day I went again to Villena they would all swear on their Law that when Don Manuel came there they would treat with me to this effect. If I got him to pardon what they had done, they would at once surrender the town; if, on the contrary, Don Manuel did not pardon them, they should not be held to execute that condition of the treaty. If, on the other hand, I would promise on oath to keep Villena, and not give it up to the King of Castile or to Don Manuel, but would go there myself, they would surrender it to me. I told them that I thanked them much for what they said; that next morning I would meet them at Villena, and would so deal with them that they should be satisfied with me; that I would have agreements and deeds then drawn out between them and me. And I gave the one who knew “romance” a hundred bezants, that he might be in my favour. He said that with God’s help he would do what I wished. I gave him the money in secret, so that the other one knew nothing of it.

412. Next morning I went to Villena, and made written agreements with them, that they should surrender the town to En Manuel, when he came, and that I would induce him to pardon them, and to observe the first capitulations made with them. When the agreement was drawn and completed, all in Villena of twenty years old and upwards took oath to me to observe what had been stipulated.

413. From Villena I went to Elda,⁴⁹⁸ I did not take up my quarters in the town, because the Saracens there had not duly surrendered to Don Manuel, to whom they belonged. They sent to me to beg that no one would lay their lands waste, or do them hurt, for they would readily submit to my will. They applied to me for porters and men to protect their (horta) gardens and themselves from harm, and I willingly gave them.

414. I had sent a messenger to Petrer, which En Jofre⁴⁹⁹ had lost, and there came two sheikhs to me and a Jew, who was there in the time of En Jofre. The Saracens had not meddled with the Jew at all, or done him any hurt. I treated with them for the surrender of the castle to me, that I might return it to its legitimate owner, En Jofre. Their answer was that they had revolted merely on account of the bad treatment they had received at the hands of En Jofre. If I only would swear to them to keep the castle for myself, they would willingly surrender it to me; but they were afraid of En Jofre. I answered them that I would pledge my word to them, that before I passed the town over to En Jofre I would provide that the agreements first made with them should be kept. It would not be seemly that I should come there to help the King of Castile; I should keep for myself the castles that belonged to him, and to those that held them for him. Their reply was that they would go back to consult on it, and would give me an answer in the evening. They accordingly came back nearly at sunset, and said that since I so much wished it, they would do as I pleased. When morning came, I advanced with my knights to meet them, made the people of En Jofre hoist my flag on the castle, and then gave it over to them.

415. Next day I went to Nonpot, a village of Alicante; and the day after to Alicante, and there I set my company in order. While at Alicante, I caused my sons, that is the Infantes En Pedro and En Jacme, the Bishop of Barcelona, and the barons of Aragon, and Catalonia, to assemble in the

⁴⁹⁷Era latinat; referring to the languages of the Christians as derived from Latin. At Tetuan the Spanish-speaking Jews call their language Latin at this day.

⁴⁹⁸In the Barcelona reprint Ella.

⁴⁹⁹Geoffrey de Loaisa, an officer of the King of Castile.

new church outside the walls of Alicante, not in the great church.⁵⁰⁰ The knights also were there, and I told them that I was about to enter the country of the King of Castile's conquest, and that I wished to give them instructions how to conduct themselves when under arms, and in other matters.

First, that when armed and on march, no one should go into action, or use his arms, without precise orders from me; if necessity for fighting arose, no one should advance without my command; and if the cry was raised, "On, On! the Moors are attacking such a place," all should take up arms, and rally round me; then I would give orders as to what they should do. If in the camp, at night, and the cry "To arms!" obliged the men to arise, all should arm themselves, and those who had horses should equip and arm them, and then come to my tent, or to my house if I was in one. For nothing in the world should any one, in battle or otherwise, leave the ranks without my express command. And above all they should take care not to quarrel among themselves, or with others; for quarrelling is the very worst thing that can happen in the host of a king or a lord. One man might put the whole force to the risk of death or ruin, for the enemy might come down suddenly and sweep away all who remain alive. Should any question arise between knights, or otherwise, let them go to two of their class, who may bring the affair before me for judgment, and I will see that he who has done the other wrong shall repair it at once; and if they themselves cannot settle their differences, let them come to me, for I can; quarrels and disputes in this world are but questions of "Yes" or "No." No one should take justice in his hands against another, while there are lords and judges. If either of the two wishes to fight, I will give him elsewhere enough to satisfy his desire;⁵⁰¹ otherwise he might do something that would lose me and the army, or throw it into confusion, or force me to give up the campaign. Wherefore, I pray you and command you, on pain of treason and forfeiture of my love, that you do not transgress this commandment of mine.

416. After this my address to the assembly, I sent a message to Elx (Elche), by a dragoman of mine with La Exea,⁵⁰² and a letter from me bidding them to send me two-or three of the principal Saracens of the town, that I might confer with them. If they chose, I would do them no harm; I did not wish it; I would rather help to keep them in safety. The people of Elche sent me Mahomet Haguinalip and another.⁵⁰³ When they came, they saluted me on behalf of the sheikhs, and "aljama" of Elche. I said to them: "May God bless you: I make it known to you that I sent for you for this reason. I believe you know that when the people of your creed made war against me, the Lord God helped me against them, and that victory always attended my enterprises. As to

⁵⁰⁰"En la esgleya Dalacant (de Alacant), en la nouela, de fora, no en la major." The Collegiate of Alicante was originally a mosque; sometime during the sixteenth century it became a cathedral.

⁵⁰¹"Car si *negu* vol fer darmes *nin* es desijos, nos lo adurem a punt e a sao quen perdra lo desig que en haura. E tal cosa ne porien ells fer per lur rauata que tota nostra ost ne poyriem nos pardre o afolar." The words *negs* and *nin*, which I have italicised, would change considerably the meaning of this passage.

⁵⁰²The word translated by dragoman is *trujaman*, in Castilian *truchiman*, both of which are derived from the Arabic {arabic}, *turdjiman*. *La Exea* seems to have been the name of a Jewish interpreter of the King. The text says, "E enviam missatge a Elx per i trujuman nostre ab la Exea, ab nostra carta." Again, the name of this Jew appears in the *Chronicle* as employed in similar messages, whence I conclude that he was attached to the court of James, and could speak Arabic, as most of those who had lived among the Moors did. Perhaps he was a native of Exea in Aragon, and hence his name.

⁵⁰³Mahomet e Haguinalib ab un altre, says the edition of 1557, thus making the messengers *three* instead of two. That of Barcelona, "Mahomet Abingalip ab un altre," which is decidedly a better reading, inasmuch as {arabic} {arabic} {arabic} Mohammad Ibn Gálíb, is a very common name amongst the Spanish Moors.

those who desired peace, and who wished to put themselves at my mercy, you also know how rightly merciful I was to them, and how faithfully I kept my engagements to them, unless they did by their own fault forsake my friendship. Now I have come into this country with these two purposes: those who rise against me and will not submit, I will conquer, and they shall die by the sword; those who will put themselves at my mercy, shall receive it completely; they shall stay in their houses, and keep their possessions and their Law. I will get the King of Castile and Don Manuel to observe the agreements they made with you, and your customs, according to the capitulation and treaties existing between you; if the King and Don Manuel have broken any condition, they will make it good to you.”

417. To this the Saracen replied, that he thanked God and me for the good words I had just spoken to them, and that they had hoped as much from me; for they had heard it said how those who trusted in me were for ever safe, and likewise that I never broke faith with their countrymen, but kept the promises made them. They asked me to give them a safe-conduct on their return to Elche. They would certainly inform the “aljama”⁵⁰⁴ of the good words I had said to them, and would then come back to me. They accordingly went, and told the “aljama” what I had said. When they had done that they returned, and related what had been said in the town. I then said to the Saracen named Mahomet,⁵⁰⁵ that I wished to speak to him in private. I took him apart, and begged him to take charge of my interests. I promised to give him, besides what he himself possessed in Elche, enough for him and his family to be rich for ever; that he should have charge of the town and its revenues first for me and afterwards for En Manuel. I then dropped into the sleeve of his gown three hundred besants, which I had by me: he was delighted, and promised on his Law that he would do all he could for my advantage.

418. Next day Mahomet came again with a safe-conduct I had given him, bringing a letter from the sheikhs of the town as to what I should do, and what I should not do. These were the things they asked: one that they should remain there with all their possessions; another that they might observe their Law as to crying from the top of their mosque [the hour of prayer]; another; that they might be judged according to Saracen customs, and not be summoned into a Christian court,⁵⁰⁶ the Saracens being their judges, as in the time of the Miramamolin.⁵⁰⁷ These terms I granted, and assured them besides that if they had given offence to Don Manuel, I would get the King of Castile and Don Manuel himself to pardon it, and to observe the terms of capitulation just made with me. Then they said that on the very day of my arrival at Elche they would surrender to me the tower called Calahorra, and would moreover conclude and sign the agreement just made with all its conditions. I on my side promised that when I passed that way I would certainly observe all these terms.

419. Nothing of this would I disclose to the barons, but caused the Infante En Pedro, the Infante En Jacme, the Bishop of Barcelona and the rest, to be summoned to a meeting.⁵⁰⁸ About this time, too, two galleys I had fitted out brought as prizes two ships loaded with grain, worth fully fifty thousand sous. I asked the above-named barons for counsel as to what we should do,

⁵⁰⁴Aljama, {arabic}, properly speaking the assembly of notables, or chief men, of a place. It corresponds perfectly to the Spanish “ayuntamiento.”

⁵⁰⁵“E nos dixem a aquel Sarrahi, Mahomet per nom.”

⁵⁰⁶“Que no fossen forçats per ningun Chrestia.”

⁵⁰⁷It is hardly necessary to say that Miramamolin is a compound of two Arabic words; {arabic}, *amir*, a “prince,” and {arabic} *al-mumenin*, the “faithful,” the *n* having been turned into *l*. See above, note 183.

⁵⁰⁸“Faem cridar” are the words used, which would imply that the summons was made through public crier.

and where we should go next. It was the advice of all that I should go to Elche, for this reason, that it was on the road and we could take it on the way from Alicante to Murcia and Orihuela: thereon I said that I would go to Elche and treat with the inhabitants, and that Our Lord would perhaps favour us so far as to make the people surrender to us. I would not disclose what my agreement with Mahomet was from fear the barons should hinder it. I told them that I would rather have Elche than Murcia, for it produced more corn.

420. When it had been agreed on what day the camp was to move, I said that I would go in advance with a hundred knights and see if the people of Elche would surrender quietly; if they did not, I would deliberate as to what had better be done, either to pass by or besiege the place. I accordingly advanced, and as soon as I got there the sheikhs and the chief men of the town, up to fifty in number, came out and handed over to me the writings and agreement that had been settled between me and their messenger, declaring at the same time that they and all the people of the town would faithfully observe them. When the army came up, they found the Saracens already with me, I had signed the deeds, and they had taken their oath of allegiance to me on the conditions stipulated at Alicante; and my people marvelled much how I had despatched this matter so quickly. It was then the hour of vespers, and the Moors begged me to wait till next morning, as all the Saracens in the town might then come out to me, when I would give them the conditions in writing, and they would surrender to me the Calahorra, which is the strongest tower of Elche.⁵⁰⁹ I waited, as they asked.

421. Next morning the capitulation was drawn out, and by the hour of tierce all the agreements and the rest of the deeds had been signed, and the Calahorra was in my power. In this manner did Elche surrender. I left there the Bishop of Barcelona to protect the inhabitants and see that no one might lay waste their lands.

422. All that being done, I went that day to Orihuela, leaving in Elche En Astruch de Bonsenyor,⁵¹⁰ to bring me the deeds and capitulation between me and the Saracens of that town. At Orihuela there came to me the son of Ibn Hud,⁵¹¹ the Rais of Crivillen; he told me that his father was a prisoner to the King of Castile, and that he came to me prepared to do whatever I ordered in order that my people might enter Crivillen in perfect safety; that he came to me to surrender the two castles he held, and that I could use his resources as my own. In this manner I got back everything I had lost, from Villena down to Orihuela, and from Alicante to Orihuela, so that any one could go along the roads, safe and sound.

423. When I had been eight days in Orihuela, there came one night two Almogavars⁵¹² from Lorca, knocking at my gate; it was then near midnight. They said that the people of Lorca sent

⁵⁰⁹“E quens rendrien la torre de Calahorre ques lo pus fort loch de Helx.” Several towers of this name are still extant in various parts of Spain. There is the Calahorra of Cordoba, that of Toledo, and one besides in Granada, within the very precincts of the Alhambra. Generally speaking the *Calahorra* was a strong tower, detached from the walls, and serving in most cases to defend the passage of a bridge or pont levis; in fact, such a tower as that which Spaniards of the fifteenth century would call “torre exenta” and “torre albarrana.” The two words {arabic} “*calaâ*” (castle, tower), and {arabic} “*horra*” (free), might through corruption have degenerated into *Calahorra*, but whenever that word is used by Mauro-Hispano writers, and we might quote many instances of it, it is always found under the form of {arabic}, which in my opinion is not an Arabic root. As to the city of Calahorra in Aragon, the *Calagurris Julia* of the Romans, I believe its name to be one of those coincidences of sound so common in old languages, and which have so much puzzled etymologists.

⁵¹⁰Nastruch Bonsenyor is the reading of the modern edition. Bonsenyor means “good lord.”

⁵¹¹Lo fyll de Banud lo Arraiz. This Banud, or Ben Hud, was a prince of the family of Hud (Beni Hud).

⁵¹²The meaning of the word Almogavar has already been explained.

me word that eight hundred light horsemen, with two thousand loaded mules and two thousand armed men to escort them, were about to throw supplies into Murcia; they had passed by Lorca at sunset; if I made a sally, I could easily get possession of the whole baggage train; the men might perhaps escape, for they rode fleet mares and horses. When I heard this, I ordered the porters to rise at once, and call the Infante En Pedro, the Infante En Jacme, Don Manuel, the Master of Uclés, and him who was the substitute of the Master of the Hospital, Don Alfonso Garcia, and the rest of the barons, and tell them to prepare to get to horse, and go to the bridge gate, where they would find me. Such and such a message had come from Lorca, and it was necessary to start almost immediately. They were to carry provisions for one day. I myself left the camp with my train, and when I had crossed the bridge over the river called Segura, waited outside for them. When my sons and the others came, we went on altogether, and at dawn were at a small village (*alqueria*) between Murcia and the mountains, on the road to Cartagena, at a place where, on the hill above the village, the kings of Murcia and Ibn Hud himself were buried.⁵¹³

424. When it was daylight we held a council on what we should do. The Infante Don Pedro, the Infante Don Jacme, Don Manuel, the Master of Uclés, Don Pedro Guzman, and Don Alfonso Garcia were at that council; they thought it best to move thence, and send scouts out to report if the enemy was really coming on or not. I did not think that counsel good. I said that the practice of light Moorish horse⁵¹⁴ with those whom they encountered, was to keep riding round and round the heavy armed horse until they actually tired them. I would have one hundred armoured horse of my household, and some more not fully equipped;⁵¹⁵ in the van should be my two sons, whilst Don Manuel, the Master of Uclés, and Don Pedro Guzman should be on the flank; I with one hundred armoured horse would keep the rear guard. If we met with the Moorish light horse, no one was to charge till I ordered the trumpets to sound. When they heard the trumpets sound, such as had unarmoured horses were to leave the ranks and go at them, and not leave them till they were all killed or taken. I would follow with my armoured horse and gather up what remained in the field. All approved of this counsel, and prepared to act as they were bid.

425. When the council broke up, I sent En Rocafull and five knights more to espy⁵¹⁶ if the Moors were coming or not. He soon confirmed the fact, and besides which the Master of Uclés, Don Pedro Guzman, and Don Alfonso Garcia, said to me: My lord, think of getting to horse and moving, for behold! the Moors are approaching fast." I said, "Master of Uclés, I see no need to hurry; let the Moors come down into the plain, so that we may get between them and the city; however speedy their flight may be, we shall yet get hold of their mules, and of the footmen that escort them; many surprises fail by over haste to attack." The Master said, "Do not tarry, my lord, for God's sake; you do not know what these genets are; when you think they are about to enter

⁵¹³“E quan foren venguts anam nos en, e quan se feya alba, fom a vna alqueria qui es entre Murcia e la montanya com hom ua a Cartagena, on soterrauen los Reys de Murcia, e en i. puget qui ha sobre la alqueria, e Abenbut quey jau.” Mohammad Ibn Hud, King of Murcia, died in 1237. See Al-makkari, *History of Spain*, vol. ii. pp. 326–338, 530, 531

⁵¹⁴“Que segons la manera dels genets, la qual solien fer ab aquels ab quis encontrauen, quels cansauen anan en torn daquels que tenien cauals armats.”

⁵¹⁵“Mas que tenriem C cauals armats de nostra maynada, e tots los altres que nols armassen.”

⁵¹⁶The words used are “ques anas *talayar* si uenien o si no.” The verb *talayar*, in Spanish “atalayar,” is to overlook and observe the country or seacoast from the top of a watchtower, or eminence. Both are derived from *atalaya*, in Arabic, {arabic} with the article *al* turned into *at*; meaning a “watchtower,” or eminence overlooking the surrounding country. When such towers were used for the purpose of making signals and lighting fires they were called “almenaras,” from {arabic}, “fire-tower,” “minaret.”

the garden plain,⁵¹⁷ in a twinkling of the eye they will be inside the city, and you will get nothing at all." I said to him, "And yet, Master, I will get the mules and the footmen." "Do not believe it," replied the Master of Uclés, "for they are by this time almost inside the city; and if so it will be a wonder to me if you can overtake them." So much did he urge me on that he made me move. When outside the camp I unfurled my banners and arranged my line of battle with the van and flank as aforesaid, keeping with my hundred armoured horse in the rear.

426. We were thus formed outside the town, when lo! an Almugavar came and said, "My lord, a gift for my good news!" I said, "What are they?" "Behold! the Moors are coming!" I said to him, "Friend, let us first win the fight, and then I will give you your reward." The Bishop of Barcelona was with me at the time. I sent for Friar Arnau de Sagarra, a Dominican preacher, and told him I wished to confess my sins to him. He agreed and said to me, "Go on, and say what you have to say." I told him that I was not aware of any offence against Our Lord, save that matter only of Doña Berenguela; that I intended hence forwards to live with her without sin, and as a man ought to be with his wife.⁵¹⁸ He knew very well that I intended conquering Murcia and all that kingdom, and the good service I would render by restoring that country to the Christians. I thought my good purpose should avail me, so that if sin there was, it should not bear me harm in the day of battle. I asked him for absolution from the sin I had confessed. Friar Arnau. said to me, "Mortal sin is a great matter; but since, you promise to remove it from you, I will give you absolution." I told him that I went into the battle with the firm belief that I should get out of mortal sin in one way or another; that I would serve God so well that day and in that conquest that He would pardon me, besides which I had no ill will to any one; that was, I thought, sufficient. He hesitated; I told him to give me his benediction, and that I commended myself to God, and he did it.

427. Having told Friar Arnau that I wanted to go to the van and see my sons, he took leave and went away. I myself with one knight went to my sons, and made them and the others halt. And in presence of all, I said, "Sons, you know whence you come, and who your father is; do behave in arms this day so that all the world may say who you are and of whom you come; if not, I declare before God that I will take away what I gave you." Then the Infante Don Pedro and the Infante Don Jacme said together that they would remember whence they came and the father they had, and that they would behave in such a manner as not to deserve the above punishment.

428. Then I went back to the rear guard, and when I was in battle array, En Berenguer de Vilanova, a knight of Catalonia, addressed his men and said, "Catalans, by your faith in God remember so to behave on this occasion that all the world shall speak of us." All who heard applauded. I then went forward, and saw in the distance the dust raised by the enemy. Soon after a message came to me saying that they were actually flying and turning back. Some of my barons advised that we should go in pursuit. I told them that I would not; Alfama was only four leagues off; the Moors were fully eight hundred light horse, and had besides two thousand footmen with them. In Alfama there were six or seven hundred more. If our horse, tired by their course, could not overtake the footmen, there would be a charge and a fight; the enemy might sally forth from the fortress and castle of Alfama and help their countrymen. They might perhaps drive us away from the town, me and mine;⁵¹⁹ wherefore I forbade altogether the pursuit.

