

## *THE CHRONICLE OF JAMES I OF ARAGON*

John Forster, trans.

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### CCLXXXVIII.

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 [402] 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,<sup>(1)</sup> and before that council they formally resigned.

### CCLXXXIX.

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 [403] 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."<sup>(2)</sup> 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].<sup>(3)</sup> [404]

### CCXV.

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.

#### **CCXCI.**

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 [405] 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.

#### **CCXCII.**

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 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 [406] 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.<sup>(4)</sup> 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.

#### **CCXCIII.**

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 [407] 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.

#### **CCXCIV.**

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. [408]

#### CCXCV.

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 Bellmunt, 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 Lates<sup>(5)</sup> 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 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 [409] 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.

#### CCXCVI.

At that time this En Pere Bonifaci had the greatest power in the Consulate, together with En Grau<sup>(6)</sup> de la Barca, and En Berenguer de Reguardana,<sup>(7)</sup> who was a good clerk in Laws, and En Ramon Beseda.<sup>(8)</sup> I alighted at the house of En Atbran,<sup>(9)</sup> 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 pole,<sup>(10)</sup> and at the end of it a [410] 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. [411]

#### CCXCVII.

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.

### CCXCVIII.

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 [412] Montpellier. He spoke thus: "I will make the *scales*<sup>(11)</sup> 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,<sup>(12)</sup> 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.

### CCXCIX.

In the evening, when I had supped and it was night, full five hundred of the diggers (*fossors*), of [413] 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 everything;<sup>(13)</sup> 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. [414]

### CCC.

When they departed there came the tanners.<sup>(14)</sup> 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, 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.<sup>(15)</sup> So they and En Atbran went away. He [415] 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.

### CCCI.

At vespers, next day, came the *orgers* (potters),<sup>(16)</sup> 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. [416]

### CCCII.

When the "orgers" had gone they of the Alsunnaria (Saunerie)<sup>(17)</sup> 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.

### CCCIII.

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 [417] 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.

### CCCIV.

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 at night to me, took their goods out of their houses, put them into convents<sup>(18)</sup> 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 [418] 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 engine<sup>(19)</sup> 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.

### CCCV.

During my stay at Montpellier there came to me the Count of Toulouse and the Count of Provence;<sup>(20)</sup> 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 [419] 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.

### CCCVI.

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 [420] 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.

### CCCVII.

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 he said he would come. I sent him word to [421] 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;<sup>(21)</sup> 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. [422]

### CCCVIII.

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. [423]

### CCCIX.

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, <sup>(22)</sup> 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.

### CCCX..

At vespers the Alcaid came again to me, and said that he agreed to the terms; he would give [424] me the Albarrana (tower) as security, and he would order the "barbacana" to be constructed. 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; <sup>(23)</sup> 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, <sup>(24)</sup> 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 barbacana was made as the Alcaid had promised to do.

### CCCXI.

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." [425] 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.<sup>(25)</sup>

### CCCXII.

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. [426] While Don Pelegrin waited he saw the Alcaid taking off his "almexia,"<sup>(26)</sup> 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.<sup>(27)</sup> 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 [427] la Marjal, which boat had come from Corvera, that there had been great rains, in consequence of which much water was coming down.<sup>(28)</sup> 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.

### CCCXIII.

When I got farther I came to the Grau (strand), which comes from the valley of Alfandech.<sup>(29)</sup> I then bade one of my esquires to go in on horseback and try with his lance whether there was a ford;<sup>(30)</sup> [428] 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 trumpet<sup>(31)</sup> 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 Alcaid<sup>(32)</sup> that I am here with my banner; he is to come down, and I will parley with him." Thereupon Don [ 429] Pelegrin<sup>(33)</sup> 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.

### CCCXIV.

When it was morning the Alcaid came to me, and I said to him, "Anencedrell,<sup>(34)</sup> 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 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 [430] 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.

### CCCXV.

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 [431] consequence. Then they all came back to me, and returned to Aragon. After this the Commander of Alcanys,<sup>(35)</sup> with the knights brethren (frases) 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.

### CCCXVI.

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 [432] 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.<sup>(36)</sup>

### CCCXVII.

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 great need of my presence, and that I had come at [433] 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.

### CCCXVIII.

I called together my army, and went to the ford of Barraga, and there waited a day for the army to join. The Kaid<sup>(37)</sup> of Xativa knowing that I was coming against him, sent to me Ibn Ferri, who had been at Liria, and was then with him.<sup>(38)</sup> 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 [434] 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 too 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. [435]

### CCCXIX.

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.

### CCCXX.

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 [436] to go up to the Puig Scardeyno<sup>(39)</sup> 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 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.

