

THE CHRONICLE OF JAMES I OF ARAGON

John Forster, trans.

CCXLIII.

While I was at the Puig there came to me a message from Almenara, from the Alfaqui and from another Saracen who was very powerful there, that if they could only treat with me they would willingly surrender Almenara. I was very glad of that message. I rode forth next day early as if I were going to Burriana, met the two Saracens on the road, and spoke with them. They told me that they would speak first with the Aljama or assembly of notables, and would then settle with me how I should have the place. I wen⁽¹⁾t on to Burriana to see the Queen and to comfort her, and bid her be of good heart now that she had come to the front. Next day I left Burriana, and as I passed by Almenara, sent word to those two to come out to me. They came out as soon as they saw my pennon. I asked them to name a day on which they would surrender Almenara. They said that Almenara was such a castle that for the service they would do me in giving it up, I ought to do great things; inasmuch as when the other Moors in the country heard that I had Almenara, all the rest of the country would surrender to me from Teruel to Tortosa. I said it was for them to look after themselves before they thought of others; that several [359] other castles were also parleying with me for surrender, and that if they took the lead of the others they would certainly get better terms from me for the good beginning they had made. They asked me to grant to each of them in heritage, besides what he had already in Almenara, three yokes (*jovadas*⁽²⁾) of arable land; that I should grant to their kinsmen who had given their help thirty yokes of land, and that all those yokes should be taken from the Alguebes,⁽³⁾ that is, from those who had abandoned the place and fled; that I should also give them two hundred cows and a thousand sheep and goats; that I should give dresses of scarlet cloth to forty of their kinsmen, who joined with them in the business; and lastly, that I should give to them both hackneys, so that they might count as knights or horsemen.⁽⁴⁾

CCXLIV.

When I heard what the two Saracens said, it pleased me well, and I assented, for an old adage says, "He who does not give what grieves him, [360] does not get what he likes."⁽⁵⁾ I asked them to name a day when the thing could be carried out; they said they would speak first privately with their friends, and would so arrange matters that within eight days they would let me know that on which I was to come to Almenara. Thereon I left them, and in front of the very castle of Almenara, in sight of those who had spoken with me, and who were still on the hill-side, I let my falcons loose upon a fine heron⁽⁶⁾ there, such as I would like to have; it struck high in air and fairly. I was among the first to ride up to it, but I would not let the heron be killed by the falcons; I took it from them, and gave them instead a fowl to feed on, sending the heron alive to those with whom I had had the parley, with a message to this effect; that I sent them that as a New Year's present for Almenara, and that I sent it to them alive, for I knew their usage, and that they would not have it if already dead.⁽⁷⁾ They were greatly pleased, and said in the ear of my messenger, "Tell the king to be of good heart, for what he wishes about Almenara will quickly come to pass." I rejoiced much at their message, and returned that night to the Puig. [361]

CCXLV.

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

CCXLVI.

On that I gave them the cattle, according to agreement, and told them that next morning, when [362] they had surrendered the castle, they might go with me to Burriana for the cloth, and I would complete the delivery of everything else. It was already evening. I went up into the bailey, I and about twenty knights of my suite, with their respective esquires. They gave me a house to live in, formerly a mosque, (8) but so near the castle that they threw great stones at us; so that no one dared go out for fear of the stones they threw. When it was broad day next morning, I sent out of the house two knights in armour, who went up to the gates of the castle, and asked, "Who commands in that castle?" They replied that the commander would come out and speak with them. Then the two knights said to him, speaking in my name, "The king says he is here, and bids you choose which you like best of two things; if you please he will give you of his own what you will do well to take. If you do not like that, but will have death rather than life, prepare yourselves, for he certainly will take you all before the hour of tierce."

CCXLVII.