⁵¹⁷"Haurem nos les azembles, e aquels de peu."

⁵¹⁸"Naviem en cor de esser ab ella menys de pecat, e axi com hom deu esser ab sa muller."

⁵¹⁹"E quan los nostres cauallers serien la hujats serien, e noy porien be aconseguir los homens de peu, e per força hauria a ser la brocada." Alfama or Alhama {arabic} is in the province of Murcia.

429. Thence I went to a place called Laliarancella,⁵²⁰ accompanied by my sons, by the Master of Uclés, En Pedro de Queralt, the Master of the Temple, Hugh de Malavespa, the Master of the Hospital, and others. I sent for the barons above named, and asked for their advice as to what to do next. My sons and the barons of my native kingdom (Aragon) said that the Master of Uclés, Don Pedro Guzman and Don Alfonso Garcia should speak first as knowing better the locality in which we were. The Master said that we could easily take the castle of Alfama, if we chose to lay siege to it; by setting up an engine we could very well do it within a few days. Then Don Alfonso Garcia was requested to speak. He said, “Let Don Pedro Guzman speak first;” but Don Pedro said that he knew nothing about Alfama; that Don Alfonso Garcia had once held that country for the King of Castile, and therefore knew more than he did about it. Don Alfonso Garcia then said: “I will tell you what I know, for in reality I once held the place.” Then they said to him, “So you know Alfama better than any one else?” He answered, “Yes, I do. I will tell you what, if the king will set up an ‘almajanech’ or war engine on the hill beside Alfama, he will certainly take the town in eight days;” on which all said it would be well to do so.

430. I then said, “Barons, I see three things against that proposal: firstly, that on a certain day I am to meet the King of Castile at Alcaraz, and there are only seven days between this and the one fixed for the interview. As the castle itself is situated on the ridge of the mountain there is no room for the ‘almajanech,’ except on the hill itself. Secondly, the Moors can hold and defend castles as well as any man in the world, so that I do not think I can take the place, and keep my appointment with the King of Castile. Indeed, I do not believe that the castle and town of Alfama can be taken in less than a month, for the Moors, I am told, have two thousand loads of wheat, and great means of defence besides. Thirdly, Murcia is between us and Orihuela, and in it is a great force of horse and foot. If they happen to come to Alfama, it will be very difficult for us to manage the mules and beasts of burden.⁵²¹ Fourthly, we have no food but for one day, for we came here to give battle to the Moors, and so we carried no meat—battles are quickly fought, and God gives victory to whom He pleases. For all which reasons it is better council and sounder that I go to see the King of Castile, and consult him as to what had better be done about Murcia.” My sons and those who were with me felt that I said well, and next day we went back to Orihuela.

431. Whilst we were in Orihuela, at sunset, there was seen from the castle a great dust as of companies of armed men going from Alfama to Murcia; and a report was in the town that the Moorish horse were actually taking the convoy into Murcia. My sons, the Masters of Uclés, and of the Hospital, and the rest of the barons came to me, and said that they had seen a great dust rising between Alfama and Murcia, caused by the Moorish horse, and that they thought it best to arm what horses they had in their respective trains, and go out against the Moors; thus we should at least get the convoy they were taking into Murcia. I told them that I did not approve of that, for several reasons; it was late in the day, and when we got there it would be dark. Another reason was, that the Moorish horse were very swift, and ours were tired. So it might come to pass on our arrival at the garden (*horta*) of Murcia, where there were many and very dangerous watercourses, the Moorish horse and foot, coming out of that city to join the others might defeat us, or do us great harm; and thus our plans and preparations for the taking of Murcia might be ruined for ever. “I really believe,” said I to them, “that the dust is only raised by the wind, for as we marched to-

⁵²⁰“La Cantarela” in the modern revised edition. “Alcantarilla”(?) in the province of Murcia.

⁵²¹“Les regnes serien males de girar”; “the reins would be ill to turn,” says the edition of 1557; the more modern of Barcelona, “les reques serien males de guiar” as translated. *Reques*, in Spanish, “recuas.” we the strings of mules tied one to another, as in the present day. It is again an Arabic word, {arabic}.

day there was much more of it; but let us suppose for one moment that it is produced by the horsemen escorting the convoy into Murcia, and that they succeed in their undertaking, two thousand loads of corn will only last the Murcians ten days, for they must consume at least two hundred a day. We should gain nothing by getting hold of the corn, as we ourselves would have to consume it in going to see the King of Castile.” When I was left alone⁵²² with my sons, they said to me that I was spoiling the campaign. I told them they did not speak the truth, for the kingdom would be won by what I said and did, whereas it would be lost by what they said and did; they were not to think that I would even attempt what they wished. Indeed, I found afterwards that what they spoke of as dust raised by the Moorish horse taking the convoy into the place, turned out to be simply dust raised by the wind, and that no supplies did then reach the town.

432. I accordingly departed thence and went to Alcaraz,⁵²³ my sons and three hundred knights with me, and on the appointed day met the king, Don Alfonso, in that town. Before I entered, the King of Castile came out to meet me, fully a league off. There might be with him about sixty knights; I myself had upwards of three hundred with me. I had left behind at Orihuela three hundred more, besides the Almugavars, perhaps two hundred of them. When the king saw me, he was very glad of my coming. I found in Alcaraz the Queen, and her daughters, Doña Berenguela⁵²⁴ and [Doña Beatriz] Alfonso,⁵²⁵ who came afterwards with me [to Aragon]. We had a long conference on the subject of the Saracens, and I stayed there eight days with great joy and disport.

433. Then I went to Orihuela, and on the road there had a skirmish with some Moorish horse.⁵²⁶ After that Don Manuel came to me; he came because of the promise the Saracens of Villena had made of surrendering the town to him if he came; if he did not, that they would deliver the town to me. I gave the Saracens of Villena notice that I was coming, and Don Manuel with me; they, however, would not come out to meet him, and therefore broke the treaty and the oath they had sworn on their Law. From Villena I went to Nonpot, and from Nonpot to Elche. Whilst at the latter place, the tower called La Calahorra and the whole town was delivered to Don Manuel. Next day I was at Orihuela, where I found my people content and joyful; they had made raids into the territory of Murcia, and been very successful in some of them. I stayed at Orihuela fifteen days, for I arrived there four days before Christmas and stayed till New Year’s Eve.

⁵²²“Quant fom apparellats ab nostres fills” in the edition of 1557; the second has, “E aixi quen fom a paraules ab nostres fiyls, e ells dixerren.”

⁵²³Alcaraz in the province of Albacete. Both editions of the *Chronicle* have Alcarraç.

⁵²⁴“E Doña Berenguera Alfonso qui sen ven puys ab nos.”

⁵²⁵Alfonso X., of Castile, or “the Learned,” as he is generally surnamed, ascended the throne of Castile in 1252. Six years before, in 1246, he had married James’s eldest daughter, Yoland, or as Mariana calls her, Doña Violante. At this time (1265) he had two daughters, Doña Berenguela (Berenguera) and Doña Beatriz (Beatrix), who afterwards married William (Guglielmo) VII., Marquis of Monferrat. The text of the *Chronicle* offers various readings, for the printed copy of 1557 says: “E trobam en Alcarraç la Regina e ses filles *Berenguera e Alfonso*,” whereas the more carefully printed edition of Barcelona has: “*E Doña Berenguera Alfonso*.” However this may be, if the king had with him his two daughters they must be the two above-named, for Yoland, Isabella, and Leonor, were not born before 1268. Beatrix used besides her father’s name, and is sometimes called *Beatriz Alfonso*, as her sister Berenguela *Alfonso*.

⁵²⁶“E en la carrera haguem una poca de rauata de genets.” The word “rauata” is the same as the Spanish “rebato,” meaning incursion, raid, foray. It is Arabic, from the root {arabic}, whence ribete, rapita, arrebatar, and many others.

434. Next day, the first of January, I went to lay siege to Murcia. And in going thither with my host I was among the first, that I might at once set my camp as it ought to be set. For in battle kings should be in the rear guard, whilst in quartering their army they should be foremost, in order to place their men better, so that it may not be necessary afterwards to move them after being rightly placed. Once at the spot, where the “adalid” or guide conducted me, he said to me: “My lord, you may fix your tent here.” When the “adalid” had selected a place for my tent, I asked where Murcia was, and he said it was very near. I asked, “Where is it?” and the “adalid” replied, “I will show you;” and he showed me a city within a crossbow shot of the spot where we were. I said to him, “Sir adalid, you have given me right perilous quarters; but since you have given them to me, know that I will keep them, or it shall cost us dearly.”

435. Withal as I began to set up the camp, the Saracens sallied out. And my people said to me: “My lord, they shoot hard at us with arrows and with stones, and have already hurt several men and beasts.” I said, “I know well the way of these Saracens; if we bear it for a day or two they will not repeat their attack; wait till the army comes up, and I will give you some crossbowmen to do as they do;” I accordingly gave them thirty crossbowmen. I kept besides a number of horsemen well armed stationed at the gates of the camp, to defend them from the attacks of the enemy. When they saw the sun about to set, the Saracens went into the city, and did not come back next day, nor did they make a sally against our camp for a whole month.

436. Then I sent there the Exea⁵²⁷ with a Saracen to tell the Alguazir⁵²⁸ (the King’s prime minister) to come out to me; that I wished to speak with him for his good and for that of the townspeople. The Alguazir’s answer was that if I would send him one of my knights he would come. I sent him a knight named Domingo Lopez, who was a settler in Murviedro and knew Arabic well, and En Astruch, a Jew, who was my Arabic interpreter and secretary. Then the Alguazir and one of the chief Moorish knights, for King Alfonso of Castile had made them both knights, came out to me. When I knew they were coming, I had my house⁵²⁹ hung with good cloths and caused good couches to be prepared; live fowls, sheep, and kids to be got ready, so as to be slaughtered on the arrival of the Alguazir and his companion.

437. I was sitting [in my tent] when the two Murcians came; they saluted me, knelt, and kissed my hand. I then bid every one leave the tent, except them two and En Astruch, the Jew above-mentioned, who acted as interpreter. I told them my reasons for sending for them. They knew very well that I had many Saracen vassals in my dominions, and that in old times the royal family from which I was descended had them also in Aragon and in Catalonia, and I myself in the kingdoms both of Valencia and Mallorca, lately conquered. All had their laws, and had been respected as if they lived in the land of the Saracens, that is the people who had put themselves at my mercy and had submitted to me, for those who would not surrender I took their land by force and peopled it with Christians. “And as I do not wish you harm or death, I want to speak first with you, that you may help me to protect the Saracens of Murcia and of the whole kingdom. I

⁵²⁷“Ab tant enviam lains la Exea ab i sarray,” says here the text of both editions; but I have been unable to find out what the author meant by “La Exea.” Is it a proper name? In another passage of this *Chronicle* the word is used as if it meant “a seal.”

⁵²⁸It is hardly necessary to observe that {arabic}, which in Arabic means “he who bears or supports the weight of the administration,” gave origin to the Spanish word *alguacir*, now turned into *alguacil* by the change of *r* into *l*, and having quite a different meaning.

⁵²⁹The word here used is *casa*: “E faem encortinar nostra casa de bons draps, e fer bon bons setis;” but as James was still encamped before Murcia, and it was there that he received the guacir, I should say that *tent* not *house* is meant.

undertake to obtain three things for you from the King of Castile: first, that he shall observe the capitulation and the charters he has granted you; secondly that he will keep the agreements you may make with me; the third, that I will get pardon for you for all the wrongs you may have done him. I will get the King of Castile to put down in writing, sign and ratify, what I might set forth concerning them, and that he would observe their treaty with ourselves. If they would not agree to that, I came with the resolution not to depart therefrom till I had the city by force and all its lands. I did not desire their death or their ruin; on the contrary, I wished them to live, under subjection, but at peace with the King of Castile, keep their laws, their customs, and their mosques, as had been agreed with them at the first capitulation.”

438. They thanked me for what I had told them, but said that they could not reply without consulting their townsmen; they would make answer to me in three days: that was Wednesday, they would meet on Friday, and on Saturday would come, and bring me a reply. I would not press them for an answer, but assented to what they proposed. Meantime the kids and the fowls were slaughtered [and cooked] for dinner; but they said they would not eat there with me. I told them I would give them cooking pots, entirely new, and they might take the meat, cook it according to their law, and eat it with me. They begged me not to speak of that, or ask them to stay, for the townspeople would take it ill of them; but they promised to dine with me on the day of their return, that is, on the Saturday appointed for their coming to me. Thereupon I dismissed them and sent them away.

439. On the Saturday morning they sent to me for an escort; I sent them one, and they came. I had a dinner ready for them of the dishes above mentioned; their followers at once set to work to prepare and cook the food. Then came the Alguazir and the knight, whose name I do not remember. Both were very influential men in their town, and the Alguazir specially brought full power, so that anything they might settle with me would be approved by the townsmen. I made every one leave [the tent] except En Astruch and the Saracens. Their answer was that a council had been held with the sheikhs of the town, but they had refused to take into it him who held the Alcazar for the King of Granada. I took this for a good sign, their having kept out of their councils the very man whom the King of Granada had put there, and who was, as it were, their head. They said they had fully explained to the sheikhs and to the learned men of the town what I had proposed to them; that they thanked me much for the good words conveyed to them, and knew well what good faith and truth they would find in me, and that they were sure I would keep my engagements and promises; but still they desired to know from me how, in case of their agreeing to surrender the town, they would be preserved in their law. They had, they added, brought with them a letter from the Capitols,⁵³⁰ praying and telling me how to draw up the charter to them.

440. Thereupon they showed me, in writing, a memorandum of the articles they had laid before the town council, and another of the aldermen’s opinions thereon. Many were their demands, of which the following were most important, although, not to lengthen this book beyond measure, I will not put down all those they made at the time. The principal were: that they might follow their religion without molestation, and proclaim from the minarets the customary hours for prayer; and that they might judge and sentence both civil and criminal cases

⁵³⁰*Capitols*: the meetings of “ayuntamientos” (aldermen, or town councils) of a Provençal or Catalan borough; the word is, oddly enough, applied by the king to the sheikhs, or elders, of a Moorish town, though it must have had originally an entirely ecclesiastic meaning. *Cabildo* and *capitulo* are to this day synonymous in the Spanish language to designate the meeting of ecclesiastics, and *sala capitular* is our chapter-house.

according to their laws and customs, as the King of Castile had promised them; that they should moreover be pardoned for seizing the Alcazar and revolting against the Christians. If these demands were granted, they would surrender the town to me on the faith of a written capitulation between me and them. I was, moreover, to write a letter to the King of Castile, and my messenger was to escort the Moorish knight they might send along with it; and that letter was to this effect, that the Castilian king should confirm the writings and agreements made with them.

441. I replied that they should not wait for that in order to surrender both the Alcazar⁵³¹ and the town. I would not, I said, despatch a messenger to the King of Castile till they put me in possession of their town; they would gain nothing by the delay they proposed, for I had with me a great company of knights and footmen, who must needs lay waste their lands and every day do them harm; but that what with their wish to surrender, and my good will towards them, there would be no necessity, and no occasion, I hoped, to lay waste their lands⁵³² or destroy their houses, habitations, injure them or their garden (*orta*). They might, I said, go back and consult their elders upon it, for they knew well that my advice was for their good and for mine. They said that they would go, and would return next day with an answer.

442. They accordingly went, and came back on the third day with the answer. They agreed to what I had proposed, but asked how I would divide the town. I said that I would give them all the town above the Alcazar on the side where my camp was. This pleased them much; I fixed a day by which they should evacuate the other part. They said that on the third day they would evacuate the Alcazar, and send away the man whom the King of Granada had set down as Kaid⁵³³ in Murcia; on that day they would do that, and within four days they would give me possession of the Alcazar. And they so acted that on the third day they actually sent away the man who was there for the King of Granada, and left the Alcazar clear for us.

443. On the fourth day I sent for fifty knights, with their usual esquires, and their horses armoured, and for one hundred and twenty Tortosan⁵³⁴ crossbowmen. I ordered them to come to me where I was, on the banks of the Segura river, near the Alcazar. I waited for their coming that they might set my banner up in the Alcazar, and take possession of the towers, so as for me to go up to the town. Meanwhile I prayed to Saint Mary that I might accomplish this my desire, which was that she should be worshipped, and her name blessed therein, and that she would ask this of her dear Son. And yet my people were so long about it, that I began to fear greatly that I should not get the place after all.

444. When I had been a good piece there, I at last saw my banner fluttering in the wind on the top of the Alcazar, and I saw the towers well manned with footmen and crossbowmen. I alighted from my horse, and thanked God for His grace; I knelt and wept and kissed the ground, and returned in peace to my quarters. At vespers, the Alguazir came to me and said that everything had been done as I wished, but that the Christians were going into the town, and seizing what they ought not. I said to him that I would send three of my people there to prevent any one going farther than the Alcazar: I myself would go next morning into the town, and, together with the sheikhs, would make a proper division of it.

⁵³¹An Arabic word {arabic}, Kas\r, with the article al-Kas\r, meaning a fortified palace.

⁵³²“E no uolien quels desfaessen los Reyals ne que los affolassen, ne la orta.” The word reyals (in Span. *reales*) is, properly speaking, the camp of an army commanded by the king in person.

⁵³³Kaid, or governor, for such is the meaning of the word {arabic}, whence the Span. *al-cayde*.

⁵³⁴“Balesters de Tortosa,” from ballista, in Spanish *ballesta*, a cross-bow, from Greek ballô, to throw. Those of Tortosa (the Dertosa of the Romans) were at this time considered the best.

445. Next morning, after mass, I went up into the Alcazar, accompanied by the Alguazir and five of the chief Saracens of Murcia. They asked me to divide the town as had been agreed between me and them. I said that from that mosque⁵³⁵ near the Alcazar down to the gate facing my camp should belong to the Christians, and that the principal mosque itself should fall to our lot. To this they objected, saying that the agreement, as stipulated in the capitulation, was that they were to have their mosques and hold them as in the time of the Saracens. I replied that such was the agreement, but they had not understood the words of the capitulation, for if I were to grant them all their mosques, what would the Christians do without a church to go to? “The Christian church,” said I to them, “will be at the very gate of the Alcazar. That a muezzin should proclaim the sabbath or the name of Allah⁵³⁶ close to my head, where I am sleeping, may seem to you a fit thing, but is not one of my liking. You have ten more mosques in the town; you may have your prayers in all of them, and leave that one to us.” They said that they would consult on it.

446. I then went back to my quarters, and there came to me my two sons, the Infante En Pedro and the Infante En Jacme, the Master of Uclés, the Bishop of Barcelona, En Pedro de Queralt, the deputy of the Master of the Temple, the Master of the Hospital named En Gui de la Vespa,⁵³⁷ and other barons in the army; also the Count of Ampurias, En Huguet⁵³⁸ by name, deputy of his father; En Ramon de Muntaner, Blasco de Alagó, En Joffre (Geoffrey) de Rocaberti, my [natural] son En Pedro Fernandez de Ixer,⁵³⁹ En G[uerau] de Rocafull, En Carrós, and other barons of the army. They told me that the capitulation granted to the Murcians was unfair, for it was too good for them; what we had taken of the town was so small a part that the Saracens would easily drive the Christians out of it when I was no longer there. According to the capitulation we seemed to have conquered Murcia, and yet had conquered nothing. I told them that they understood the thing wrong; I had been in more Moorish towns than they themselves had, and knew better the ways of Saracens than they did. “When a man (I said) could take from the enemy, I do not say from Saracens only, one ‘braçada’ of land, he can well wait for his time to take ten or a hundred more.” I would willingly and with pleasure give it to them if I could. As they had not been parties to the capitulation, and did not know my secret dealings, they were angry at what I had done.

447. Here a dispute arose as to whether in the words of the capitulation granted to the Murcians, we could, or could not, expel them from the town; for the text was “I am bound to keep the Saracens in Murcia.” My answer was that, according to law,⁵⁴⁰ the suburbs of a town made part of the town itself, and therefore that I could establish them in the Raxaca⁵⁴¹ and in the

⁵³⁵“La mesquita aquela prop del alcacer.” Mesquita, in Spanish *mesguida* and *mezquida*, means a place of worship. See above, note 324.