### CCCXXI.

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,<sup>(40)</sup> 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 [437] 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 (*alquería*) was called Salient; 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. [438]

### CCCXXII.

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.

### CCCXXIII.

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. <sup>(41)</sup> 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 [439] 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.

### CCCXXIV.

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 [440] 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 [441] 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.

#### CCCXXV.

Now, one good morning, Sexi and Aben Ferri said privately to the Alfaqui, whose name was Don Bahiel Rey,<sup>(42)</sup> "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 [442] lord's wish, unless he intended treason.<sup>(43)</sup> 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 whether he was with me or with the people of Xativa. And I left them to suppose I was little concerned about it.<sup>(44)</sup>

#### CCCXXVI.

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 [443] 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.

#### CCCXXVII.

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 Alcaid 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. [444]

#### CCCXXVIII.

That done, I went to Aragon, and stayed there and in Catalonia full a year and more.<sup>(45)</sup> 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.

### **CCCXXIX.**

On my return, the Rais<sup>(46)</sup> 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. <sup>(47)</sup> 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 [445] 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.

### **CCCXXX.**

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 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 [446] 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.

### **CCCXXXI.**

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.

### **CCCXXXII.**

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 [447] 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.

### **CCCXXXIII.**

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 cavalcade<sup>(48)</sup> 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).<sup>(49)</sup>

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#### Notes

1. A former king of Valencia, named (*Arabic letters in book*), Lobb, called Aben Lope by the Spaniards.
2. The "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.
3. According 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.
4. Obscure. "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 haviem lla per venir açi: e que nos la tendriem mentre ells serien lla tro a un termin couvinent."
5. Lattes, a small village seven kilometers from Montpellier. Its port, long since sanded, communicated then with the sea by means of a channel.
6. En Guerau, which I believe to be the same name as Gerard.
7. Regordana, or Berenguer de Reguardan.
8. Bessède.
9. Thus 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.
10. "E haviem feyt un buyco, e una perxa que haviem ferrada al cap primer, e anelles que havia de ça e della hon se tinguessen les cordes ab que derrocassen les cases de Natbran."
11. Scales 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.
12. "Fossors, blanquers e aquells de la Orgeria." The Spanish translators render this last by *alfareros* - potters. What *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.

13. "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.

14. Blanchers, or "courroyers," as they are called in French.

15. "Que quant a vos aguden a nos aguden" are words addressed to En Atbran; but mistakes of this sort are frequent in the text.

16. See above, p. 412, *note*.

17. The *Saunarie* was the quarter of the city where the salt granaries were kept.

18. "En ordens."

19. "Aquell *buço* que elles avien feyt."

20. The 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.

21. "Car nos haviem conuinences ab lo Rey de Castella, e haviem 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 haviem feyte no la voliem trencar."

22. An 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 letters in book*), *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."

23. "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.

24. Also called Datrosillo, or Palegrí de Trosillo.

25. Servents.

26. *Almexia*, from the Arabic (*Arabic letters in book*), or (*Arabic letters in book*), means *tegumentum capitis*, seu corporis, shirt. The Alcaid, therefore, was making his ablutions.

27. "Faerem una alimara (almenara ?) e sempre de mantinent faeren ne altra."

28. "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.

29. "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 letters in book*), *handech* (hollow, ditch, valley).

30. "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*.

31. "Los del castell faeren tocar lo anafil e faeren fums als de les alqueries." *Anfil*, from the Arabic (*Arabic letters in book*), is a trumpet.

32. Caid, Cait, Alcaid, or Alcait, are all different forms of the Arabic word (*Arabic letters in book*), which means a chief, a captain, and also the warder of a castle.

33. The name of this knight, En Pelegrf de Atrocillo, or Datrosillo, is frequently spelt *Palegrin*, and *Pellegrin*, p. 424, *note*.

34. "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.

35. Alcañiz in Aragon is a commandery of the Order of Calatrava.

36. "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 Berenguer 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 Cabanas 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."

37. "E envians a Ben Ferrí qui era stat de Lyria, e era ab ell."

38. "E anassen a Beni Ferri" (?).

39. Puig Stardeyno?

40. Torchmany (in Spanish "truchiman") means "interpreter" It comes from the Arabic (*Arabic letters in book*), *turdjiman*, which has the same meaning.

41. Said 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.

42. Elsewhere, "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 letters in book*), 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 Sexí, I believe it to be a patronymic from *Saix*, a town in the kingdom of Murcia.

43. "Don nos lo Ray un horn 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."

44. "E dixem los queu preauem ben poch, que aytant preauem que si fos dins com de fora. E partim nos dells en semblança queu preauem poch."