And thereupon the governor of the castle said he wished to speak with me. I went outside with my shield and my iron cap on, lest they should attempt some treachery, and asked, "What do you [363] want? Here I am." The governor said he knew me well, but wished to know for certain whether I really was there or not. And since I was there, he wished to tell me that he was in that castle for Zaen, the King of Valencia; he himself was a knight, (9) he knew well he could not defend himself against me, for the people of the town were on my side, and I could easily take the castle with the force I had with me; but he prayed that since he gave up the castle, I should deal well with him and those who were in the place. I said that I would willingly do that on condition that he should make ready to come out, and should come to me, when I would make him a proper gift. He replied, he would do so; and he came and asked me to give to him and to a relation of his, who was there with him, two horses, one to each, for they had eaten theirs that they might defend the castle for their lord; and to give besides dresses, and cloth to the men who were there with him. I gave him at once the two horses, and sent to Burriana to Pere Ramon for cloth for the men of the castle and of the town, asking him to make up the quantity of cloth I had to give them. Thus I got the castle at once.

CCXLVIII.

Then I sent to the Queen two knights, bidding her come to me, as Our Lord had done me that great [364] favour of giving me the castle of Almenara, where she would be better lodged than at Burriana and safer. When the messenger arrived, the Queen had her dinner ready, and she said she would go when she had dined; it was during Lent. The knights said, "The King bids you come; he has prepared dinner; you will dine better and more joyfully there than you would do here." When the Queen heard

that, she left her dinner. I waited till she came, and went to meet her to the hillside below the castle; she and I entered the castle and dined with great joy.

CCXLIX.

Next day there came messages from Uxó, from Nules, and from Castro, that if I would treat them well they would surrender those castles. As I had taken Almenara, the Saracens knew well that it was the will of Our Lord that I should have the whole land. I replied, that they would be welcome, and that I would go out to meet them at the tower of Forçada (Forcada?), where the two districts of Almenara and Uxó meet,⁽¹⁰⁾ opposite Almenara, and near the Rapita, which tower was called Mancofa in the time of the Saracens.⁽¹¹⁾ I would not appoint one day for all [365] the "caids" of those castles to come, for I did not wish that one should know the treaty the other had made. So I told the men of Uxó that I would go to them at tierce next day; and appointed with them of Nules that I would meet them on the third day at the fig-garden in their territory, opposite Mancofa,⁽¹²⁾ and so would make my treaty with each of them. From each of the municipalities (*aljamas*)⁽¹³⁾ there were to come ten elders of the principal and most powerful among them. Whilst I parleyed with one body of men the others were not to be there. I bade the men of Castro to stay with me, and I would there conclude their treaty, which was to give them a quantity of sheep and goats, dresses for five of the elders, besides two horses which I was also to give. I granted to them the free exercise of their law (religion) and their franchises, as they used to have them in the time of the Saracens; and I gave them five of my mounted esquires and ten footmen to protect them.

CCL.

Next day I got five sheep and twenty hens, and went with my bread and my wine to the Forçada tower, as I had promised the men of Uxó. When I had waited there for a time they came. I had kept for them two sheep and five hens living, that [366] they might all dine with me. When they came I said I would have no parley with them till I had dined and they were merry with meat and wine.⁽¹⁴⁾ I granted them fifteen hundred sheep and goats, sixty cows dresses for thirty men, and besides three hackneys. I gave them charters that they should keep their law and all their usages as they had them in the time of the Saracens, and that they should pay me my dues as they did to their king. They said, "Who will deliver us all that?" And I said that in three days I would give them what I promised. They were not to delay surrendering the castles, for I pledged myself to keep my word. They had faith in me. I had with me only Don Ladró and nine knights, when the Saracens told me to go to the castles, and that they would surrender them.

CCLI.

Then I took with them the road to the town, and there came to meet me at the foot of the hill two hundred men and women with great joy. When they came before me, all put down their lances. Of the nine knights who were with me at the time, I sent eight up to the castle, I myself staying below with Don Ladró, and with all those Saracens. When my pennon was hoisted on the [367] Alcazar, I myself went up there; the Saracens also were going up with me, but I told them, "Wait for me here, I shall presently be with you." I thus took possession of their castle, left there my men, and then descended and went to Burriana, where I got the cattle I had promised them, and the horses, and the cloth, and gave it to them. All this was done next day, without waiting for the third day, and sent to them at once.

CCLII.

Thence⁽¹⁵⁾ went to see the men of Nules, taking dinner with me, and the Saracens eating with me; I would not treat with them till they were well warmed with meat and wine. After eating, I had the writings drawn; I granted them a thousand sheep and goats, fifty cows, dresses for twenty men, and two

horses. I went up with them to the castle, which they forthwith surrendered. I left there my "caids"⁽¹⁶⁾ and my men, and put guards in each of the castles, as was fit.