⁵³⁶“E chom crit lo saba çala” in one of the copies; the other has “Que hom crit ala lo sabá.” I prefer the former reading: *lo sabá açala*. At any rate, *sabá* or *sabbá* (sabbath) must here be meant for day of rest, which among Mohammedans is Friday, not Saturday, as among the Jews.

⁵³⁷See above, §429, where the name of this “ricohombre,” or baron, is given as En Nuch (that is, Hugh) de Malauespa.

⁵³⁸Nuguet in the Barcelona edition, which is the equivalent of En Huguet. This, however, must be a diminutive, for his father’s name was Hugues.

⁵³⁹Dixar, or Dixer; that is, d’Ixar, or from Hajar.

⁵⁴⁰“Quel decret deya.”

⁵⁴¹{arabic}, Raxaca, to this day called Ar-rixáca, one of the suburbs of Murcia.

garden-plain (*orta*). The suburbs of the town, they maintained, are part of it; wherefore I could put them into the Raxaca and into the Horta, which were within the suburbs, as well as I could into the town itself; for those places were attached to Murcia, and really formed part of it. I thus could establish them out of Murcia, and in Murcia itself for one of the suburbs, the Raxaca, was in reality a quarter of the city. They said I could not do that. I then sent for Dominican friars, and for the clerks, and proved by decretals that it was as I said. They argued that it was not so that they understood it. I said, "If you do not choose to understand, I can do no more; but I will give the town to God, despite of any of you."

448. After that, the Alguazir of the city, and more than twenty of the sheikhs, came to me, and said they begged me not to take possession of the principal mosque, and take it from them, for it was the best place they had for their prayers. I said that just as they wished to have the best place for their prayers, so did we; and the thing could not, nor ought, to be otherwise, for it was a proper thing that we Christians should have a great place for worship since they themselves had so many. They assured me that they could not nor would do anything else but what they had said. Matters came to that pitch between me and them, that I said I was sorry for the evil they would bring on themselves for not giving their great mosque up, for I would in any case have it; they should therefore return into the city and reconsider the case.

449. I ordered the knights in the Alcazar to get under arms, and the hundred and twenty Tortosa crossbowmen to get ready; if the Murcians would not agree to my demands, the city was to be stormed. When they saw that the thing could not be avoided, the Murcians said they would do my pleasure, and so we had their great mosque.

450. When we had got the great mosque, we turned it into a church, and I immediately ordered an altar of Our Lady Saint Mary to be set up in it; for in all the large towns that God had given me to take from the Saracens, I had a church of Our Lady Saint Mary built; and as this city of Murcia was the greatest and most renowned in all Andalusia,⁵⁴² except Seville, I wished to do honour to the name of God's mother, and that she should be honoured there for ever. On the second day, when the altar was ready, I had it garnished with the dressings of my own chapel, very honourably and nobly indeed. There were with me at the time En Arnau de Gurb, the Bishop of Barcelona, the Bishop of Cartagena, and all the [minor] clergy attached to the army. I had them all dressed in cloaks of samit,⁵⁴³ and other cloths of gold. And with crosses, and with the image of Our Lady Saint Mary, we all moved from my quarters in the camp, went on foot into the town, and through the streets to the church I had ordered to be built⁵⁴⁴ for Our Lady Saint Mary. On our approach to the altar we all were seized with great devotion for the grace and compassion God had shown us at the request and prayer of His Blessed Mother. For I had never passed by Murcia without praying to Him that I might set up there the name of the glorious Virgin Saint Mary; and she, praying her dear Son, caused my wish to be fulfilled. So, embracing the altar, I wept so bitterly and heartily, that for the space of time in which a man could walk a good mile I could not actually leave off weeping nor desert the altar. And yet *Veni, Creator*

⁵⁴²Andalusia is here used as a generic appellation for Mohammedan Spain (*Andalus*); Murcia and its territory are not within the limits of what is still called "los cuatro reinos de Andalucia," that is, Cordoba, Seville, Jaen and Granada.

⁵⁴³From *Samitum*, which in Low Latin means silk cloth, or brocade, from Syria. In Span. *Xamete*, from Xam (Syria), the *sericus pannus* of the ancients.

⁵⁴⁴"Entro en la esglesia que hauiem edificada de nostra dona sancta Maria."

Spiritus had been sung, and then the mass *Salve, Sancta Parens*. That done I went into the Alcazar, and very joyfully took up my quarters there.

451. On the third day⁵⁴⁵ I made my sons come to me; also the Bishop of Barcelona, and the barons of Catalonia and Aragon who were with me; and I told them to consider what should be done next. All told the Infante Don Pedro to speak first, and he said that as God had shown us so much grace that we had taken that place and many others, I should at once give the King of Castile notice thereof, that he should take over the city and the country. In that manner, he said, we should sufficiently have performed our duty. Then they told the Infante En Jacme to speak, and he said he agreed entirely with what the Infante En Pedro had said. Then I told the Bishop of Barcelona to say what he thought. He said: "Since you wish me to speak, I will tell you what I think; I would not send to the King of Castile at all, but to Alfonso Garcia, who held it once for the King of Castile, and we shall have sufficiently done our duty, since we have delivered it to the person who holds it for him: we are at great expense here, that expense we might save by going away, but if we remain here longer we shall all be ruined." Upon which the other barons said that they agreed with that opinion of the bishop.

452. Thereon they asked me to say what I thought of it. I spoke as follows: that I thought the advice of the Bishop of Barcelona good, that is to return the city of Murcia to Don Alfonso Garcia immediately, and that so I intended to do; but as to departing and leaving the country in the hands of such Castilians as Alfonso Garcia and Don Pedro Guzman,⁵⁴⁶ that I did not approve. When they came in possession of those places, they lost them; to leave the city of Murcia when the altar of Our Lady Saint Mary had been set up in it, without proper defence, that I would never do on any account. If for our misfortune the Saracens retook it, I should grieve immensely. "Therefore," said I, "I cannot leave the city in that way, I and the others; for the good that I and others have received, and God granted to us, came entirely through her, who prayed her dear Son for us. So know that for nothing in the world will I abandon her⁵⁴⁷ in this position and at this time. I hold with what the Infante Don Pedro says, that we should give notice to the King of Castile, how we have restored the city to Don Alfonso Garcia, and that he should send him quickly such succour as will enable him to keep it, and then when he has, not before, we can depart." They saw plainly that I was determined, and agreed to abide the return of the message, saying, "It will be done as you wish."

453. Thereupon I sent two "adalids" to the King of Castile with my letters, bidding him take over the city of Murcia and the other castles between Murcia and Lorca to the number of twenty-eight, which had surrendered to me. Murcia was at once restored to Don Alfonso Garcia, and he took possession of the Alcazar and placed his guards in it. I remained beside him till a message came from the King of Castile, saying that he would send his Council, and that soon.⁵⁴⁸ He gave me great thanks for the kindness I had shown him, and the love I professed. On that I settled⁵⁴⁹ in

⁵⁴⁵In the modern edition of Barcelona, this chapter, or division, is marked 452 instead of 451, as it ought to be. Hence the discrepancy observed in the two texts.

⁵⁴⁶Pere Goçman.

⁵⁴⁷"Sapiats que per re del mon no *la* desepararem." The Catalan pronoun *la* may refer to the town or to Our Lady. I think the King meant to speak of her.

⁵⁴⁸"Quens enuia a dir que ell hi enuiaria son conseyl e en breu."

⁵⁴⁹*Poblam*, colonised, gave grants of land to the soldiers. "E sobre aço poblam hi be x milia homens d'armes," says the text of both editions; and yet the number seems excessive.

the land well ten thousand men-at-arms, from my own country and from other parts, to stay there with Don Alfonso Garcia, and aid him in case of need.

454. Having left the town strengthened in the way I have said, I went to Orihuela, and next day to Alicante. There I had my sons and my nobles before me, and told them that if they pleased they might make a good raid to Almeria before we left that coast. I would give them supplies for ten days; they could go thither in four and come back in four more: the other two days they might stay in the Moorish country if they chose, and, if not, spend them in coming back. They asked how they should transport their provisions, for their mules themselves were already fully loaded with the armour they took on their backs.⁵⁵⁰ I told them that this was my way in conquering lands: when I invaded the kingdom of Valencia I took three weeks' provisions in this way: the beasts of burthen were loaded with bread, wine, and barley; the knights rode the horses, and carried their lances in their hands; the shields and some other pieces of armour went on the mules, on the top of all. As they went on the loads decreased, they got the beasts unburthened one by one. My sons said they could not do that. I said, "Why will you not do what I myself and those with me did then?" They replied that at the utmost they could only carry provisions for six days; they required four to return, and therefore on the sixth they should be without food, and the whole army in distress. In short, they would not do what I proposed, and so was the enterprise of Almeria abandoned.

455. After this I deliberated whom to leave on the frontier of Dalacant (Alicante) and Villena, that he might, if needful, succour Murcia by means of fire-signals (*alimara*) from Oriola (Orihuela). I left there Don Artal de Luna and Don Eximen de Urrea with a hundred knights in Alicante; and with them En Berenguer Arnau⁵⁵¹ and En Gralceran de Pinós with seventy more knights at Onteniente and Biar, that they might keep the road safe and sure for those who went by it, and give succour, if needed, at Murcia. From merchants, who were at Alicante, I borrowed money to buy provisions, which I left with them for fully five months. I had left to those in Murcia so good and abundant a provender that the Aragonese knights sold fully the value of thirty thousand sous of what I had stored in the place, besides other minor articles all of which belonged to me.

456. Thereon I returned to the kingdom of Valencia and proceeded to Montpellier.⁵⁵² At Gerona I found a great contest going on between the Count of Ampurias and En Ponz G[uerau] de Torrella, on a claim of the Count for Torrella, Postats de Castells,⁵⁵³ Rocamaura, and another castle, and also for certain dues and money to which the Count was entitled at Torrella, and which En Ponz had received. Having heard the Count's suit and Torrella's answer to it, I departed for Montpellier, and had the case postponed till I should come back, leaving there a scribe to take evidence and record what had been done, when I would give decision on it.

457. On my return from Montpellier, and when I had reached Perpignan, Don Ferris de Liçana sent me a messenger with a letter, defying me.⁵⁵⁴ It happened that on that same day there

⁵⁵⁰Carrying the armour of the men.

⁵⁵¹Both editions have Bñg. A., which I take to be a contraction for Berenguer Arnau, as printed.

⁵⁵²This was James's third visit to Montpellier; the first was in 1231, the second in December, 1236, when he settled his dispute with the Bishop of Maguelone, Jean de Montlaur.

⁵⁵³"E postats de castells, et de Rocamaura, e de j altre castell, e moneda que deuia hauer en Torreela."

⁵⁵⁴A letter declaring war. Zurita (*Annales*, lib. iii. c. 71 thus explains the circumstance and cause: "Because the truce with the nobles of Aragon had expired." He adds that the letter from the King of the Tartars offered King James aid, if he would undertake a crusade against the Saracens.

came to me another letter from the King of Tartars, and so I said to the messenger: "I cannot consider myself affronted by the letter of Don Ferris, since on this very day another letter has come from the highest king in the world, expressing great affection for me. Don Ferris de Liçana knows well that I am not in the habit of going after small game; I am used to hawk herons and bustards; but since he wishes it, I will this time chase and take a pigeon, if I can."

458. Thence I went to Lerida and spoke with the aldermen (*paers*) and chief men of the town, and asked them to help me against Don Ferris. They said they would gladly do it,—“But what good will it do?” said they; “you always end by forgiving your great vassals, and so they are emboldened to do you mischief.” I said, “You will see that in this present case I will behave in such wise that all will go on well.” I left the town and went to Monzon, where the men of Tamarit came to me, and said that if I wished they would take a castle in their neighbourhood, called Picamoxo. I said I did wish it. They attacked and took it, and it was immediately demolished.

459. Thence I went to Liçana,⁵⁵⁵ taking two “fonevols” with me. A “brigola”⁵⁵⁶ was set up in the place. Don Ferran Sanchez de Castro held the castle for Don Ferris in pursuance of certain obligations and oaths taken by the Aragonese barons to exchange castles one with another and hold against me. He begged me to consent to his sending out of it his men who were there, because, said he, Don Ferris de Liçana wished to garrison the castle with his own men. I agreed to that, for I preferred that Don Ferris’s men should be there, since he persisted in doing me harm, while Ferran Sanchez [de Castro] would voluntarily come over to me. The men whom it was wished to put into Liçana instead of the others were then in Alcolesa,⁵⁵⁷ and Don Ferris sent in a nephew of his to command them. Some knights and other men of birth went in with him, principally those who had done me most harm, and had ravaged the land with or without him. As they marched by my tent, in order to enter Liçana, as agreed, I recognised some of them who had served in my train. I asked them, “How is it you are going into Liçana? and for whom?” They said, “We are going for Don Ferris de Liçana, who is our lord; since he has ordered it we must obey him and do his will.” I said, “I tell you what; I will make a prophecy to you: in such wise do you go there that you will never do harm to me nor to any one else.” They said, “It will be as God pleases.” I replied to them, “God pleases what I tell you, for your sin will bring on you this, that you will do no harm to me or to any one else.”

460. Then they went up into the place, and I sent for two “fonevols,” and began setting them up against the walls. They asked for a truce, which I was content to give them while the engines were getting ready; but when one of my “fonevols” was in position, they set up their “brigola,” and, regardless of the truce they had made with me, began to shoot. They thought they could reach the camp, but they could not; besides that, the cord of their “brigola” got entangled round the beam. Meanwhile I had caused several slings to be made for the men of my army, and had set up the “fonevol” a little in the rear, so that it might go forward when I wished it to advance. When the besieged, as I say, had shot once with their “brigola,” and the cord was entangled, I called all to arms and to attack. Then my men, with their crossbows and slings, did such execution that those within the town could not work, nor disentangle the rope, or lower the beam of the “brigola,” whatever they might do.

461. Meantime the “fonevol” was pushed forward so that it could reach the “brigola.” The master of the “fonevol” shot the first stone and missed the “brigola.” I myself went to take charge

⁵⁵⁵A small castle near Barbastro, owned by Don Ferric.

⁵⁵⁶About this and other engines of war consult the Appendix.

⁵⁵⁷In the Barcelona edition Alcolesa.

of it, shot, and hit the “brigola” so hard that its box was broken, and after that blow the besieged could no longer use it. That very evening, after sunset, the master who worked the “fonevol” shot and broke a beam on⁵⁵⁸ one side of the “brigola.”

462. Next day I had another “fonevol” set up beside the first, and shot for five or six days, and so damaged the castle that the besieged could no longer defend themselves; for the roofs were broken in, and the stones that fell inside did more harm even than those that struck the wall. So one night, as I was lying in bed (it was the watch of the Infante En Pedro’s company), En Berenguer de Viller⁵⁵⁹ came up to me and asked, “Are you asleep?” “No,” said I, “what is the matter? “My lord, those inside the place have parleyed; they say that if you will receive them to quarter, they will surrender the castle.” I said, “They may leave talking about that, for I certainly will not receive them to quarter for two reasons: one, because they have done me great harm and wrong, and caused me great outlay and expense; the other, because those in the place are some of the worst criminals whom Don Ferris had about him. But if they will come to me unconditionally, and in such wise that it may be as I like, either give them quarter or not, then I will receive them, not otherwise.”

463. When next day came, as I was standing on a hillock near the ditch, I, the Infante, and a great party of knights, a knight and an esquire, without a safe- conduct, came out of the castle across the ditch. The people of the camp gathering round them, the knight said, “My lord, the Alcaide and those in the place greet you well, and tell you that they will yield to you on quarter, and surrender the castle to you.” Hearing that proposal of theirs, I took no one’s counsel on it, because I had already made up my mind what to do with them. So I made answer immediately that I would do nothing of the sort; if they surrendered unconditionally, so that I might do with them as I pleased, even to execute them, I would accept their surrender; if not, let them defend themselves, I would have them at last. They said they would go back, and they went.

464. After a time they came again and said they put themselves in my power to do with them as I pleased: telling me to order men to go and take possession of the castle, since from that moment they surrendered it. I took to witness some knights and other people who happened to be there present, that I took them to be dealt with at my discretion, and on no other terms. Then they surrendered the castle; and I hanged over the castle wall those whom it was fit to hang, and on the others, men of birth, we did justice as it ought to be done on men who act so to their lord.⁵⁶⁰

465. When that was done, I went to Tarazona, where, in four or five places of the town, false gold coin was made of mine, and of the King of Castile’s. Whilst I was there, at Tarazona, I caused an inquisition to be made in two quarters of the town, respecting the coins struck for me, as there had been much talk of it among the people. I made the workmen come before a judge of mine, named Miçer Ombret,⁵⁶¹ accompanied by another. The inquisition at an end, they came to lay their report before me. The judges laboured at it for four days without finding out anything about the coinage, where the coins were made and so forth. One day, on my return from hunting,

⁵⁵⁸“E en aquel vespre ans que fos nuyt aquel qui fonejaua ach los trenchat una pertxa de la una guauta de la brigola.” *Fonejar* is to work a slinging engine; *funda*, *fundibulum*, *fonevol*.

⁵⁵⁹Elsewhere Vilert.

⁵⁶⁰“Penjam per lo mur del Castell aquells que seyen a penjar, e dels altres de paratge faem aquella justicia ques deu fer domens que aytal cosa fan a lur senyor.” Meaning that the “men of birth” were put to death in less ignominious way than by hanging, that is, by taking their heads off. Zurita (*Annales*, lib. iii. c. 71) sums up the statement as to all; “E mandó hacer justicia dellos con castigo de muerte.”

⁵⁶¹In the Barcelona edition, Umbert.

Miçer Ombret came to me and said, "My lord, what more do you wish us to do? We can find out no trace of the coinage, nor where the coins are made." I said to him, "How can that be? It is a notorious fact that coin is made here, at Tarazona, and yet you cannot find out the truth? Great marvel is it to me; if the bushes could speak they might tell us, for since no mint-house can be found, the coin must be made somewhere among the bushes and torrents of this neighbourhood."

466. I was in the town, in my own house, thinking how the matter could be discovered, when lo! there came a man who said he wished to speak to me in secret. I sent out of the room all those who were there, and he remained alone with me. He said that a man, whom I well knew, sent to greet me, and that if I would only ensure his safety, he would put me on the way of finding out the truth about the coins; but I was not to do harm to him in person or goods. I told him that he should disclose who it was, and if, through his means, I found out the truth, as he said, I would willingly ensure his safety. The man desired to have a written agreement that no harm should be done to him, and that he would bring the guilty parties before me. An agreement was accordingly made under my hand and his; and when that was done, I said to him, "Now since the agreement is made and signed, tell me who the man is." He said, "Marques." I did not know well who he could be, and asked, "Who is Marques?" He replied, "Marques, the clerk, the brother of Domingo Lopez, the man who had Pedro Perez killed as he was leaving Tudela."

467. I then sent for Miçer Ombret, and he came immediately to me. I said to him, "Miçer Ombret, I believe I have found what you and I were seeking." He asked, "What is it?" I said, "The matter of the coin." "I am right glad and content," said Ombret, "for it vexed me much not to be able to find it out." I said, "I have promised not to hurt the man, for, after all, it is better to pardon one and learn the truth, than to leave the business unfinished." I then sent for the man who had made the disclosure, and said to him: "Friend, where is Marques? Could I see him now?" He replied, "No, you cannot; he is not in the town; but I can bring him before you go to bed." I said, "Do so, and I will thank you much, and you will get the more by it, for you have put me on the track of this business. Go then, and look to yourself;" and the man went away.