45. Zurita, 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.



46. It has already been said that *rais*, *rays* (in Spanish *arraez*), are from the Arabic (*Arabic letters in book*), meaning a "chief." As to Algezira, (*Arabic letters in book*), it simply means "the island," and such is the modern Alcira, situated between two arms of the Xucar.

47. This would imply that the rais or governor of Alcira was an African, perhaps an Almohade, whose dynasty ruled at Valencia till the conquest.

48. *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.

49. See Zurita, *Anales*, iii. c. 42, 43, for what was done in this year and a half.

## *THE CHRONICLE OF JAMES I OF ARAGON*

**John Forster, trans.**

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### **CCCXXXIV.**

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.<sup>(1)</sup> And according to what is contained in them, you have broken the agreement you made with me. Not only in that have [ 449] 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."

### **CCCXXXV**

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 [450] 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.

### **CCCXXXVI.**

When the eighth day came the Kaid sent to me a learned Moor, whose name was Almofarix,<sup>(2)</sup> 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 [451] 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;<sup>(3)</sup> 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.

#### CCCXXXVII.

Without any previous consultation I made the following answer: "Almofarix, you are a learned man,<sup>(4)</sup> 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 [452] 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 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."

#### CCCXXXVIII.

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 [453] 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.

#### CCCXXXIX.

Thereupon I summoned the knights of the kingdom of Valencia, and those of my own train (*mesnada*), and the Almagavars, and went with the barons to besiege Xativa. I pitched my tent [454] 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.<sup>(5)</sup> 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.

[455]

#### CCCXL.

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, 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 [456] 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.

#### CCCXLI.

A month after this news was brought to me, that Enguera and Muxent had surrendered to the [457] 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.<sup>(6)</sup> 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 Nunez de Guzman; the Infante had given it in charge to Don Pedro Nunez 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."

#### CCCXLII.

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 [458] 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 beheaded<sup>(7)</sup> and the other half hanged, and went back to my camp before Xativa.

### CCCXLIII.

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.<sup>(8)</sup> When, therefore, the Infante [459] 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 Vizcaya, and other barons (*ricos homens*) of Castile and Galicia, whose names I do not recollect. The interview took place midway between Almizra<sup>(9)</sup> 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. [460]

### CCCXLIV.

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.

### CCCXLV.

Next day, after hearing mass, the Infante<sup>(10)</sup> 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,<sup>(11)</sup> 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 Oviedo 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 [461] 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 Oviedo 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,<sup>(12)</sup> 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 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.

### CCCXLVI.

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 [462] 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.

### CCCXLVII.

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 [463] 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."

### CCCXLVIII.

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 everything you wish for should be immediately granted." They said to the Queen: "Lady, do you speak to [464] 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.

### CCCXLIX.

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 [465] Xativa, and to the army, and stayed fully two months before it without the Kaid offering to capitulate.

### CCCL.

At the end of two months the Kaid sent to me a Saracen named Albocacim<sup>(13)</sup>; 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 [466] 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 be 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.

### CCCLI.

"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." [467] 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 scribe<sup>(14)</sup> 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."

### CCCLII.

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 Mosque<sup>(15)</sup> on Friday, and deliberate until Saturday; [468] for that reason he asked that the truce should last till Sunday. To this I 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.

### CCCLIII.

Next day there came to me Albocacim, Sexí,<sup>(16)</sup> 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 [469] 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.

#### CCCLIV.

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 [470] 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.

#### CCCLV.

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 [471] such a day. Bring me thither a clear plan of your design, and I will see whether the thing can be done or not."

#### CCCLVI.

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 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.<sup>(17)</sup> 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 [472] 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.



## CCCLVII.

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.

## CCCLVIII.

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 [473] 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.

## CCCLIX.

To make the matter short, when it came to the last, the Kaid of Biar, whose name was Muzalmoravit, (18) surrendered the castle to me. I left the Saracens in the town, and granted them charters for their "zunes," (19) and that they should for all time after remain under me and my descendants. [474]

## CCCLX.

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 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.

## CCCLXI.

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 [475] 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: "Alazarch (20) 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 [476] 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 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."

#### **CCCLXII.**

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 [477] 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 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."

#### **CCCLXIII.**

When the Kaid of Xativa and his sheikhs had departed from Valencia, I went to Burriana to [478] 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.<sup>(21)</sup> 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.

#### **CCCLXIV.**

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, [479] 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 [480] 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."

#### **CCCLXV.**

"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 [481] 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."

#### **CCCLXVI.**

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 [482] 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." [483]

## CCCLXVII.

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 squires<sup>(22)</sup> 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.