CCLIII.

Before I left Almenara, another castle, called Alfandech, surrendered after one day's summons; [368] so that five good castles were won in no time. I then went to the Puig where my army was, and they all had great and brilliant rejoicings with me for the favour God had shown us.

CCLIV.

I stopped at the Puig, and kept Lent there; the Queen kept hers at Almenara till Easter, when I went to keep it with her; after that I went with her to the Puig. On the third day after Easter there came to me a messenger, a Saracen from Paterna, secretly, with letters from the whole Aljama (congregation), saying they would surrender to me the town and the castle. Others came similarly from Betera and Bufila,⁽¹⁷⁾ saying they would surrender too. I answered that I would go to them; they should hold themselves in readiness to surrender the castles when I came. I would let them keep their law and all their usages, as in the time of their kings, and would do much for them. And on the fourth day, as I had undertaken, I myself went to Paterna with a hundred knights, and the Queen went also with me; all the Saracens, men and women, came to me out of the place with great joy. I told them that I would treat them well, and would free them from dues for two years, for what they had [369] suffered. They gave God thanks for the good words I had said to them, and opened the gates to me. I entered, and left there the Queen with some ten knights in garrison, and in the same manner I got Betera and Bufila, after which I returned to the Puig.

CCLV.

When the Saracens of Valencia learned that I had got Paterna, the anger and grief they had were doubled, at seeing I was coming so close to them. I resolved, at the Puig of Santa Maria, to wait for nothing more, but to proceed at once to the siege of Valencia. I then had with me the Master of the Hospital, En Hugh de Fullalquer; a Commander of the Temple, who had about twenty knights with him; the Commander of Alcaniz;⁽¹⁸⁾ Don Rodrigo Liçana, who had some thirty knights under him; the Commander of Calatrava; En Guillem de Aguiló, who had about fifteen; Don Exemen Perez de Taraçona, and my own train of retainers, who might be from a hundred and thirty to a hundred and forty knights, all men of noble birth. There were also in the camp a hundred and fifty "almogavars," and well up to a thousand footmen. [370]

CCLVI.

I resolved that next day early, in the name of the Lord, I would begin to move, and would proceed to the siege of Valencia. I passed the marsh⁽¹⁹⁾ at a crossing I had made, and went along the sea shore to the Grau, and there forded the river.⁽²⁰⁾ When I had got over it, we and the baggage-mules (*adzembles*) went to some houses half-way between Valencia and the Grau, but nearer the Grau than Valencia; there I set up my banners and tents, and took my station; it might be a mile from that place to Valencia. My intention was to wait there for more troops to come from Aragon and Catalonia, with which to besiege Valencia. That day I saw Saracen horsemen from Valencia, who went about between us and the town, to see if they could steal anything from the army, but I kept my knights from foraging till they knew the country well.

CCLVII.

Next day before dawn, without my knowledge, the almogavars and the camp-followers went to [371] take the Rucafa,⁽²¹⁾ close to the town, within two cross-bow shots. I had at the time a malady in the

eyes, and could not open them till I had washed them with hot water. They came and told me that almogavars and footmen had gone to quarter themselves in the Ruçafa, of which they had actually taken possession. En Hugh de Fullalquer, the Master of the Hospital, came to me and said: "What do you order us to do? They have all gone to take quarters in the Ruçafa." I said: "Let us put armour on the horses, and with banners spread let us go to succour them, or else all are dead men." And he said: "It shall be done as you command." Then we all armed and proceeded towards the suburb called Ruçafa; had I not made so much haste to come, all those in the place would have been killed or taken prisoners. When we entered it, the Saracens were at the other end of it. I made my people halt in an open space there was.

CCLVIII.