468. When I was about to go to bed that very night the man came again, and I went into my chamber with him, and with Marques, who had come along with him. Marques said, "We humble ourselves before you, my lord." I saluted him. I had ready by me a volume of the Gospels, on which he (Marques) was to swear, and had also Bonanat, one of my scribes, to write down what he said. I first made Marques swear to speak the truth, not to keep it back from me for love or fear, for what might be given or promised, or for fear of any man; and if he knew more than I asked him for, to say it at once. He said, "Grant me pardon, my lord, and I will tell you the whole truth as to this, business, how it has been, and how not." I said I would willingly pardon him, if he told me the truth about it, and that, moreover, it should get him favour with me. He kissed my hand for the grace I did him, and said that as I pardoned him he would tell me the truth, for he himself had been one of the actors and accomplices in it all. I said, "Welcome to you, since you begin so well;" and he went on to say first about the King of Castile's coin, and then about mine. He told how he had made, and was actually making, false "morabatins," and in what place, who were his accomplices in the affair, and what knights were in it. Then he told me farther I was to send for those whom he named, and if they denied the fact, place him behind a curtain, where he should stand, and he would then come out and make them speak the truth. "They will not dare to deny it when I am placed before them." I did as Marques said, for there was no better way to arrive at the truth.

469. Next morning I sent for one of them, who came well instructed by the others, and began by flatly denying the fact. I said, "How can you deny it? Were you not in such a place, with such and such persons, as I can prove it?" He said, "My lord, if you can prove that to me, I cannot help

it.” And thereon I made Marques come out of his hiding-place, and he said to him, “Friend, were it you not with me at such a place, at which we talked of the false gold coin, how we should do it, and how not?⁵⁶² And do you not know that of our councils were Don Such-an-one, and Don Such-an-one, and Don Such-an-one?” When the man heard that he suddenly changed colour. I saw that, and said to him, “You have sinned, first against God, then against me, who am your born lord, in thus denying the truth. You shall be brought to judgment; if you persist in denying the truth, it shall be proved against you, and you will fall under the penalty of the law. If, on the contrary, you now tell me the truth, and confess your guilt, you may, perhaps, find mercy in me; for by truth man finds mercy in God, and in his lord on earth.”

470. Then the man began to speak out, and his account of the business agreed perfectly with that of Marques. Both disclosed who their accomplices were. In this manner I went from one to another, until such evidence was produced that I knew for certain how the thing was, or was not, in what place the false coin was made, who made it, and what sort of people were concerned in the affair. It was further proved that the sacristan, the brother of Pedro Perez, had made false “morabatins” of copper, and had lined them over with gold leaf; and it was likewise found that they first went into the hands of Ramon Ramirez at Santa Eulalia, who took care to pass them as good ones. And, moreover, that the false coin was made at Tortelles,⁵⁶³ at the town of Tarazona, and at many other places. So I had to do justice on Don Pedro Ramirez, on his son, and on Donna Elfa de Tortelles [his wife], all of whom were cast into the river and drowned. The others were executed in the way proper in each case, and their property confiscated, as of people who dared make false coin in my country and in the King of Castile’s. As the sacristan was a clerk, I gave him up to the bishop, who kept him in a prison, where he died. When I had accomplished that, that is, the punishment of so great a crime as the people of the country had taken to, I departed thence, and went to Zaragoza.

471. When I had been some time in Zaragoza I departed for the kingdom of Valencia, where I had not been for a good while. I kept Christmas at Alcañiz, and New Year’s Day at Tortosa. At Valencia there came a message that my daughter, the Infanta Doña Maria, was dead. It was my wish that she should be buried with her mother at Vallbona, but the Zaragozans, in spite of the barons and knights (who were ready to fulfil my commands), buried her in Saint Saviour’s, at Zaragoza. When I knew they had buried her, I stayed in the kingdom of Valencia.

472. Then the Bishop of Zaragoza, Don Sancho Martinez de Oblites, and Don Sancho Baldoví,⁵⁶⁴ who were my daughter’s executors, came to me, and said they wished to show me her will. I heard it read, and found by it that she had bequeathed one thousand marks for discharging debts and damages, and also to distribute among her women servants and people of her household, whom she wished to assist. They told me, moreover, that she had left nothing but her jewels, wherefore they brought this to my knowledge, as they would rather I had them than any one else, for they had once been mine. I told them that I would willingly pay the value of them into their hands, and that I consigned to them Daroca, Barbastro, and Roda, from the revenues of

⁵⁶²This address, as many of those in this business, is reported in the *Chronicle* in Spanish, or at least in the language then in use in Aragon: “Amigo, no fuerdes nos en tal logar con mi, e que faulariamos de esta cosa como lo fariamos ni como no?”

⁵⁶³Here the modern edition of Barcelona has *Tortoles*. “E que sen faya en Tortoles, e en la vila de Taraçona, e en altres logars molts.” Could the author mean Tortosa? Lower down, however, the name Tortoles (written Tortolles and Torrelles) appears in connexion with that of Dona Elfa, the wife of Pero Ramirez, whence I conclude that Tortosa cannot be meant.

⁵⁶⁴“Sanxo Martineç Doblites, e en Ponç Baldoui” in the edition of Barcelona.

which they were to pay themselves the thousand marks; and so I got the jewels that belonged to my daughter.

473. When that was over, En Ramon de Cardona and some other barons of Catalonia went to war with me for the business of the Count of Urgel, who was dead. They wished to possess themselves of that county by force; and I opposed it. The executors of the count had many times requested and demanded of me to lend them, on security of the revenues of that county, a sum of money, wherewith to solve the count's debts and liabilities; and at their request I had lent them money to pay what he owed, and fulfil his bequests, and upon which En Ramon de Cardona, and other Catalonian barons with him, made war on me. While I was there [in Catalonia],⁵⁶⁵ and keeping the feast of Omnium Sanctorum (All Saints), my son, the Infante Don Sancho, whom the Pope had made Archbishop of Toledo, sent me messengers and letters earnestly praying me to go at Christmas to Toledo, when he was to say mass; and in his letters he said that he would gladly come to me, as to his father and his lord, but that I was to forgive his not coming at once, as he had to make preparations at Toledo for my reception. He would, he said, meet me at Calatayud, and thence go into Castile with me. He, moreover, asked me to stay with him at Brioga (Brihuega), Alcalá, and other places he owned on that road. I recognised the claim he had on me, as his father, he having been always a loving and dutiful son, and assented to his proposal. As, however, Christmas was so near, I left at Cervera my son, the Infante Don Pedro, to keep watch on that frontier.

474. When the feast of Omnium Sanctorum (All Saints) had passed, I went to Aragon, and arrived at Calatayud sixteen days before Christmas. The King of Castile, knowing that I was going to Toledo, came out to meet me at the Convent of Dorta,⁵⁶⁶ and did not part from me till I was at Toledo. I stayed there eight days.

475. On the fifth day of my being there, there came a message from Jacme Alarich,⁵⁶⁷ my man, whom I had sent to the King of the Tartars, saying that he had come back, and brought me good news. There came with him two Tartars, both men of great influence in their country, though one was of more importance and power than the other, and they invited me to go to the East, and conquer the Holy Land. I told the King of Castile of it. The king thought the thing very great and marvellous, but difficult to accomplish, and fraught with danger. The Tartars, he said, were very deceitful; he feared, when I got there among them, they would not perform what they had promised through their messengers. The business was, no doubt, a very great one. He (the King of Castile) knew well that if Our Lord would conduct me in it, I could succeed; but if I failed, everything would be lost. No king in the world had ever achieved so glorious and honourable an enterprise as to conquer the whole of the Holy Land beyond seas, and the Sepulchre [of Our Saviour]; but he could not advise me to undertake it for anything in this world.

476. I told him I thanked him much for his advice, which showed to me that he loved me. What he said to me was certainly true—the business was a mighty one; no king on this side of the sea had hitherto had intercourse or friendship with the Tartars: for one thing, because their power had only begun a little time since; for another, because of their not having sent similar messages before offering friendship to any Christian king, except me. That the king of that country should have sent a message, distinguishing and selecting me among others, seemed the work of God, who desired to commend that undertaking to me. Since God willed it, I would not, for regard of

⁵⁶⁵Zurita (*Annales*, iii. c. 74) states that the place was Cervera.

⁵⁶⁶Dorta for d'orta is no doubt meant for Huerta, in Castile.

⁵⁶⁷In the Barcelona edition *Dalarig*; he was a native of Perpignan.

consequences, or out of fear for myself, nor for what it might cost me hereafter, forsake the enterprise, but would attend to it with all my strength and power, so that God might be satisfied with me for the good will I had shown to obey His commands. Wherefore I prayed the king [Don Alfonso] to be content, for, after all, my honour would be his. And if God thereby gave me much gain, he who had many sons might rely on his having part of the gain I might make there. "It seems to me," I said, "that God wills it, and since God wills it, ill cannot come of it." And King Alfonso replied, "May it be God's will, and may good come to you of it."⁵⁶⁸

477. The conference⁵⁶⁹ between me and the King of Castile at an end, I left Toledo next day, and went to a village called Illescas. The King of Castile went to another village in the neighbourhood; and all the other barons, the Master of Uclés, and the Master of the Hospital, he who was the Grand Master for all Spain, spoke of our business, and talked of nothing else but what they had heard me say about the projected expedition. The Master of the Hospital then came up (his name was Brother Gonsalvo Perero, and he was a native of Portugal), and said he wished to speak with me. I went out of the road and took him aside, and he said to me that my intentions were certainly laudable, and my courage good, since I was determined to serve God, that he wished to help me with all he could get from the Hospital in the five kingdoms of Spain. He then asked me to ask the King of Castile to accompany me in the expedition, and allow him (the Grand Master) to take from his country whatever the Hospital possessed therein, and was needed for the enterprise. I thanked him for his offer, and especially for his approval of what I wished to undertake for the service of God, and promised to speak with the King of Castile. I would immediately call upon him: he should keep in sight that I might come when I wanted him.

478. Thereupon I sent a message to the king, who was ahead of me, hunting, to wait for me. When I arrived where he was, I took him aside and said, "King, the commander has offered me his help in this expedition; if you will command and say to him that it pleases you, he will do his utmost to help us." Forthwith the King of Castile sent for the commander, and he came. The king said to him in my presence, "Commander, the aid and service you may do the King of Aragon pleases me as much, or more, than if it were done to myself I further pray and command you to do what you offer I said, "Commander⁵⁷⁰ it seems to me as if the king wished you to speak," and he said, "My lord, I see well that the king wishes and orders it." There was an end to the conference that day, and I gave the king great thanks, for I saw plainly that he wished to help me as much as he could.

479. Next morning the King of Castile came out of one village, and I of another, and I rode to Daymus, and saw his banner on the road where I was to travel. The king was there; he saluted me, sent for Don Manuel, Don Gil Garcéz, and Don Juan Garcia, and said, "King, this expedition of yours that you wish to undertake, God knows well that it grieves me in one respect, and pleases me in another; it grieves me that you should put yourself to such great risk, against such terrible people, and so far off; and it will please me if you can do such great good to Christendom as you think. May it please God that it be so! And since you have it so much at heart that I cannot hinder or dissuade you from it, I am unwilling that you should go thither without proper help from me: for so did you behave towards me when I needed you to help me against the Saracens. I

⁵⁶⁸Zurita (*Annales*, iii. c. 74). Alfonso's *Chronicle* says nothing of this interview, but the Aragonese and Catalanian writers, such as Beuter, Desclot, Miedes and others, minutely refer to James's endeavours to go on Crusade to the Holy Land. See also Fernandez de Navarrete, *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia*, tom. v.

⁵⁶⁹The Barcelona edition has two chapters following each other with No. 477.

⁵⁷⁰"Comanador" say both the editions.

will aid you with a hundred thousand gold ‘morabatins,’ and a hundred horse.” I said to him that I would willingly accept this aid, from no one in the world, except from the Church; but that I was so deeply bound to him, that I could not well refuse his offer of aid, and that though I had determined not to have it I thanked him much for it.

480. Next day we passed through Uclés, to which the Master had invited us. When I was about to leave he offered to go with me, and attend the expedition with a hundred knights. I told him that I thanked him much for them. Next day Don Gil Garcés offered to go with all the forces he could raise; but neither the one nor the other kept his word. When the time for parting with the King of Castile came, he said to me, “Take these sixty thousand ‘besants,’ which the King of Granada has just sent me. I give them to you on account of what I have promised you; the rest will come soon.” I took them, and left behind to receive the rest Friar Pedro Peyronet and Pedro Gilabert,⁵⁷¹ to whom the king gave them. I went to Moya that day, and thence to Valencia.

481. When I was at Valencia,⁵⁷² there came to me Jacme Alarich with the Tartars, and with him another ambassador there was from Greece, and told me on behalf of the former, or of Great Khan,⁵⁷³ who is the King of the Tartars, that he had the desire and the will to help me: that I should go to Alayas,⁵⁷⁴ or any other place, and he would come to meet me; I should find in his country all I needed, victuals and engines of war,⁵⁷⁵ and so I, together with him, could easily conquer the [Holy] Sepulchre. He said he would furnish me with supplies. The other, the messenger from Palialogo (Palæologus), Emperor of the Greeks, said that his master would likewise send me supplies by sea.

482. Thereon I busied myself in providing and getting ready for my voyage, so that seven months after that I was at Barcelona, about to cross the sea. Thereon the Queen of Castile sent me word to wait for her, and that she would come to Horta (Huerta), as she actually did, with her sons. My own sons, the Infante En Pedro, the Infante En Jacme, and the Archbishop of Toledo, were there also. All prayed me during two consecutive days, weeping and crying, not to depart; but they could not prevail with me to remain, and I went back to Barcelona to make my passage. I had then with me, between knights and horsemen, full eight hundred or more.⁵⁷⁶

483. Before starting for the East, I went to Mallorca, to see if there was any shipping there, and to ask the people of the town if they would help me in my expedition. I crossed over with one galley and a “sagetia,”⁵⁷⁷ or smaller vessel. When there, I asked them to assist me; they said they would do what I wished, and that I had only to say what it was. Perceiving their good will to help me, of seventy thousand sous that I had intended to ask for I only asked them for fifty thousand. They gave them willingly, and with pleasure. With what they gave me I hired three ships, and got

⁵⁷¹Guilabert, and Guil for Gil is the reading in the Barcelona edition.

⁵⁷²This paragraph, which in the edition of 1557 is numbered 481, and in that of Barcelona has number 482, is thus headed: “The Glorious King En Jacme, when he had heard the messengers of the Great Khan and of Palæologus Emperor of the Greeks determined to pass beyond seas, and to conquer the Holy Sepulchre.”

⁵⁷³“Que ell hauia cor e volentat dajudar nos,” thus in both editions of the *Chronicle*, but the contrary must be meant; it was the Khan who solicited the aid of James. As to the Khan himself, his name was Abaga-Khan; he was the son of Holagû-Khan, and had married a daughter of the King of Constantinople, Palæologue.

⁵⁷⁴“Alayas,” which Ch. de Tourtoulon conjectures is Alaia or Alanieh, in Asian Turkey, *Jacme I., le Conquerant*, vol. ii. p. 392.

⁵⁷⁵“Que ell nos bastaria de geyns (genyi?) e de conduyt.”

⁵⁷⁶The Spanish translation makes the number 1,300. A similar discrepancy occurs before.

⁵⁷⁷*Sagetia* in Catalan is equivalent to *saetia* in Spanish. Both words are derived from the Arabic, *Xathia*, {arabic} a ferry boat for the crossing of rivers, {arabic} meaning the bank of a river.

besides, from the Almoxerif of Minorca, a thousand oxen and cows. I then returned, and on the first of August was again at Barcelona.

485. On the third or fourth day before Saint Mary's, in September⁵⁷⁸ I set sail. We were all that night beating to windward, more than forty miles out at sea. In the morning En Ramon Marquet came to me and said, "My lord, it seems to me as if we ought to return to the land, that all the fleet may be collected together, and may keep us in sight; otherwise they will miss you on the sea, and be unable to follow you." I saw that he was right, and did as he suggested. When I went back, I found only one galley, for the rest of the fleet had gone on to Sitges.⁵⁷⁹ I went to sea again with that galley, and the other ships made for Minorca. In the morning I saw them, some seventeen sail, twenty-five miles off, in the waters of Minorca. We proceeded all that day, and all that night; and next day, at vespers, an east wind arose,⁵⁸⁰ and made a blue and red arc, one of those called Saint John's.⁵⁸¹ A waterspout rose and fell into the sea, which turned white from black it was before. Then came the east wind, which began at sunset, and there was a great deal of it during the night, so that all the time it blew we had to furl the sails. We, moreover, saw no sail nor ship. This was on Saturday, the night before Saint Mary's, in September.⁵⁸²

486. When Sunday came the wind changed to the south-east and lasted all day till midnight; then it changed again to the south-west, and on Monday the weather was worse than on Saturday or Sunday: all the four winds meeting and fighting one another. This lasted all day on Tuesday and all night into Wednesday, when still the bad weather did not abate. So that sailors, who had crossed the sea twenty or twenty-five times, said they had never met with such bad weather.

487. When day came, I saw the ship of the Templars close upon mine; they spoke to us and said that they had broken their rudder, and asked us for one: we sent it to them. En Ramon Marquet said we should not do it, for our ship ought not to be without a spare rudder. The Templars' ship then went away, and we lost sight of them at night. At vespers we saw the ship of the Sacristan of Lerida, who was afterwards Bishop of Huesca. She passed under our stern, as well as that of the Commander of Alcaniz, one of the knights of Calatrava. I called together En Ramon Marquet and Galceran de Pinós, and some more knights who were in the ship with me, and told them to listen to what I had to say. I spoke thus Ramon Marquet, it seems to me that it is not Our Lord's will that we should go beyond sea, as once before, when we had prepared to go,⁵⁸³ for this bad weather has already lasted seventeen days and eighteen nights, and we cannot even get together the fleet." This was eight days after Michaelmas.

488. Thereupon there came the Bishop of Barcelona, the Master of the Temple, and the Master of the Hospital in Aragon, and all the chief men (*prohomens*) of Barcelona, and the masters of the ships, and the sailors, and entreated me, in the name of God and of Saint Mary, not to continue the voyage, for they feared that the great fogs there are at Acre in the beginning of winter might make us miss the land. If we did miss it, they were afraid of what might happen to us. "We dare not," they said, "advise you to make this voyage, and put yourself in danger of

⁵⁷⁸Nativity of the Virgin, 8th September.

⁵⁷⁹Ves (vers?) la mar de Ciges.

⁵⁸⁰"Levas j orre temps de levant" in the edition of 1557; the modern one has: "levas vent a llevant."

⁵⁸¹"E feu j arch blau e vermejl daquests quen dien de sent Marti"; in the other, "de Senc't Ioan."

⁵⁸²Of this chapter, and the following, the Barcelona edition, which is by far the more correct, makes only one, CCCXXXV., and thus is the difference, above noticed, between the two made up.

⁵⁸³This would imply that a first attempt to cross had already been made; but the fact is not recorded by any historian that I know.

death.” And thus, because of their prayers, and because I knew that they said the truth, I stayed. The Bishop then said, “We have already spent at sea two months, when a lesser time would have been sufficient for the passage had the wind been prosperous. Since in that time we could not cross, and Our Lord delayed us through the season, it is clear that our voyage was not agreeable to Him. We could endure the bad weather, if time remained for our voyage; but since He will not give us a wind to impel us where we want to go, it seems to us as if it was not His pleasure we should go there.” I told them that I would see if on that night the weather and wind did improve or not; if it did, we would go on: if not, we could not put force on Our Lord. When the night came we managed as well as we could with the wind there was from the south-west till the dawn; when the sun rose there was an east wind in our teeth, so that we could not go ahead.

489. So when I saw that it was not God’s pleasure to make the weather better for us, I made signal to the ship of the Sacristan of Lerida, who became afterwards Bishop of Huesca, to that of Calatrava, and to that of En Pedro de Queralt, to go back, and tack at the same time as we did; but the [main]yard of the Sacristan’s ship came down and fell on deck. If, peradventure, any one should ask why my ship and those that turned back with me did not cross the sea, as others did, the reason is, that they had such a wind that they could easily tack on it and make the voyage, whereas we ourselves could not face the wind, because we were lower than they were.⁵⁸⁴ All the time that the storm lasted—full three days and nights I never ceased, whenever I could be private and alone in the place where I slept (which on board ship is called Paradise), praying Our Lady Saint Mary of Valencia to intercede with her dear Son that if our passage to the Holy Land seemed good to Him, He should let me make it, and give us fair wind; for I certainly would not abandon it for any harm that might come to me and my people; but if He thought that it was not for our good, nor for that of Christianity, that she would send us back to the altar of Saint Mary of Valencia. It so pleased her: for we got safe to the port of Aiquesmortes; and when we were within two miles of land, a wind came out of the entrance of the port, which made us haul down our sails, and beat off all that evening and night, so that we came to Agde (Acde). I prayed again to God’s mother that nowhere, in my land, or elsewhere, might we land but in some place near a church consecrated to her, that I might make suitable offering, and give thanks for the mercy shown us in taking us out of that danger, and that I might worship at her altar.