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### Notes

1. A, 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.
2. *Almofarix* in the edition of 1557; in that of Barcelona *Almofays*, neither of which seems to be an Arabic name. (*Arabic letters in book*), *Al-mofaris* (the horseman) would be by far a better reading, unless (*Arabic letters in book*), (*Al-moxárif*), or (*Arabic letters in book*), (*Al-mokhárif*), be meant, which are likewise proper names, or rather appellatives.
3. There is no need of remarking that Xativa is not in Andalusia, but in Valencia. Perhaps the interpreter hearing the word Andalos, (*Arabic letters in book*), in Arabic, which means "Spain," translated "Andalucia."
4. "E dixem li: Almofarix, uos sots saui hom."
5. Alfonso X., called "El Sabio" (the Learned).
6. Early in life, in 1248, Prince Don Alfonso, afterwards Alfonso the Learned, not the Wise, had married Yoland, the daughter of James.
7. "E a uista dels faem ne la meytat escapsar, e laltra meytat enforçar." "Escapsar" (in *Span.* "descabesar"), to take the head off.
8. These 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.
9. Almizra, also in the kingdom of Murcia; the Barcelona edition reads "Almura," perhaps a misprint for Almiçra.
10. Don Alfonso, at the time Infante, but King of Castile when this *Chronicle* was written.
11. Yoland, or Violante, as the Spanish chroniclers call her.
12. Doña 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.

13. (*Arabic letters in book*), Abu-l-Kásim.

14. "Escriua major de Xativa"; but I should say that (*Arabic letters in book*), cátib, - in *Spanish* Alcátib - is meant; *i.e.* writer, scribe, man versed in law, also a secretary.

15. "La mesquita," from the Arabic, (*Arabic letters in book*), *mesjid*.

16. Sexí 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 Almofoy*s, is not in favour of the above conjecture. I must add that Abu-l-cásim's name is sometimes written *Albocasim* in both editions, owing to the frequent transposition of the *l* of the article *Al*.

17. The 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?

18. *i.e.*, (*Arabic letters in book*), or Musa, the Almorávid.

19. "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 letters in book*), meaning traditional law founded on the deeds and sayings of the prophet Mohammad. (*Arabic letters in book*), *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 letters in book*), 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.

20. This is the first time that the name of this rais, or chief, is expressly mentioned in the *Chroicle*. His name is variously written *Alzarach*, *Alaçrac*, and *Alazrat*, all derived from (*Arabic letters in book*), *Al-azrak*, or he of the light blue eyes ; in *Spanish*, *zarco*. See also above *p.* 471, *note*.

21. At this time James's queen was Yoland of Hungary, daughter of King Andrew (1205--1235).

22. "Ab lx. cauallers e escuders ab armes" in the Barcelona edition.

## *THE CHRONICLE OF JAMES I OF ARAGON*

John Forster, trans.

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### CCCLXVIII.

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 [485] 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.

### CCCLXIX.

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.<sup>(1)</sup> 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 [486] (*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.<sup>(2)</sup> 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 Ubeda<sup>(3)</sup> not more people were massed together, men, women and children, than on this occasion. Don Frederick,<sup>(4)</sup> 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.

### CCCLXX.

Those who remained made Alazarch their captain. One day there came word to me that [487] 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 Pena cadell 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 [488] 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.

### CCCLXXI.

Thereupon my men went to the place. The Saracens held two hills, one on this side of the rock (Penacadell<sup>(5)</sup>), 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 Abenbازل, the best man Alazarch<sup>(6)</sup> [489] 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 Abenbازل 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.

### CCCLXXII.

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 to others who reported it to me. He had, in an [490] 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.

### CCCLXXIII.

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 a 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,<sup>(7)</sup> and that you make an [491] 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.

### CCCLXXIV.

Thereon I fixed a day for En Guillen de Cardona, En Guillen de Angresola,<sup>(8)</sup> 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 [492] 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."

### CCCLXXV.

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.<sup>(9)</sup> 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 [493] 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 Carròç for his wife; but when I was going by night to a castle of his, called Rognut,<sup>(10)</sup> 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 had<sup>(11)</sup> 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.

### **CCCLXXVI.**

I held Easter at Valencia, and went thence to Xativa next Tuesday, taking with me no more [494] than sixty knights. On the Friday after Easter I left Xativa and went to Concentayna, 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.

### **CCCLXXVII.**

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"<sup>(12)</sup> or body-guard, who preceded him. The [495] 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.

### **CCCLXXVIII.**

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 [496] 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 horsemen<sup>(13)</sup> of the Africans and Saracens were overrunning the land; it might 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.<sup>(14)</sup> The King of Castile was at Seville<sup>(15)</sup> 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 [497] 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.