490. When the next day came we had a west wind;⁵⁸⁵ gentle and fair, which took us into port. Next morning I went to the church of Our Lady Saint Mary of Vallvert,⁵⁸⁶ to thank her for the grace and favour she had done us all in taking us out of that danger in which we had been. Whilst we were in that port, a head cook of mine, who had been outside in a boat, told me that he had met Friar Pedro Centre and Friar Ramon Marti, coming from Tunis. They asked him what the ship was. They were told that the ship was the king’s, who had turned back for stress of weather. I expected them to wait for me, but they went off to Montpellier. Next day I went to Vallvert to

⁵⁸⁴“E si per aventura negun demanaua per cal rao no passa la nostra nau ni aqueles que ab nos sen tornaren aixi com les altres hi passaren, aquesta es la rao: car ells hauien lo vent del *lebeg* tan complit, ques podien sobrepujar al vent perço quan erem puys bays que ells no eren a orçar per fer lur viatge e nos no.” I can offer no clearer translation of this passage than the above. Consult Zurita, *Annales de Aragon*, iii. 74, and p. 386 of the Spanish version, and Navarrete, *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia*, vol. v. Lebeg, in Spanish *lebeche*, is the *ventus Lybicus* of the ancients.

⁵⁸⁵“Nos haguem el *garí* dolç e amoros.” Garbí, the west wind, from *garb*, {arabic}, west, whence *algarbe*, *garbino*, *almagreb*, &c.

⁵⁸⁶Sainte-Marie de Vauvert.

give thanks to Our Lady Saint Mary for the grace she had done us. The Bishop of Maguelonne,⁵⁸⁷ and the son of En Ramon Guancelm,⁵⁸⁸ came out to meet me. They told me, as soon as they came, that if I wished it, they would go to sea with me, and that we could renew our supplies of provisions there. The fleet, they said, would be greatly discouraged if I were not with it.

491. I said to them, “What assistance would you give if we went to sea again?” The son of En Ramon Guancelm then said, “I will follow you with ten knights.” Then the Bishop of Maguelonne said he would follow me with twenty; and they added that unless I again tried to cross the sea, people would talk a great deal about it. I answered them that people did certainly talk a great deal too much; I did not care what they said: our Lord knew that I was forced to do what I did, and that nothing in the world grieved me more, nor so much, as to be obliged to abandon my enterprise; oyet I wonder much at your saying such a thing, for in my ship alone there are no less than fifteen knights lost and disabled, and I believe that in the other ships there are as many as a hundred dead and disabled. Were I to go to sea again with only thirty fresh knights, to replace those who are dead or disabled, that would not be right. And I have left the sea with such damage on account of the bad weather, that for nothing in the world would I go back to it, not for anything that could be done. But I should like you to tell me: with whom have you consulted on this matter?” They said, “With En Ramon March,⁵⁸⁹ and with others who talked of it.” I said, “When will En Ramon March be here?” They said, “On the morrow.” I said, “I will see En Ramon March, and speak with him before you; and then I will see what his advice is.”

492. Next day En Ramon March came to me at Vallvert. I sent immediately for the Bishop of Maguelonne, and for En Ramon Guancelm, and said to him: “En Ramon March, the Bishop and En Ramon Guancelm have said this to me, with your approval, as they say, and I wish to know if it is your opinion that I should proceed again across the sea.” “My lord,” said he, “I could give you advice in other matters: but you know more about war than I do. And what you consider good advice is no doubt the best. What you do not know, neither I nor any one else will know.” And the Bishop and En Ramon Guancelm felt reproved for what they had said to me. So I took no more notice of what they had said.

Thence I went to Montpellier, and the day after my arrival there, sent for the consuls⁵⁹⁰ and for fifty or sixty of the chief men of the town to come to me. They came, and I told them how I had suffered on the sea, that it seemed our Lord did not wish that I should cross it, for I had tried it once before without success. I had sailed to Barcelona another time intending to cross, when the ships for seventeen or eighteen days were in danger of being driven on shore by the great sea from the southeast and the Provençal wind.⁵⁹¹ As it would lengthen the book to repeat much of what was said on the occasion, I will pass on to what is most important. I told them the business had already cost me much money, but that I relied on their helping me so that I should be content. This I once asked them to do through the Franciscans of Montpellier, at the same time offering them good pledges for repayment. I would do to their satisfaction, and they should help me for the expedition I intended making for the service of God, but which, as they well knew, had

⁵⁸⁷Jean de Montlaur.

⁵⁸⁸The modern Barcelona edition has twice “Gaucelm.”

⁵⁸⁹Elsewhere Marchet and Marquet.

⁵⁹⁰In 1239 Montpellier was governed by consuls elected by the citizens under a “bayle,” who was at the same time James’s lieutenant.

⁵⁹¹“Per la gran mar que hi faya daxeloch e de vent i la Provença.” *Daxeloch* is for *da xeloch* in Span. *xaloque*, *i.e.* the “sirocco,” or south-east wind, from the Ar. {arabic}.

entirely failed. Since God had brought me to the town of Montpellier, I prayed them very earnestly to help me. They said they would deliberate, and next day would give me the answer.

493. Next day they came before me, and the answer they made was in this wise: that they knew well how grievous it was to me not to have crossed the sea. It was quite true that I had once asked them on a previous occasion for aid; but they denied having said to the Franciscans that they were ready to help me. This, however, was their final resolution: should I cross the sea they would willingly pay me sixty thousand sous tournois.⁵⁹² I said, “Barons, you have made to me the most novel reply that ever a subject made to his lord, not to say to such a lord as I am to you. And I marvel at the little sense and judgment of the people of Montpellier, that you should think to satisfy me with such an answer. You would actually give me more to leave you than to remain with you in the land! My subjects of Aragon and Catalonia would indeed give me a thousand thousands of sous⁵⁹³ for remaining in their land; and I marvel greatly how you can offer me money on condition I leave you and go to another land, where I may be killed or taken prisoner.”

494. I departed thence and came to Catalonia; then I entered Aragon and went to Zaragoza. When I was there, there came to me messengers from the King of Castile (Alfonso), who prayed me to go and attend the marriage of my grandson, Don Fernando;⁵⁹⁴ as God had sent me back to my country, he prayed it very earnestly. I considered that it was a fitting thing to do, and consented; promising to be there on the day for which he had asked me. I then went to Tarazona, and the King of Castile went to Agreda. I left Tarazona and went towards Agreda, and met half way the King of Castile, who came out to meet me; and he rejoiced greatly at my sight, embracing me thrice, weeping for joy. We entered Agreda, and then went through Soria to Burgos, by convenient stages. One day that we were on the road, talking of his achievements [against the Moors] and my own, I told him that I begged him, when he again undertook anything, not to do it without my advice, and if he failed, to come to me in time; I could put it right for him. He thanked me much, and said he would do so.

495. Then we went together to Burgos, where the Castilian barons were already assembled; that is to say, the King’s uncle, Don Alfonso de Molina,⁵⁹⁵ his own brother Don Philip, Don Nuño Gonsalvez de Lara, and all the bishops and nobles of Castile. The daughter⁵⁹⁶ of the King of France also came there, with the Count Dodo,⁵⁹⁷ brother of Don Juan Dacre, a bishop, and other nobles. Here Don Fernando took to wife the daughter of the King of France. The King of Castile made him a knight, and Don Fernando made knights of his brothers, but not of Don Sancho;⁵⁹⁸ for I myself begged him to make the other brothers knights, but not him. The King of Castile said to me that Don Fernando and the other brothers wished it, and since they wished it, he might well make them all knights. I told him before Don Philip, Don Nuño, and the rest of the barons, that whoever counselled that Don Fernando should make all his brothers knights gave him bad advice. The King replied that all his sons desired it, and so Don Fernando might well do it. I told

⁵⁹²LX. milia sous de torneses, *i.e.* touronnais, from their being struck at Tours in France.

⁵⁹³“Car los meus homens Darago, e de Cathalunya me darien M. millia sous,” &c., *i.e.* one million.

⁵⁹⁴Don Fernando de la Cerda, son of Alfonso X. and Violante, or Yoland, the daughter of James.

⁵⁹⁵The brother of St. Ferdinand.

⁵⁹⁶Blanche, daughter of St. Louis, who was married to Don Fernando in November, 1269.

⁵⁹⁷I presume that this Count Dodo is no other than Jean d’Eu, (Odo?) the brother of Jean de Brenne, or d’Acre, king of Jerusalem.

⁵⁹⁸Alfonso’s second son, who, after the death of the eldest, Don Fernando, became heir to the crown, under the appellative of Sancho, *el Bravo*.

him that he would set wrath and enmity among them: that whenever they did amiss he (Don Fernando) would remind them that he had made them knights, and they would feel scorn and anger at it. I asked them if they wished it, and they said yes. Don Sancho was near me, and I told him in his ear not to do it on any account. He said he would do as I advised.

496. I asked Don Sancho before them all, “Don Sancho, do you wish to be knighted by Don Fernando?” “Grandfather, what you wish, I wish.” I said, “My wish is, that you take knighthood from your father, and from no one else.” He said, “My lord, so it pleases me, and I will do as you wish and advise.” The King accordingly made Don Fernando a knight, and Don Fernando made his brothers knights, except Don Sancho. He made also knights of Don Lope Diaz de Vizcaya and many other sons of nobles. I stayed at Burgos fifteen days, more or less.

497. One day, while I was there, Don Alfonso de Molina sent to tell me that he was not well, and I went to see him. On returning to the Hospital of Burgos, where I had quarters, I met Don Nuño Gonsalvez de Lara, who came to me. I went aside with him, and made the others ride forward along the Rambla of Burgos, and went to my quarters, all the time conversing with him. He offered to do me service, more than to any one else in the world. There were things, he said, in which he would rather serve me than himself; if I but sent him a letter, he would come to me at once with a hundred or two hundred knights, and I might take from him whatever I needed. Strongly suspecting what Don Nuño’s intention was, and what he wanted of me, I answered him with the following reasoning: “Don Nuño, I know that the King of Castile loves you not, and brings charges against you, and against other barons of Castile. And I know also that you bring charges against him, and have not that good will for him you and others should have. Whether that is by your fault or his, I cannot say; but, certainly, this is better time than any other for healing the wound, and I have a better reason for interfering in his affairs than any man has. What others would not dare to tell him, I can say as plainly to him as to a simple knight. And do you believe surely, that if the King has done you wrong, I will at once say so to him, and will make him repair it. If he will not, I will show myself so dissatisfied with him, that you will see he will do it at last. If not, I will be so angry with him, that you shall have to thank me for what I will do.” After that, I found Don Nuño next day much contented with the King, who, he said, had given him heritages, had married⁵⁹⁹ him, and had done all duties of a lord towards his vassal; so much so, that it seemed to me that I ought not to interfere after what he said.

497a. Then I departed for Tarazona, and the King of Castile followed me part of the way, not wishing to leave me as long as I might be in his country. I asked him to keep the next Christmas with me. At first he made some excuses, but yielded at last to my entreaties, and he came with me to Tarazona. As it was becoming, I furnished him and those with him with everything they needed; so that every Castilian baron had in his tent bread, wine, wax, salt meat,⁶⁰⁰ fruit, and everything he needed, so that one had not to ask another for anything. And I so managed, as before said, that there was not one to whom I did not give his full portion of partridges, dried grapes, and everything else he asked for.⁶⁰¹

498. The King of Castile and his suite stayed there seven days with me, and in those seven days I gave him advice as to seven things he was to observe in the conduct of affairs. First, that when he had given his word to any one, he should in any case fulfil it; it was better to bear the shame of saying no to one, who asked for something, than to grieve at heart for having to fulfil a

⁵⁹⁹*Casat* here is perhaps used in the Provençal sense for established, set up.

⁶⁰⁰*Salsa*.

⁶⁰¹In the edition of 1557: provided one thing did not prevent the other, “per tal que la j. no embargas laltre.”

promise. Another counsel was, that he should look well before he signed a grant, and think first whether he could and should do it or not. The third was that he should keep all his people attached to him, for it was a fair and good thing for any king to keep in his grace and pleasure all the people with which God had intrusted him. The fourth was, that if some only were to be kept in his grace, and he could not keep the others, he should keep at least two parties: the church, and the people and cities of the country. For they are those whom God loves more, even, than the nobles and the knights, for the knights revolt sooner against their lord than the others. If he could keep with him all of them, well and good; if not, he should keep those two parties, for with their help he could easily destroy the others. The fifth counsel was this: God had given him Murcia, and I, with the help of our Lord, had assisted him to take and conquer it. Now the grants I had made to the settlers of Murcia, and those he himself had afterwards made, were not well kept: on the contrary, they had been broken, and some of the settlers had lost their land. They had received some twenty or thirty “tafullas,”⁶⁰² fifty he who had received most; but fifty “tafullas” were only two “jovadas” of the measurement of Valencia, that is twelve “cafices” of seed corn; and yet Murcia was by far the best town in all Andalucia,⁶⁰³ except Seville. He was very wrong in letting people think and say that he knew not how to allot lands to settlers. Murcia would never be prosperous unless he did do one thing, which was to people it with one hundred men of importance, who might receive him properly when he came into the city. “Those (I said) you should take care that they have good heritages therein. A man of some importance is not sufficiently endowed with a hundred ‘tafullas,’ nor with two hundred. Let artisans and workmen have the rest of the land, and in this way you will have a goodly town for yourself. If, perchance, you have made grants to men who do not reside in Murcia, make terms with them, and give their land to the proper settlers.” Another counsel was, never to punish any one in secret; it did not become a king to punish his vassals in secret. This passed at Tarazona.⁶⁰⁴

499. The King of Castile then left Tarazona and went to Fitero, whence came word to me that he was very ill of a kick which a horse have given him in the leg at Burgos. I immediately went there, and with me four or five knights and my own train. I saw him and comforted him. I had with me at the time a surgeon doctor named Master John; I besides carried with me everything that was needed, and stayed with him three or four days, when he begged me earnestly to go back, as he considered he was cured. He thence went into Castile, and I went to Calatayud for a month or more.

500. After a month I came into the kingdom of Valencia, and found that there had been a dispute and contention between my lieutenant and another officer named Guillen Scrivá;⁶⁰⁵ I gave judgment in favour of the former. Then En Guillen Scrivá and others brought charges against that same lieutenant (*balle*), and I heard also the case, and gave judgment on it, and punished them both, so that the city remained in peace and good order.

501. Then came a message that the King of Castile desired to see me, and asked for an interview between Requena and Buñol. I answered that I was willing and content; and I went out

⁶⁰²“Taffulla” and “tahulla” is a land measure much used in Valencia and Murcia. It generally applies to irrigated rather than to arable land. The word is no doubt Arabic, perhaps, too, Berber, but the root is not to be found in the dictionaries we have of those languages. As to Cafiz, see note 52.

⁶⁰³The word is here used for Andalus,” ie. that portion of the Spanish Peninsula still occupied by Arabs and Moors.

⁶⁰⁴“E aço fon en Taraçona,” which last sentence the modern edition suppresses entirely.

⁶⁰⁵In the modern edition “Escrivá.”

to see him, with the intention of showing him my new kingdom of Valencia. I set out for Buñol, and thence on the road to Requena, and received him and the Queen [my daughter] well and fairly, and joyfully and honourably. I prayed the King to come into Valencia, and he agreed, which pleased the Queen, my daughter, much; for since I had married her to the King of Castile (Alfonso), she had not entered my country.⁶⁰⁶ Before the King and Queen entered, I arranged how they should be received by the bishops, the knights, and the good men of the city. Many shows and games, of various and wonderful devices, were made.⁶⁰⁷ The town was well decorated with hangings, and beds [for the men] set up in the squares. The King entered it, and was well and joyfully received, so that he could not have had a better reception in any town which had been settled for a hundred years. Indeed, as he was so well entertained, and so abundantly supplied with all he needed, game and every article of food, he was joyful and contented beyond measure.⁶⁰⁸

502. Then the King of Castile departed from Valencia, and I went with him as far as Villena.⁶⁰⁹ There he prayed me to stay with him three days, and I did so. Then I took leave of him; he went towards Murcia and I towards Xativa, and thence to Denia. At the latter place I made a settlement, called Orimbloy, and another in the valley of Albaida, called Montaberner.⁶¹⁰

503. One day I made an excursion towards Biar; and whilst I was at Otinyen (Ontenient) there came to me certain men of Suera,⁶¹¹ and said that by lying in wait in ambush⁶¹² for them with knights and footmen, En Artal de Luna had killed twenty-seven of their men.⁶¹³ On that I returned to Valencia, and then went into Aragon. When I got to Torrellas, near Camarena, a village of Teruel, my son, the Infante En Jacme, came to me and the Abbot of Poblet with him, and told me there, in Torrellas, how the King and Queen of France had proposed to him a marriage with the Countess of Nines,⁶¹⁴ that the King and Queen had promised her to him, and had fixed a day for the marriage. He, therefore, begged of me, as a proof of my love and favour as his father and lord, that I should grant him wherewith to perform the engagement he had formed with credit to myself and to him. I went the next day to Camarena, and thence into Teruel. And there I gave him sixty thousand gold sous in aid towards the expenses of his marriage.

504. Thence I went to Zaragoza, and sent for Don Artal de Luna to come to me on the eve of Saint Mary, in August.⁶¹⁵ Next day I summoned⁶¹⁶ him to appear before me. On the third

⁶⁰⁶Since her marriage to Alfonso, in 1246, Doña Violante had not seen her father.

⁶⁰⁷“E faeren fer jochs molts, e de maraueyloses, e de diverses [fayçons] e fo la vila be encortinada, e lits per les places de la vila.”

⁶⁰⁸Zurita (*Anales*, iii. c. 76) gives a full account of the entertainment.

⁶⁰⁹Written, Billena.

⁶¹⁰“Faem una pobla.” All the names in the geography of the Peninsula beginning with *Pobla*, or *Puebla*, *Pola*, &c., as *Puebla de Alcocer*, *Puebla de Don Fadrique*, *Pola de Lena*, and others, indicate the settlement of Christians in a village or town abandoned by the Moors.

⁶¹¹Çuera.

⁶¹²“En un aguayt e celada.” *Aguayt*, *guaita*, &c. (in Sp. acecho), are from the French “guet.”

⁶¹³Suera was a recently conquered town in the kingdom of Valencia, still inhabited by Moors living under the faith of a capitulation.

⁶¹⁴Zurita, iii. c. 79, 80.

⁶¹⁵The Assumption of the Virgin, 15th August.

summons that was made Don Artal came, and the people of Suera brought forward their charge against him for killing their people from the ambush. Don Artal then asked me to give him as his advocate Don Juan Gil Terim.⁶¹⁷ This I granted, and the suit between them began. It ended thus: one day I was in Exea; Don Pedro Cornel and other friends of Don Artal's came to me, and prayed me to accept his submission. After deliberation, I accepted it in this wise. I ordered him first to make amends for the injury he had done to the people of Suera, by giving them twenty thousand sous; that he and the knights who were in the business should leave the kingdom for five years; that the men of Esla [who had aided Don Artal] should also leave it for three years; and that a scribe of his, who had done all the mischief, should be banished from my kingdom for ever. I distributed ten thousand sous among the orphans, and the widows who had lost their husbands in the business, and went to Zaragoza.

505. At Zaragoza there came to me a pressing message from the King of Castile, that I should see him on great business, which he needed to settle with me, concerning our affairs in common. I sent, forthwith, En Jacme Saroca,⁶¹⁸ Sacristan of Lerida, who was a notary of mine, to say that I had my hands full of business, and could not possibly go to him. If he wished to say anything to me, he should say it to the Sacristan of Lerida; indeed, I would do as much upon a letter from him as if I saw him in person. The King sent word to say that he did not wish for that, but rather he prayed me to see him in any wise: there were things that he would say to no man in the world but myself.

506. Thereupon I left Zaragoza and went to Alicante, where the King of Castile was, as he had sent to say. When I was with him at Alicante, he told me that he knew for certain that the Aragonese barons had made agreements with those of Castile, as well as with the Moors, against both of us. And he asked me for advice as to what he should do in the business of the King of Granada and of the Raises.⁶¹⁹ He said that the King of Granada had offered his help against the Raises, and the Raises in their turn had proffered against the King of Granada⁶²⁰ that I should advise him what to do or not to do, and whom to assist.

507. I told him that he should undoubtedly assist the one with whom he had first made alliance. I asked which it was, and he said the King of Granada. I then told him: "If the King of Granada has made a treaty with you, and not broken it, you should observe it faithfully; but if the King of Granada himself has broken the treaty, you are not bound to observe it; you should side with the others, the Raises, with whom you might make a treaty, so as not to be wanting in good faith with the other. It was very well to see them thus divided; much better for us to have the Moors in two parties than in one." He replied that my advice seemed to him good, and that he would certainly follow it.

⁶¹⁶E en laltre dia nos preycam. The verb "preycar" is not here intended for "preaching" as it would at first appear, but for proclaiming, or summoning Don Artal to appear before the court; in Spanish, "pregonar," which, as well as "preycar," come from the Lat. *predicare*.

⁶¹⁷The new edition "Tarin."

⁶¹⁸The edition of 1557 Caroca, probably a misprint for Çaroca the modern one of Barcelona has Saroca.

⁶¹⁹Zurita, *Anales*, iii. c. 76, says these "Arraezes were of Guadix and Malaga; chiefs, or princes, of two towns revolted from Granada. Gayangos, *Mohammedan Dynasties*." The word *Raises* is nothing more than the plural of *Rais*, {arabic}, a chief, a captain. As to the Spanish *Arraez*, meaning "the commander of a vessel," it is a derivation from the same root, {arabic}, *rás*, head. *Ar-rayaz* and *Ar-rayazes*, as these insurgent governors are called in the *Chronicle* of Don Alfonso, is formed from {arabic}, *Ar-rayyás*.

⁶²⁰At this time Mohammad Ibn Al-ahmar was king of Granada.

508. So I left him, and came into the kingdom of Valencia. When, after staying at Valencia, I came to Murviedro, Fernan Sanchez de Castro⁶²¹ sent me a letter by one of his own men. The letter said that the Infante En Pedro had come to Burriana on purpose to kill him; En Pedro's men, sword in hand, had looked everywhere for him, even under the bed, thinking he was in the house. And if he, knowing what was to be, had not escaped, with his wife, they would undoubtedly have caught and murdered him. When I heard that, it grieved me much, and I said I would willingly give a thousand marks of silver that the whole affair should remain a secret between myself, the Infante, and Fernan Sanchez.

509. I departed thence and went to Aragon, and summoned the Infante and other barons to Cortes at Lerida, all to be there at the middle of Lent. And I myself was there on the appointed time, the Infante and the barons of Catalonia and Aragon. I then took the Infante apart, and charged him, before some confidants of mine and some of his, with having attempted by night to assail and kill Fernan Sanchez. He replied that he had not gone there with the intention of killing him. I said it was clear that he had gone with that intention, for he himself and his men had gone into the room, where he and his wife actually lay, and with drawn swords had searched for him under the bed and under some hemp there was there. I and those with me thought the Infante's defence insufficient, and thereupon I took from him the authority he held to act in my name.

510. When that was done I came again into the kingdom of Valencia. The Infante had preceded me, and when he heard of my coming went to Burriana, and came out to receive me just as I was approaching that town, which we both entered hunting, and with great merriment. I came to Murviedro and then to Valencia. 511. I was at Valencia full fifteen days, during which time the Bishop of Valencia, Friar Pedro of Genoa, En Thomas de Jonquieres, both learned clerks in law, and En Jacme Caroca,⁶²² Sacristan of Lerida, who afterwards was Bishop of Huesca, also came, and in their presence I told the Infante, and prayed him, not to be so cruel in the business of Fernan Sanchez, for he was his own brother;⁶²³ and I would do justice in any charge he might bring against him. I commanded and prayed him to submit to a decision of his case, for when a man (said I) was willing to submit to the judgment of the king of the country, it was reason that he should have such judgment, especially there being such close kindred between them. I moreover made him feel that I was prepared to protect Fernan Sanchez, since he was ready to do what was right. If that was not to avail him, whoever did him hurt would have to deal with me, not with Fernan Sanchez alone.

512. Thereon the Infante said that he would consider and make answer. I asked, When? He said he would make answer next day. I said to him, "Well and good; the longer you consider the affair, the better will you know what to do." Next day I looked for his answer, and none came. On the third or fourth day, however, they came and told me that the Infante had gone out of the town on horseback, with two or three knights, wearing his pourpoint or quilted coat, his camisole [of mail], his iron cap on his head,⁶²⁴ and himself on his horse. When I heard that I wondered greatly, for two reasons—one, that he would not submit to my judgment; the other, that he left Valencia by night, which was not needed, for even if he refused to abide by my judgment, I did intend no harm to him provided he did nothing then and there against Fernan Sanchez or his things.

⁶²¹One of James's natural sons by Blanca de Antillon, baroness of Castro.

⁶²²Sa roca. see above, note 618.

⁶²³Que pus son frare era." See above, §508.

⁶²⁴"E ques nera anat son perpunt vestit, e son camisol, e son capel de ferre al cap."

513. A few days after the Infante had left, Fernan Sanchez came to me at Valencia, and thanked me much for the favour I had done him in speaking to my son on his behalf. When he had been eight days with me he went on his way and returned to his land. While I was at Valencia there were with me Don Eximen de Urrea, the father-in-law of Fernan Sanchez, Don Ferris de Liçana, Don Pedro Martinez de Luna, and many others. The Infante sent to me his messengers, Don Ruiz Eximenez de Luna and En Thomas de Jonquieres; they brought a letter of credence, and said that they desired to speak with me before my barons and knights and citizens of Valencia, I, accordingly, called them together. When they had assembled, En Thomas de Jonquieres rose, and said, on behalf of the Infante:

514. "My lord, the Infante sends to you En Ruiz Eximenez and myself, who are now here, to declare, in his name, that the departure he made from Valencia that other time, he did not make it for any bad cause nor to affront you; but because he would not say No to what you asked of him. He says that he has kept the thing secret until now, but since you press him so much, he says that Fernan Sanchez has done such things against you that you ought not to pray on his behalf, much less desire that the Infante, your son, should pardon him; for he asserts that you ought not to reign, and has tried to poison the Infante, and raise the country against you, with the help of the barons and knights of this town. This the Infante will prove in fit time and place; and also that barons, knights, and townsmen have been in the plot, as well as the greater part of the Aragonese barons."

515. I replied that if he would only disclose what the plot was, I should be well pleased: if the Infante could prove it, I would do what ought to be done, and, moreover, that I would hold council on the whole thing. And I called the council apart, for my palace at Valencia happened to be full of people at the time that En Thomas de Jonquieres spoke, and they had heard his words. At that council En Berenguer Guillen de Entenza, Don Eximen de Urrea, Don Ferris de Liçana, and Don, Pedro Martinez de Luna were present. When all had assembled, I said to them, "En Thomas de Jonquieres has said an ill thing against you Aragonese; some one to answer him is much needed." Then Don Eximen de Urrea said he would willingly answer him, only that he (Jonquieres) was a clerk, and a base person; he would give his place to another like himself, who should answer him; and if that was not enough, he would produce a knight to answer him who came with him. So the council broke, and neither En Thomas nor the knight, who was with him, made answer to the challenge or replied in any way.

516. Thereon I replied to Don Ruiz Eximenez, and to En Thomas de Jonquieres that the Infante's charge was very weighty, and a great matter to be brought against so many. But that I would fix a day for Fernan Sanchez, to whom he should give a safe conduct, to come and appear. If he could prove the charge, well and good; if not, I would give him the punishment he deserved for such a wilful and unjustifiable accusation. Thereto they said that they had no orders to appoint such a day, and they departed.

517. Then I called together Cortes at Alcira, the Archbishop, the bishops, the barons (*richs homens*), and the chief men of towns, four from each, attending them. When Fernan Sanchez came to me at Valencia, and I told him what had been said of him, and that even Don Eximen de Urrea, who was his father-in-law,⁶²⁵ would not take his defence. I told him that he and the others should answer the accusation; all were dishonoured by a thing that, if true, injured their character for good faith. None of them, however, would make answer. Thereon I determined to go to Alcira, as I knew the Infante was coming, for there I should be at the crossing over the river, and

⁶²⁵Don Fernando had married a daughter of En Exemen d'Urrea; v. Desclot, *Chron.*, &c., chap. lxxviii.

better able to resist him, if he attempted anything against me. I stayed there, hunting, and watching what the Infante would or would not do. When I least expected it, they came and told me that the Infante had crossed the river at a ford below Segayren,⁶²⁶ and had come to Corbera, having twenty-five or thirty horsemen with him. I had already summoned the Cortes to Alcira: there had come the Infante En Jacme, the Archbishop, the bishops of Barcelona, Lerida, and Valencia, Garcia Ortiz, Don Artal de Luna, and the men of the cities of Zaragoza, Teruel, Lerida, Calatayud, and other places. Whilst I was there, thinking on the wrong the Infante did me, not only by refusing to abide by law in the case of Fernan Sanchez, but by arming all the places he held of me, I asked the Cortes then meeting to consider as their own grief that which the Infante had done to me. They said that since he himself had come to Corbera, they would go there, and endeavour to reconcile him with me. Meanwhile I took from him all he held of me, both in Aragon and Catalonia.

518. Then the Aragonese barons went to the Infante at Corbera, except Don Artal Dalago, who did not go. They found him very fierce, and very averse from what they said to him, so that they did not part one from another kindly. The barons came back to me at Alcira, and said they would go, each man to his own land. Then I held council as to what to do or not to do. They told me of the speech they had held with the Infante; and I told them that they ought not to have proceeded or spoken thus between me and him; it was for the Archbishop, the bishops, the barons, and the citizens who went to Corbera, to have said to him: "Why are you on such bad terms with your father? If he has wronged you he is sure to make it good as we ourselves may think right. If you will not accept our offer, we tell you that you will lose our help, and we and all the kingdom will go against you, as against one who is a rebel to his own father."

"Had you told the Infante that, he would not dare to persevere in his opposition to me. If, after our meeting here, you depart without doing anything in this business, how do you think matters will stand between him and me? If you meet any one on your journey home, and he should ask you how you came to leave the king, and his son at war and in anger, you will have to go and hide your faces, like miserable wretches."⁶²⁷ They said they would try it again, and tell the Infante that; but they begged that Don Artal Dalagó might also go with them, and I accordingly sent him.

519. When they were there [at the Infante's], they told the Archbishop to speak for them all; but he said he would not. Then they asked the Bishop of Barcelona and other barons to speak, but no one would. Then they told En Juan Gil to speak for them all. En Juan Gil said, "How shall I make speech in the presence of the Archbishop, the bishops, and the barons? How can I do it?" But all said that they wished him very much to speak; and he raised his hands towards heaven, and said, "I thank God that they have committed the speech to me. May it please Him that I may utter words to the honour of the king, and profit of the Infante." And he delivered his speech, though not so fully and strongly as I had told them. Then they all came back to me and said they could do nothing more; the Infante meant to do that which would be to my injury and affront. I wished to keep the barons; but they said that since they could do nothing in the affair, and were at great expense, they would depart. I said, "Go, and ill go with you. I will do my work without you." So they departed.

520. On the third or fourth day, the Infante sent me word that I should send him the Bishop of Valencia and two knights more of my trust; I did so. I then went to Xativa, leaving a sufficient

⁶²⁶Segayreni.

⁶²⁷"Com a malestruchs." In the Barcelona edition "Con a mal astruchs."

garrison at Alcira. At Xativa the Bishop of Valencia came to me and, taking me apart, said in great secrecy, “My lord, know for certain that the Infante, without any condition, is willing to put himself in your power, and to make submission to you; he will do what you please, and will come to Xativa.” I was well pleased with the news. This was the Friday⁶²⁸ before Christmas. The Infante came on the appointed day, with all his followers, and came into me, in my house at Xativa. I rose to meet him, and received him kindly and cheerfully, as I saw him come to me so humbly. I told him to go and take rest, that he should speak with me next morning. He said he would not go unless I forgave him, and he prayed and asked me, as a favour, to send for my knights and for the good men of the town [that he might make a statement in their presence]; and so I did.

When all had come, the Infante stood up and said, “My lord, what I have done grieves me much, and great sorrow have I in my heart that I have done anything to grieve you. I come to put myself at your mercy: do with me and mine what you please.” Then he threw himself at my feet, kissed them, and prayed me in God’s name to forgive him. I was greatly moved, and sorrow for him seized me so that I could not help tears coming into my eyes. I saw his great devotion to me, and his humility, and I pardoned him.

521. Next morning I made him come to me at the Church of Saint Philip,⁶²⁹ and I took him aside with the Master of the Temple and the Bishop of Valencia. The Master of the Hospital came over with him, he had taken him prisoner, and now brought him and gave him up to me. I told him that I would renounce the claim I had made on him for fifty or sixty thousand sous, and that I would moreover discharge him of all he owed me in the kingdom of Valencia, amounting to full two hundred thousand sous.⁶³⁰ Thereon we both were content and cheerful. He said he had no intention at any time to separate from me, but was prepared always to obey my commands. He further prayed me to allow him to go to Valencia, for he said he had much to do there, and he went. After that he came to Denia, and with him the Sacristan of Lerida, who was then bishop elect of Huesca. Then he begged me to allow him to go to Catalonia, for many affairs of his own there. I told him that it pleased me since he wished it; and he went to Catalonia, and was at the consecration, at Tarragona, of the Sacristan of Lerida, who then became Bishop of Huesca.

522. I departed for Murcia, and gave the chief men of the city (*prohomens*) notice that I was coming. If ever men in the world took pains to receive a king well, the Murcians did it for me. All the inhabitants came out to meet me, some on foot, some on horseback; and they made a parade before me, saying they thanked God and His Blessed Mother that they saw me again, for their prosperity in that place was entirely through me, and that they had no greater joy than at my having come among them. I went to sleep at the house of the queen, and to dine at that of Don Ferdinand [her son]. And at vespers, the chief men of the town came to me, and one named En Andreu Dodona⁶³¹ rose and said they thanked God for my coming, and that they knew well and acknowledged that the prosperity they enjoyed was my making; they knew of what help I had been to them whilst I was there; how I had first interceded for them with the king. They prayed me and begged of me, as a favour, that I would stay with them two or three days, or more. I consented to stay one day. They then entreated of me this grace, that I would keep them in my

⁶²⁸Lo Dimecres, says the edition of 1557, which would make it Wednesday instead of Friday.

⁶²⁹Sant Feliu.

⁶³⁰“E dixem li que li quitariem de tots sos deutes e de tot quant degues en lo regne de Valencia.” I think this must allude to the Infante’s liability for revenue collected as his father’s lieutenant in the kingdom of Valencia.

⁶³¹Dodena.

own favour, and in the King of Castile's. I granted this to them. And I stayed nineteen days hunting and disporting, for I had gone thither for no other purpose than to see how the settlement went on, and I rejoiced as much at their prosperity as if it were my own.

523. When I returned to the kingdom of Valencia, and was at Alcira, there came to me a messenger from the Pope. His name was Friar Pedro de Alcalá, and he brought a letter from Pope Gregory X., requesting me to give him counsel and aid in the business of the Holy Land beyond sea. This pleased me much, and I was very joyful at it. I sent him word that I would be there with him on the day he had named. So I accordingly prepared to go to the council at Lyons, as he had requested. And a long time before this I had my hostelries taken into the city, and sent thither whatever I thought would be necessary during two months or more. And in the middle of Lent I left Valencia, and went to Lyons. At Gerona, my son, the Infante En Pedro, invited me to Torrella for Easter, and I spent it with him. Then I departed thence, and went towards Perpignan, he himself following me there: but I ordered him to turn back, and I went on to Montpellier. After staying there eight days, I again set forth on my road.

524. When I got to Viana⁶³² the Pope sent me his messengers in state, praying me to wait a day at Saint Symphorien, that he might the better prepare for my reception. I did so; the place was three leagues from Lyons. Next day I rose at dawn, and went into Lyons. It was the first day of May; all the cardinals came out to meet me a league outside the city, and the Master of the Temple beyond seas, En Juan Gil, En Gaspar de Rosellon, who held the city for the Pope, and many other bishops and barons; and it took me to make my entrance for the distance of a league, as far as the Pope's palace, from morning till noon, so great was the throng of people who came out to receive me. The Pope had ordered the porters not to keep the gates of the city shut, but to let in all those whom my people might order, so that at my entry there came in with me not only all the knights of my suite, but all those who chose to come in.

525. The Pope was in his chamber. When they told him that I was coming he came out in his full robes, and I saw him pass before me. He sat down in his chair, and I did him that reverence which kings do to a pope, according to the established custom. A chair was set for me near his own, on the right; and I then told him how I had come the day he had appointed for the meeting, but that I would not speak with him of any business till the morrow, when I would be present and hear what he had to say to me; I would then make him such answer that he should be content with me.

526. Next morning I went to him and found him in his chamber with his cardinals. There went in with me the Archbishop of Tarragona, the bishops of Barcelona, Valencia, and Mallorca, whom I followed. As soon as we were seated, the Pope began to speak on the business of the Holy Land beyond sea. He said how he had come to Lyons for that purpose, and how Our Lord had brought him and us there to set right that business. He, moreover, said that he was very glad at my coming, and had hope in God that, through me and the others, God would give him His good counsel, such as should be profitable to the Holy Land, and lead to its conquest.

527. Then I stood up, and was about to take off my cap, when the Pope bid me not to do that, but to remain as I was, and put on my cap; and, with one voice, the cardinals all said the same thing, and begged me sit down. When I had taken my seat, I told him that he had sent me a messenger, and asked me to come on the day of the council. The messenger's name was Friar Pedro de Alcalá, a Dominican: he had brought me a letter asking me to give credence to what he might say on his behalf. I told him, however, that I would follow the words of our Lord in the

⁶³²Vienne in the Dauphinois.

gospel, *Gloriam meam alteri non dabo*.⁶³³ “I quote that text for this reason: I wished to come to you, and you sent me a messenger; but I was unwilling to disclose my mind to any other one but yourself. It was not right that I should say what was in my heart to any but to you personally, and to those before whom you might desire me to speak. I knew by the prophets, that is, by Isaiah, that, at the feast of our Lady Saint Mary, when she brought our Lord to the temple to make offering she said, *Lumen ad revelationem gentium*, which means, ‘Light is revealed to all nations.’ True it is, that when He was born, and our Lady Saint Mary had offered Him to the temple, the Son of God was revealed to the nations. Wherefore we may now conclude that this council of yours will be good and holy. This is, indeed, like the text: What other popes did not do nor accomplish, that is, recovering the Holy Sepulchre beyond sea, wherein God was willing to die for us and be buried; that by your word and work with the clerks and the great barons of this world, may now be concluded; that the light, which could not be brought to perfection till now, may be perfected in our time, and kindled by you. I have come here for two purposes, two of your own, and for a third of mine. The first is that you sent to me for advice, the second, that I may give you aid. I have come here to give you the best advice I know, or that God will inspire me with; and also to give you aid. The third is entirely a reason of my own—that I may denounce others, who have no heart to serve God;⁶³⁴ and I will say and do so much that they shall accuse and denounce themselves.” At that the Pope and the cardinals began to smile at what I had so well said. So I left them well content, and they thanked me much for the speech I had made; and I departed to my inn.

528. Then the Pope⁶³⁵ sent word to say that he prayed me much to be on the following Friday at the council he would hold in the church. I said it pleased me well, and that I would do so since he asked it. When Friday came, I went there; the archbishops went at dawn, and I as soon as the sun was up. The Pope would not begin his speech till I came. When I entered the church, the sight was marvellous: I saw, of archbishops, bishops, and abbots, full five hundred or more. The Pope sat in tribune, the cardinals and patriarchs were on two benches,⁶³⁶ in face of the Pope, higher than the rest; he had me called up to him, and seated me on his right hand, very near him, so near that no one could pass between me and him; his chair was not a palm higher than mine.

529. Then the Pope began to speak in Latin, saying how he himself had come, in spite of storms, and the cardinals with him: our Lord had guided them and conducted them for that good work, so that neither storms nor sickness could hinder their assembling. We all knew that God had made us, and given us the good things we had—all that we had for Our own use; and as He had given us those things, it was but reason we should give Him, not all, but a part of what was ours, to recover that holy place that was held by His enemies, the unbelievers in His faith. We should make that exchange with our Lord, who had, for so great love of us, endured death and suffered passion. What would he be who, at such a time, would be wanting to Him? It would be impossible that any man, being able to serve Him who made him, and who was to save him, should serve the devil rather than Him. These things and others the Pope expounded for our profit and for the salvation of our souls. And at the end of his discourse he granted that all the sins we had done in this world should be forgiven to those who should serve God in that enterprise, except robbery, usury, or theft, for those are sins that involve wrongs to others, and he could not

⁶³³In Isaiah xlii. 8, occurs “My glory will I not give to another.”

⁶³⁴James no doubt hinted at the fact of no other European king but himself having attended the Council.

⁶³⁵At this time (1274) Gregory X. (Theobaldo Visconti) was Pope.

⁶³⁶“Stauen en dos finestols.”

forgive them without full restitution and compensation being made. But those that were wrongs to our Lord, he forgave, for he stood between God and man: he had the power of Saint Peter, which our Lord had given him on earth—he could loose and bind; wherefore it was good to have that pardon. And he gave to those, also, who, from old age or illness, could not go [to the Holy Land], the same pardon, if they only gave towards the expedition what they themselves would have spent on it.

530. Thereon the council broke up. The Pope then prayed me to come to him next day, for he wished to speak with me concerning certain messengers from kings and princes beyond sea. I went next morning to him, as did all the others, who were there for their lords, whether kings or princes. We were there, in presence of the Pope and his cardinals, I myself, the Master of the Temple, Brother Juan de Carcella,⁶³⁷ the oldest Templar there was at the time, who acted as Master beyond sea, and many others. The Pope began his speech, and spoke in this manner: that our Lord made man and all other creatures, and gave man all other creatures to serve him, and did man so much honour that He made him in His figure and semblance. Since He had done us so much honour, and had been willing to die for the human race, it was but reason we should do so much for Him as to succour Him in the place where they held Him captive, and that, we should give our love in exchange for His, which had cost Him so dearly since He chose to die for us. Then what must he be, who would not aid Him and serve in person?—if not in person, at least with what God had given him? This world is like fire and tow⁶³⁸: if one has a portion of worldly goods, those who have most of them have most pride; but then the world is like this, that as tow passes quickly away and is burnt when lighted, so does the glory of this world that man has of his worldly goods, when he comes to his end, pass and come to nothing. Therefore every one should think, that since God has given him those good things, he should give a part to Him, that he may thereby gain the glory of Paradise, All we have we ought to give Him, since He has done so much for us; and we should serve Him in person and with our goods, so that by our service the land beyond sea may be conquered.

531. When the Pope had finished his speech, I stood up. He made me sit down, for he would not allow me to be standing. I said to him, “Holy Father, I desire to speak on this business before any one, as there is no king here but myself; and I give you first my advice, which is to send to the Holy Land five hundred knights and two thousand footmen; and forthwith to send your letters to the Masters of the Temple and of the Hospital, to the King of Cyprus, and to the city of Acre, and let them know that it is for the sake of the land beyond sea⁶³⁹ that you have held this present council: to send at once that company as vanguard, and set the others in motion to cross over. These first will not go to fight, but merely to garrison the castles and places needing it, and to hold them until the great expedition or crusade goes, that is, two years from the next Saint John’s Day. For should the Moors know that you mean to send a larger force, they would attack, and the Christians could not bear them. As to the aid, I answer you this: that just as your prelates grant you the tithes of your respective bishoprics,⁶⁴⁰ I will grant you those from my own land; and, indeed, I believe that I will not give less than he who gives the most. For the rest, I say that if you

⁶³⁷The modern edition has “Descarcella.”

⁶³⁸“Car aquest segle es en semblança de foch e de la estopa.”

⁶³⁹“E feits los saber con per lo feit doltra mar uos hauets feit est concili, e que enviarets ades aquesta companya la.”

⁶⁴⁰“E al feyt de la ajuda uos responem queus ajudarem, que aixi con hauets la decima de nostres prelates, que nos laus darem de nostra terra, e creats que con quey metam mes noy metrem menys.”

yourself go beyond sea, as you have proposed, I will accompany you with a thousand knights; but then do you aid me with the tithes of my land. This is the counsel I give you, and the aid I offer.”

532. When I had done speaking, all were silent, no one spoke. I saw that, and, turning towards the Pope, said to him, “Holy Father, now is the time for those who are here in representation of kings and princes, to make their offers; perhaps they will promise more than I have done, for the shame of me.” Then the cardinals said that I spoke the truth. Thereon the Pope said, “Now speak you En Alart de Balari⁶⁴¹ and the others;” but they were silent. On that he told the Master of the Temple and Johan Carcella⁶⁴² to speak. The Master of the Temple said, “Sire, let Miçer Johan de Carcella speak, who has been a brother [of our order] for sixty years.” Brother Johan replied to him, “Master, the question is not one of years of service in the brotherhood.” Then the Pope told the Master to speak, which he did; but though he ought to have said that the Pope thanked me for what I had said concerning the expedition beyond sea, the Master said nothing of the kind; nor that himself and the others thanked me for my offers: he only observed that an expedition to the land beyond sea required great consideration in matters of arms, and food, and especially of men disposed to the work. People, he said, had not there what they needed of all that.⁶⁴³ Still, he gave as his opinion that from two hundred and fifty to three hundred knights, with five hundred footmen, would be wanted at first. When I heard the Master say so, I could not refrain from answering, “Master, if the Pope is willing to send five hundred, how many will be there under you?”

533. Then the Pope asked what navy might the Soldan have? and the Master said, “Sire, so help me God, I heard that he did his utmost in fitting out ships when he wished to besiege Acre: but he could not fit out seventeen ships, galleys, and other smaller craft.” Then the Pope said, “Then we will require as many, or, perhaps, twenty.” I interfered, and said, “Holy Father, you shall not; for if you only fit out ten from my land, I will warrant that those ten ships shall not take flight before eighteen or twenty of the enemy: they will take them all by the throat.”⁶⁴⁴

534. Then En Alart de Balari stood up and said,⁶⁴⁵ “Sire, this is a mighty affair. Great forces have passed thither long ago on various occasions. I will tell you what this is like; it is like the little dog barking at the big great one,⁶⁴⁶ who takes no heed of him. Kings and many great men have passed beyond sea, and yet have been unable to recover and hold the land, wherefore I hold as good the counsel given by the Master of the Temple.” All were silent. Thereupon I turned to the Pope, and said, “Holy Father, since no one else will speak, let me go.” The Pope said, “Go, with God’s blessing.”⁶⁴⁷

⁶⁴¹Nalart, which is the contraction of En Alart (En Artal?).

⁶⁴²“E sobre aço dex ell al Maestre del Temple, e an Johan Descarçela quey dixessen, e dix lo Maestre del Temple: Xire, diga Misser Johan Descarçella.” See above p. 645, note 1.

⁶⁴³“E encara maiorment del cor dels homens que noy havien, e encara la gent que noy hi hauien la que mester hi hauien.”

⁶⁴⁴Los pendran tots per la gola.

⁶⁴⁵Alart de Balari’s speech is reported in Northern French, or in what was then supposed to be such. “Sesta xosa si es gran xosa que tant home a lay passa tan lonch temps,” &c. (Ceste chose si est grande chose, que tant home a la hi passant tant long temps.) The modern edition has Valari instead of Balari.

⁶⁴⁶“Ara si uos diray vna semblança del chen petit quant ladre al gran Ca (*sic*) e ell non ha cura.” Did the author mean the Grand Khan as a sort of calembour, chan (chien) and can (dog)? At any rate the sentence is omitted in the modern Barcelona edition.

⁶⁴⁷Vay a la benedixio de domini Dei!!

535. Then I stood up and went out with my suite, after saying to them, “Barons, we may now depart, for this has been a day of honour and glory to all Spain.” I accordingly went out, and mounted my horse; Juan de Gili⁶⁴⁸ was there with me. I spurred the horse on, and made him make a great curvet; upon which the French said, “Lo, the king is not so old as people said! He could still give a Turk a good lance-thrust.” I then went to my quarters in the city.

536. Next day I sent for En Ramon March, and for En Berenguer de Cascanet, who were born liegemen of mine, and much in the Pope’s confidence.⁶⁴⁹ I told them privately, that if it pleased the Pope, I would be crowned by him, as God had brought me to his council. It would be a greater honour to me to receive the crown at that council than if I had actually gone to Rome for it. I had the crown with me: he should set it on my head; not so good a one could be got in Lyons. It was made of gold, and set with precious stones, worth more than a hundred thousand sous “tournois.” They said they would tell the Pope, and that what I had told them pleased them much; they would come next day with a full answer.

537. Next morning they came to me, and brought me word from the Pope that it pleased him well, and that he would forthwith crown me with pleasure, only that I was to confirm a sort of tribute, which my father had once granted him on the kingdom of Aragon when he was crowned at Rome, which was of two hundred and fifty *masmodines jusefichs*,⁶⁵⁰ that I should pay the arrears of it, and henceforth do what my father had engaged to do.

My answer was that I wondered much how tribute, said to be owing since my father’s time till then, and which would amount to more than eleven thousand sous, could be demanded of me; but if the Pope wished it much, I would, nevertheless, give it him. I had so freely given him advice and offered aid, that it was not becoming in him to ask for anything, but rather to give me. I would not, however, make new deeds and charters to put myself and my descendants under such obligation: I had done such service to God and to the Church of Rome, that those trifles should not intervene between me and them.

538. They said they would return to the Pope, and tell him of my answer in the way I had explained the matter to them. And they went away and told him of it. The Pope answered that, as far as he himself and the cardinals with him were concerned, they would readily give up their claim; but there were En Richart and En Juan Guayta,⁶⁵¹ who were among the greatest cardinals and the wisest in council at Rome, without whom he could do nothing in the matter. This was the answer they brought me from the Pope. I replied that I had not come to the papal court to put myself under tribute, but for him to make us guests: since he would not do that, I would rather

⁶⁴⁸Johan de Grili.

⁶⁴⁹“E priuats molt del *Apostolic*.” Thus does James invariably call the Pope.

⁶⁵⁰Here the modern Barcelona edition has “que era de CCL. *masmudines jussiphies*,” whilst in that of 1557 the reading is *mas-Modines guafichs*. Both are evidently wrong. The “*masmudi*,” {arabic}, was the gold coin introduced by the Almohades (Al-muwahidin) kings of Spain, and *Yusefi*, {arabic} that which Abu *Yusuf* Yaâkub, the third sultan of that dynasty, is known to have issued with his name. As Yaâkub (Abu Yûsuf) had a son named Abu Yaâkub *Yûsuf*, it is not easy to determine which of the two Almowahidins gave its name to the dinars, or “*doblas*,” so denominated, the adjective *Yusefi*, or *Yusufi*, being applicable to both monarchs, father and son. At any rate their belonging to the Berber tribe of the Masmudah leaves no doubt as to the coin called *Masmudi* having been struck by the Almohade Kings of Africa and Spain, as the “*morabitins*” were so called from the Almoravid Sultans. See above, p. 162.

⁶⁵¹“En Ricart e en Johan Gaytá” in the modern edition. Gaytá is likely to be meant for Gaetanus or the Archbishop of Gaeta.

return home without the crown than with it. So the matter remained, and I refused to be crowned by the Pope.

539. After this, another general council of the prelates of the Church there present was held, and I attended it. When the Pope got to the end of his discourse, he praised me greatly and the proffers I had made, and ordered that throughout Christendom there should be special prayer for me at High Mass, and that the Mass of the Holy Ghost should be said for me. He also ordered the clergy, who were not priests, and could not say mass, to recite Psalms⁶⁵² for me; to give thanks to God for my good will towards the enterprise of the Holy Land, and to pray God to grant me a long life and health that I might fulfil those things and others to the honour of God and of the Church. He finished his discourse, and I went away.

540. Next day I went again to see the Pope, and spoke to him on behalf of En Henry of Castile,⁶⁵³ that it might please him that the prince should not remain in prison, for the Church, I said, was in bad repute thereby. As it was for the sake of the Holy Church itself that King Charles of Naples kept him prisoner, as people said, and the king himself maintained that En Henry was not a man to be admitted to ransom, unless I and the King of Castile would undertake that no harm should come henceforward through him to the Church of Rome or to King Charles.

541. To that the Pope replied that, saving my honour, those who said that did not speak well. Henry was not in prison through the Church, nor had he ever asked Charles to keep him prisoner. He further alleged that En Henry had said of him many injurious things, and had, moreover, done him wrong. "Well," said I, "it pleases me to hear your reasoning about En Henry, for I can report it elsewhere." I, however, begged him not to omit asking King Charles for his liberation on my sake. He promised that he would do so, for he sincerely wished that Henry was out of prison.

542. I had then been there [at Lyons] twenty days, and on the twenty-first, when I had made up my mind to depart, I again went to him at vespers in order to take leave. I took him apart, and said, "Holy "Father, I wish to leave, but not, as the proverb says: 'whoever goes to Rome a fool, comes away a fool;'⁶⁵⁴ let it not be so with me. I never saw any pope but yourself, and so I wish to confess to you." He was much pleased and content, and said he would confess me. I told him my sins, and, on the other hand, what I remembered of the good deeds I had done. He imposed no other penance on me but that I should keep from evil for the future, and persevere in good. Then I went on my knees before him, and he put his hand on my head, and gave me his blessing full five times; I kissed his hand and took my leave. Next day I left the town [Lyons] and went to Vienne;⁶⁵⁵ thence I returned to Catalonia.

543. When I was at Gerona, they told me that the Infante [Don Pedro] demanded from En Berenguer de Uriols⁶⁵⁶ a fief that he held through En Ponz Guillen de Torroela,⁶⁵⁷ which fief the

⁶⁵²"Que dixessen lo Saltiri per nos."

⁶⁵³"E pregam lo del feyt den Anrich de Castella, que si a ell plagues no fos en presó." Henry (Enrique) was Alfonso's brother; he was then a prisoner of Charles d'Anjou, king of Naples.

⁶⁵⁴"Qui fol ua a Roma pech sen torna" in the modern edition. The first of 1557 has: "Qui foll sen va a Roma, foll sen torna."

⁶⁵⁵"E altre dia exim nos a Viana, e puix tornan nosen en Cathalunya," in the edition of 1537; but I prefer the reading in the modern edition, for although *Viana* is no doubt intended for Vienne in the Dauphinois, and in two different places (No. 524, p. 639), the author himself says that he was there and received a message from the Pope, I fancy that the reading "exim de la vila" is to be preferred.

⁶⁵⁶En Berenguer Dorriols.

⁶⁵⁷Whose daughter En Berenguer had married. Zurita, *Anales*, iii. c. 88.

Infante said he had no power to leave to his daughter. As soon as I heard of it, I said I would make the Infante abandon that attempt: it would not be well that a man could not leave his fief to his daughter as well as to his son or any other relation. Thereon I sent En Berenguer de Saint Vincent to Solsona, where the Catalonian barons had assembled to make a league against me. En Berenguer found there En Arnau de Torrelles, whom the Infante had sent on the other side. He delivered to them my message, begging them not swear to any compact against the Infante nor against me; for that declaration, which they said the Infante had made, I would engage to have revoked [if it was against the law of the land]. They replied that they had sworn to nothing against me, but only to the maintenance of the customs and usages of their ancestors. En Berenguer replied, "Then why do you make this assembly here? Since the king has sent to tell you that the Infante's pretensions, if unjust, shall come to nought, you ought not to make league against him, for he has it not in mind to do you wrong in any usage or custom or in anything else." The barons, however, would not refrain, and held their meeting there at Solsona. So En Berenguer left them, and the news of what was being done there came to me.

544. After this, I entered Barcelona, and En Ramon de Cardona and the barons sent to me En Guillen de Castell auli (*sic*) and En Guillen de Rajadell, to say they wished to speak with me before my court. I was well content at this, They said they saluted me, and prayed me, and came to me for grace, not to do them wrong. For I had, they said, done them wrong by seizing their fiefs and "honors" without a previous judgment in my court. As I had seized their property before trial, I should restore it to them; they were ready to do me amend as my court might think fit. My reply was, that I did not shun the justice of the court, but desired that they should do what the usage required, and should avoid what it forbade: to that I would adhere at all times. A trial was not required for that, for the case had been already decided by my predecessors and theirs. They replied that it was neither law nor usage; nor did it look like law that a lord should oust a vassal of his possession without the law's cognizance, and that I ought to have judgment on that matter. I replied that it was certain that they held the fiefs for me: I had demanded services of them, and they had not been willing to perform those services; wherefore I had taken the fiefs from them. And as it was a thing already judged, no other trial could there be; they could get nothing else from me.

545. When the barons saw they could get nothing else from me, they renounced allegiance to me and to my son, the Infante En Pedro. Before the days of grace allowed in such cases⁶⁵⁸ had expired, they went to Fligueres (Figuera), which belonged to the Infante En Pedro, and, despite their offer to abide by what the law might determine thereon, they burnt the town and destroyed it completely. So when I was going to succour the town, and was at Gerona for the purpose, I learned they had already destroyed it. I therefore returned to Barcelona to take counsel on that evil deed, and to proceed against them as it should be done by law. A line of defence moreover was made for the protection of any other towns. While thus engaged on that, the Bishop of Barcelona, and the Master of Uclés, En Gonsalvo Ibañez, came and prayed me to be pleased to let them go speak with the barons, and take them out of that bad way in which they knew well they were. I replied that I was well pleased.

546. Forthwith, that same day, a letter came to me from the Bailli of Tortosa, announcing that the King of Castile and the Queen and his sons were to enter that town on the following Thursday. When I heard the contents of that letter, I prepared to go towards the King of Castile,

⁶⁵⁸“E ans quels dies dels acuyndaments nostres fossen exits,” that is, before hostilities, after a declaration of war made in such cases.

to receive him and honour him. Next day I moved from Barcelona and went to Villafranca. There came before me the Bishop of Barcelona, En Ramon de Cardona, En Berenguer de Puguert, and many other Catalonian barons, and they called on me for mercy, begging me to pardon them if in anything they had erred against me: also beseeching that I should give them judges, who should find if they had done me wrong, or I to them. Thereupon, being willing to grant their prayers, I gave them as judges the Archbishop of Tarragona, the Bishop of Gerona, the Abbot of Fontfreda, En Ramon de Moncada, En Pere de Berga, En Joffre de Rochaberti, and En Pere de Queralt. Then they entered Tarragona with me, and there, with the assent of the said judges, I appointed a day for them—that of Mid Lent—on which all the barons of Catalonia and Aragon should be at Lerida. I and my son, the Infante En Pedro, would also be there on that day, when the aforesaid judges would take cognizance of the questions between me and them. A record was drawn to that effect. Next day the King of Castile came to Tarragona, and the Queen (his wife), and all his sons, except Don Fernando. I departed thence, and he came with me to Barcelona, and there kept Christmas with me.

547. After keeping Christmas, the King of Castile asked for my advice, saying that he wished to go to the Papal court in person, respecting the wrong the Pope had done him in the matter of the Empire,⁶⁵⁹ and in many other things. I advised him by no means to go; it was not befitting him to go to so distant a land, and leave his kingdom. He would, moreover, have to pass through the country of the King of France, of whom he had fears. Yet Alfonso would not follow the advice I gave him, and went to see the Pope. As soon as he had left Barcelona, I myself departed for Lerida, to be in time for the day appointed with my barons for the Cortes. The Infante En Pedro went with me, and took up quarters in the castle. En Ramon de Cardona, the Count of Ampurias, the Count of Paylars (Pallars), and other barons of Aragon and Catalonia were all assembled in Corbins, as they would not enter Lerida. There were there Fernan Sanchez de Castre, En Artal de Luna, En Pedro Cornell, and many others. They would not go into Lerida because they said they were afraid. I sent them word that I would protect them against any man; still they would not go in, but sent En Guillem de Castellauli and En Guillen de Rajadell as their attorneys.⁶⁶⁰ Then they asked me to name their advocates; I named En Ramon de Valles, a canon of Lerida, and En Ramon Gili.

548. Then I brought forth the accusation against them. They said they were not bound to make any answer till I had restored to Fernan Sanchez all that the Infante En Pere had taken from him. I replied to them that I was in nowise bound to have the property restored to Fernan Sanchez, inasmuch as he, Exemen de Urrea, En Artal de Luna, and En Pere Cornell had committed hostilities against the Infante En Pere without previous notice, and had done him unwarrantable injury; and, therefore, that I was not bound to restore anything to them: especially

⁶⁵⁹Richard of Cornwall and Alfonso X, as is well known, had each been “elected” to the German empire by certain electors; Richard’s being then, and now, considered of the two the better election. Upon Richard’s death, Alfonso seems, strangely enough, to have thought that he could make his own election valid. Germany happened to be of a different opinion, and, accordingly, Rudolph of Hapsburg was elected and installed. The Pope had confirmed or adopted his election; so that Alfonso’s proposed visit came clearly too late, and was useless. If Alfonso could do anything to make his position towards the Pope more hopeless, he did it, by speaking of claims he fancied he had through the female side to represent the House of Swabia, and to the dominions and rights of that ancient enemy of the papacy.

⁶⁶⁰Attorneys (*procuradors*); advocates (*rahonadors*). En R. de Vals canonge de Leyda e En R. Gili.

as Fernan Sanchez had taken by force the castles of Alcaçar and Nabal,⁶⁶¹ which he held against all right and would not return them, as he ought.

549. On that the judges gave an interlocutory: that the attorneys ought not to set up the objection before stated, and were bound to make defence. So the judges took up the accusation,⁶⁶² and gave it to the attorneys, but they would not take it, and threw it down on the floor. The court then broke up, having done nothing else. I paid the judges ten thousand sous for the expenses they had been at: the other party would not pay costs. I offered, besides, to abide by the sentence of the judges, whatever it might be; but they would not, and departed. That done, I sent the Infante En Pere into Aragon to defend my lands, and do what harm he could to the enemy. I myself went to Barcelona, and summoned my forces; and when they had assembled, marched against the Count of Ampurias. In the Ampurdan I learned that my son, the Infante En Jacme, was already besieging La Rocha, a castle of the Count of Ampurias. I went there, and made him raise the siege. Next day I went into Perpignan to see my daughter, the Queen of Castile, who had been there ever since her husband, the King of Castile, left the country to go to the Pope.

550. Before I departed thence, there came news to me how the Infante En Pere, laying siege to a castle⁶⁶³ of Fernan Sanchez, had taken the said Fernan Sanchez prisoner, and had drowned him. I was glad to hear of this, for it was a very hard thing that he, being my son, should have risen against me, who had done so much for him, and given him so honourable an heritage. When I left Perpignan, I went to meet my forces of Barcelona—those that came by land: I found them at La Bisbal. Going thence, I passed by a castle of En Dalmau de Rochaberti called Calabug, which I took and demolished. Then I went to meet the other part of my forces of Barcelona, which came by sea; and, with those and the others united, laid siege to Rosas, a castle of the Count of Ampurias. Meanwhile, En Ramon de Cardona, En Pere de Berga, and other Catalonian barons, hearing of that, had thrown themselves into Castellon, where the Count of Ampurias was, and they remained there some days.

551. Then they came to me at the said siege of Rosas, and brought me the Count of Ampurias, and put him in my power to deal with him at my pleasure; especially that he should be subject to my judgment as to the matter of the town Figueras, belonging to the Infante, which he had burnt and demolished. As I saw that the Count had put himself in my power, as above said, and that, by this very act, the accomplishment of my wishes might take place, I raised the siege of the place and went into Gerona. There I brought many charges against the Count. He came before me with En Pere de Berga, and both begged me to summon to Cortes at Lerida, both of Catalans and Aragonese; there the Count would make answer to all those accusations, and would do all I demanded of him; besides. which, the Cortes would serve my purpose in having other matters settled in Catalonia and Aragon.⁶⁶⁴ Having heard their prayer, I granted it them, and said that I would willingly arrange that my son, the Infante En Pere, should be there present. The Cortes were summoned for All Saints' Day.

⁶⁶¹Lo castell Dalquecer e de Nabal.

⁶⁶²Libell.

⁶⁶³The Castle of Pomar, on the Cinca. Fernan Sanchez was taken while trying to escape, disguised as a peasant, during a sortie of the garrison.—Zurita *Anales*, iii. c. 95.

⁶⁶⁴“E que aquela Cort uendria en cas que tota Cathalunya et Arago poriem endreçar.”

552. While I was at Gerona, news came that Don Fernando, the eldest son of the King of Castile, and my grandson, was dead.⁶⁶⁵ I received that news with great grief. Then I proceeded to the Cortes, which I had summoned to Lerida, and which I and my son, the Infante En Pedro, attended; on the other side there came En Ramon de Cardona, the Count of Pallars, the Count of Ampurias, and other barons of Catalonia and Aragon. There were, besides, En Berenguer Guillen de Entença, En Garcia de Ortiz, and some other barons. Before my son, the Infante En Pere, arrived and entered Lerida, the above said Catalonian barons held a parley with me, and prayed me, among other things, to confirm to the Count of Pallars the fiefs of Berga and other places, which En Pere de Berga, who had recently died, had bequeathed to him. En Pere, they said, had held them of me as fiefs, and if I did and performed that, they would do and establish in the Cortes whatever I commanded, and would do anything I wished in Catalonia as to putting in order the country, which should be equally acceptable to me and to them. I replied that as soon as the Infante came I would speak with him, and would so adjust matters that if in anything he had done them wrong, he should repair it forthwith.

553. When my son, the said Infante, came, I spoke with him; and his answer was: that if, peradventure, I considered that he was in any way liable to the Catalonian and Aragonese barons, or had done them any wrong, he very willingly would repair it to my satisfaction. This answer of my son was transmitted to the said barons; but when I, in the presence of the chief men (*prohomens*) of Lerida, desired to speak with the said barons, they, without any other leave taking, departed from the town. So that in the said Cortes, as regarded what I had to discuss and redress with them, nothing whatever was done.

554. While I was staying at Lerida, after the said Cortes, there came to me a message bearing that the whole populace of Valencia had combined against my sovereignty, gutted and destroyed many houses of certain chief men of the town, and done many other evil things. I had also news that En Miguel Perez, with a considerable body of footmen, had set about sacking many places inhabited by Saracens in the said kingdom of Valencia. And I, for the two reasons above stated, first to punish the aggressors, and then to set things in order, having despatched the business I had at Lerida, prepared to go to Valencia in person. When I got close to the said city of Valencia, I sent my son, En Pere Fernandez de Ijar, with a company of knights and footmen, against the said Miguel Perez and his band. When Miguel Perez and the others heard of my displeasure and of my sending forces against them, they, for fear of me, left the kingdom and went elsewhere. Those who remained behind, I caused to be taken and executed according to law.

555. That done, I caused inquisition against those who had destroyed the houses of some of the chief men of the city (*prohomens*), as above said; and had them convicted, punishing them with a fine of a hundred thousand sous. While I was about to proceed against some of the city men, who had, for the same reason, made themselves liable to corporal punishment, news came to me that the Kaid Ibrahim had revolted, and had fortified a castle which I, some time before, had dismantled, named Sierra de Finestral. When I heard that, leaving the business I had at Valencia, I set about scouring the country where the castle was. When I came to Alcira, I had news that the Saracens of Thous had also revolted with the castle. I sent them a message desiring them to deliver to me the said castle: they made me answer that if I allowed them ten days, they would surrender it to me; which, however, they would not do, but strengthened themselves in it,

⁶⁶⁵Don Fernando de la Cerda, son of Alfonso X. and of Yoland (Violante), James's daughter, died in August, 1275.

owing to the report that a body of their own countrymen was coming to their aid. When I knew their intention, I went to Xativa.

556. At Xativa I had news of the Moorish light horse that had entered the country. I resolved to send forty horsemen to garrison the town of Alcoy, and to reinforce also the castle of Cocentayna, by which the Moorish horse would have to pass. When as many as two hundred and fifty of the Moorish horse had come to Alcoy to attack it, they encountered some of my forces, and suffered great loss in the fight, for their captain, named Aladrach, the same who once before had revolted against me, and had taken some castles in the kingdom of Valencia, agreeing at last to abandon the country for ever, was among the slain.

After that the forty horsemen before mentioned, without any plan agreed on between them, having attempted to pursue the Moorish horse, fell into an ambush laid for them, when the greater part of the Christians were slain or taken prisoners. When the Moors of the country heard what had befallen the Christians by the force and skill of the Moorish horse, they proceeded to attack some castles which I had not fortified; for I had no idea that they intended to revolt against me who was their lord. I therefore took measures to reduce them to obedience, according to their force and the power they had.

557. Seeing the treacherous intention of the said Moors, I sent for my barons and knights, of whom En Garcia Ortiz and the Master of the Temple came the very first. When they were at Valencia, there came about a thousand Moorish footmen to ravage Liria; my people numbered scarcely a hundred and twenty horsemen, but they overtook the Moorish footmen, and defeated them, killing as many as two hundred and fifty of them without any loss to themselves but that of five horses and an esquire.

558. On the return of my people to Valencia, they proceeded to join me at Xativa. When they had come, I got news that the Moorish light horse were passing through the valley of Albaida; they came to help the Moors of Beniopá⁶⁶⁶ whom my son, En Pere Fernandez de Ijar,⁶⁶⁷ by my orders was besieging. He afterwards took them all [prisoners]; there were fully two thousand of them. When the Moorish horse knew that the people of Beniopá had all been taken, they went to the Pobla de Llugent,⁶⁶⁸ took it, and fortified it. As soon as I knew that the Moors had fortified themselves in Llugent, I myself went against them to bring them out. I accordingly left Xativa at the head of my train of horse and foot. When I was out of the town, the Master of the Temple, En Garcia Ortiz, the Bishop of Huesca, and many others, begged me not to proceed on the intended expedition against the Moorish horse of Llugent, for the heat was great, and it might do me great harm, as I had been lately in rather weak health. I saw, moreover, that they were discontent with my intention, and as I wished to satisfy them, I returned to Xativa.

559. After that En Garcia Ortiz, the Master of the Temple, and their train, with a body of footmen, went as far as Lluxent at a time when, in consequence of the march they had made, and of the great heat of the day, they were quite exhausted by thirst, and their horses much wearied.

⁶⁶⁶“Pensaren de uenir a nos a Exativa” in both editions. This is the first time that the name of this town is written with an e at the beginning. *E-xativa*, instead of *Xativa*, as if that word were an Arabic noun preceded by the article. The *Sætabis* of the Romans was by the Valencian Moors converted into {arabic}, *Xat'iba*, whence the *Xativa*, or *Jativa*, of the Spaniards.

⁶⁶⁷“Quen Pere Ferrandis Dixar, fyl nostre, tenia assegats per manament nostre.” This Pedro Fernandez de Hajar, as he was called in Aragon, was a natural son of King James.

⁶⁶⁸“E quan saberem los ianets (genets) quels moros de Beniopa eran preses barrejaren la pobla de Luxen: e mantinent nos sabem aço que Luxen hauien barrejat uolguem los exir a denant.” Barrejar (in Spanish, *barrear*) means to bar, to fortify a town by throwing up barricades across the streets.

As soon as they got into the district of Lluxent they came in sight of the Moorish horse, who might be from four to five hundred, with upwards of three thousand footmen. An engagement was fought, in which Garcia Ortiz de Zaga, his son, Don Berenguer de Entença, and many others, horsemen and footmen, were slain; whilst the Master of the Temple and some brothers were taken prisoners; though some days afterwards, being in the castle of Biar, they managed to escape, together with a Moorish “almocaten”⁶⁶⁹ who was in guard of them.

560. When I heard the news of the Christians’ defeat, I was greatly grieved and had great sorrow over it. Some days afterwards while staying at Xativa, my son, the Infante En Pere, came, according to orders, with barons, knights, and a considerable train besides. He stayed some time at Xativa with all his force to keep that frontier against the Moors. And whilst he was there, either from the great trouble I had suffered, or because it was God’s will that it should be so, some sickness came over me. I then went out of Xativa, and came to Alcira in order to send provisions to the Infante, and to his train. There the sickness again pressed on me and grew in such wise, that by the grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ, being of very good and full understanding, I confessed myself several times to bishops, and to Dominican and Franciscan friars, with great contrition for my sins, and with great weeping. Then, being purged of my worldly sins by the said confession, with great joy and content I received the body of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

561. All that being done, it befell me that I was oppressed by the sickness; and I sent a message to my son the Infante En Pere, to come in person to me at Alcira.⁶⁷⁰ And he after inquiring from the messenger in what state I was, started from Xativa to fulfil my wish; and came, presenting himself to me the afternoon of the day in which he arrived. I received him, and he did me reverence as a good son ought to do to his father.

562. Next day he went to hear mass with me. Having heard mass, I said to him, in presence of the barons, knights, and citizens, the following words. Firstly, how Our Lord had honoured me in this world, especially over my enemies; and how He had made me reign in His service more than sixty years, longer than in the memory of man any king since David and Solomon had reigned; how I had loved Holy Church during that length of time; and farther how I had had the love and affection of all my people, and had been honoured by them. All which I acknowledged to come to me from Our Lord Jesus Christ, for that, on the whole, or for the greater part at least, I had striven to follow His way and His commandments. He (my son) should take example of me as regarded that good way, and then the same good would befall him if he did that.

563. Then I commanded and prayed him to love and honour my son, the Infante En Jacme, who was his brother both on the father’s and on the mother’s side, to whom I had given already a certain heritage, in such wise that they might have no contention with each other. And since I gave him, the oldest, a greater heritage and more honourable, he should hold himself content with it; this would be the easier for him to do, as the Infante En Jacme, I was sure, loved him and would obey him in all he should command as his elder brother. I also in presence of all the council commended to him the Bishop of Huesca, whom I had brought up from childhood till

⁶⁶⁹Almocaten (in Span. *almocaden*) means, properly speaking, the “captain, he who marches in front, or at the head of the host.” The word is derived from the Arabic {arabic}, *mocaddam*, and may be rendered by “adelantado.” In Spain, as late as the end of the sixteenth century, there were *adelantados* of Cazorla, of Castilla, of Andalucia, of Canarias, of La Florida, and many others, the charges and titles being filled by the descendants of those who first obtained them. Some equivalent may be found in our Lieutenant of the Marches, which seems to have been hereditary among the Howards.

⁶⁷⁰“Que ell personalment uingues a nos a Algezira.” That Algezira, {arabic}, the island, is now called Alcira by the suppression of one syllable, has already been observed at p. 444, note 2.

then; to whom through me a bishopric had been given, and who had been Chancellor of my Court till that day; him, he should love and honour, for honour and regard of myself After that I commended to him the Sacristan of Lerida, brother of the said Bishop of Huesca, the Archdeacon of Urgel, and all the other clerks and learned men of my Court. And generally all my household servants, in all of whom (said I) he should put that trust that I had put up to that day, and they would be trustworthy to him as they had been to me. Many other words did I say to him, with my blessing; such words as a father should say to his son for his good conduct, and which would be long to tell.⁶⁷¹

564. All that done, I prayed him to depart thence, and to put all the castles of the kingdom of Valencia in a state of defence by supplying them with provisions and other necessaries; and well and stoutly to carry on the war against the Moors, until their complete expulsion from the kingdom of Valencia, for they were all traitors, and had shown me that many a time while I was acting kindly towards them, they were striving to do me injury, and deceive me when ever they could. The same, I said, would they now do to him if they remained in the land. And also I prayed him, in case I happened to die while he was engaged in fortifying the castles, not at that time to remove my body from the kingdom, as the country might then be in peril through the absence of the Infante En Pere.⁶⁷² Should my death happen at Alcira, the Bishop of Huesca and the others of my company were to bury me in Saint Mary's of Alcira, or in Saint Mary's of Valencia, according as I had already ordained. I further prayed the said Infante En Pere that when the war was over, he should carry my body to Saint Mary's of Poblet, to which monastery I had already bequeathed it.

565. All that being said, the aforesaid Infante, as a dutiful and obedient son, accepted the aforesaid requests and commands of mine as good and true; and promised to fulfil them to the letter. And before he departed from me, in his very presence, and in that of all who heard what I had said, I, for the honour of God and of His blessed Mother, who had given me, in this world, much honour and help, as well as for the remission of my sins, abdicated in favour of my son, the Infante En Pere, whom I left and constituted my heir in all my lands and kingdoms. This, my abdication, being solemnly made, as I said, in presence of the barons, knights, and citizens who happened to be on the spot, I put on the frock of the Cistercian monks, and made myself a brother of that order; and my said son, the Infante En Pere, departed to execute the order I had given him,

⁶⁷¹By his third will, which bears the date of the 26th of August, 1272, King James modified some of the clauses of those of 1242 and 1270. After acknowledging his sons by Teresa Gil as legitimate, he substitutes them for those of his Queen Yoland, should these die without male issue. The King, however, did not die of that illness. In 1273 he was preparing to go to Castile, and help Alfonso in a crusade against the Granadine Moors. In April, 1275, the Amir of Morocco, Abu Yâcub, crossed the Straits at the head of considerable forces, and invaded Andalusia, and though James was too weakened by disease to run to the assistance of the Castilians, he nevertheless sent a body of troops under the command of his son, the Infante Don Pedro. In April, 1276, the formidable revolt of Al-azrak occurred (see chap. cccxli.), and the deed of abdication itself bears the date of the 21st July. Six days after, on Wednesday, the 27th, the king died, being then sixty-nine years old. Whoever completed this *Chronicle*—for it can hardly be supposed, as some historians will have it, that the king dictated the last chapters of it from his death-bed—confuses the last events of James's reign in such a way, that it is no easy matter to reconcile them with contemporary historical sources. I must refer the readers to *Jacme Ier le Conquérant, Roi d'Aragon*, by the Chevalier de Tourtoulon (Montpellier, 1867, 2 vols. 8vo), where this and other interesting points have been most ably discussed.

⁶⁷²Thus in the edition of 1557; the modern one of Barcelona, "per absencia del dit Infant en R," which comes to the same, and yet "En P." is probably a mistake for En J. (En Jacme).

when all the barons and knights, with great lamentations and tears, took leave of me, and returned to Xativa, to fortify the frontiers.

566. And some days afterwards, when, mindful of my desire to visit the monastery of Poblet, and serve the Mother of God at that place, I had left Alcira and reached Valencia, sickness increased on me, and it pleased our Lord that I should not complete the journey.

And here, in Valencia, in the year of MCCLXXVI, on the Sixth of the Kalends of August,⁶⁷³ the Noble En Jacme, by the Grace of God King of Aragon, Mallorca, and Valencia, Count of Barcelona and Urgel, and Lord of Montpellier, passed from this world. “*Cujus anima per misericordiam Dei sine fine requiescat in pace.*”

AMEN.

Finito libro, sit laus, gloria, Christo.

The King En Jacme lived, after he had taken Valencia, thirty-seven years.

⁶⁷³On Wednesday, the 27th of July (see above, p. 674, note 1), is the precise date assigned for James's death, though other days of the same month are also given. The practice of counting by kalends, the carelessness of scribes, the hour at which the king is said to have breathed his last (at midnight) have given rise to many errors.