Then there came to me En Ramon Cavellá, Commander of Aliaga, and Lope Xemenez de Luziá, who said they could take full fifty Saracens if they made an onset towards Valencia. [372] I said, I wished to see how that could be done. They took me to the gate looking towards Valencia, and there I saw Zaen posted with all the power of Valencia at a tower half-way between that city and the Ruçafa, in a spot where there were some rocks, and where water had collected from the rains and the watercourses. The tower now belongs to En Ramon Riquer. I reckoned Zaen's force at four hundred horsemen, and of footmen, the greater part of those in Valencia; in my opinion, and in that of those who were round me, the Saracens might be about ten thousand, more or less. And within a stone's throw of us and of them, there were thirty or forty peasants gathering beans in a beanfield. These were the Saracens whom Çavellá and Luzia said they could capture if they made an onset towards Valencia. I told them, "You are wrong; it is the nature of an attack, like the one you propose making, that if unsuccessful they who make it will have to come back as fugitives. I do not know whether those fields are cut and traversed by watercourses⁽²²⁾ for the purpose of irrigation; if they are, the horses in coming back through them will get into the watercourses, some of them may fall inside, and we all may sustain great damage; peradventure also if the enemy drives us back in flight to the Ruçafa, [373] we might also lose that and the other places we have taken." Wherefore I would not take their advice on that; but at night I would send trustworthy men to see if the fields were irrigated or not; if they were not, my men might return to me, and then I would allow a charge to be made. In this manner by the favour of God we did so much on that first day that we were actually quartered within two cross-bow shots of the city of Valencia.

CCLIX.

We stayed under arms all that first day; so that no one of us even ate his food but sitting on his horse, and that was only bread, wine, and cheese. At vespers the Saracens turned head and went back to the city; then I dismounted, put off my armour, as usual,⁽²³⁾ and took food. After taking my repast, I made fifty knights arm themselves to watch the camp by night. When morning came I heard mass; the Saracens did not come out against us, but let us rest, and so we stayed for five days.

CCLX.

Meantime there continued to come to me barons and knights from Aragon and Catalonia; among the first came the Archbishop of Narbonne with [374] forty knights and six hundred footmen; his name was Pedro Arnyell.⁽²⁴⁾ So our army kept increasing, the Saracens being so straitened that they did not dare come out against us, except to skirmish with some of our men, for which it would not do to put armour on our horses, as the Saracens did not close with us so as to do us harm,⁽²⁵⁾ nor could we, as it was, get at them. So when the barons and the city bands (*ciutats*) came, they beset Valencia all around, and set themselves closer to the city than we had done when we first came to it. The city men who took post the nearest were those of Barcelona.

CCLXI.

I had next to consider from what side I would push the siege, and a council was held for that purpose; some said that the attack should be against the Boatella, but I spoke against those who said so. Of that opinion were also the Archbishop of Narbonne and the other barons who were with me; but I proved to them by reasoning, that we could not push the siege from any place so good as [375] that where we were then, for three reasons. One was that if we set our battering engines against the gate, it would only be where the Saracens could sally out and set fire to them, as it would be near their gate, which they could not do where we then were. The place is farther from their gate, and they will not dare to sally out as far. So I would set the engines there where we then were. If the Saracens attack the engines the army can easily defend them and overtake the enemy before they got back to the city, for at that time there was no gate between the Boatella and the Xerea.⁽²⁶⁾ Another reason was, that the city came to an angle there on that spot, and when the time came for our mining the barbican⁽²⁷⁾ and the wall, the operation could not be hindered from the towers, for the wall came where the fight would be, and projected further than the rest of the city wall. The third reason was, that if the army shifted itself to the Boatella, they in the city could by their horse get command of the ways between the sea and the army, and we should be obliged to keep, in order to protect the camp, an additional hundred horse in armour, who would considerably lessen the strength of the army, while it would harass those [376] who had to do this guard. When the barons and knights heard my reasons, they all assented to what I said, and held my plan for the best.

CCLXII.

Then the Archbishop of Narbonne, who was a bold man, asked me why I was there and did nothing; I said I would act when the army came; I would then attack the Boatella.⁽²⁸⁾ Meantime there came a "trebuchet" I had made at Tortosa, and two "fonevols." I set them up and battered the wall opposite to where the camp was. I had besides mantlets made, which extended beyond the engines, having underneath them men in armour. The mantlets were then pushed up to some cubwalls near the moat; wood and faggots were next thrown into the moat, which was full of water; then three men in armour crossed over to the barbican. When they told me that three men had crossed to the barbican, I would not believe their word, and went to see what they were talking of. I saw that the men had actually lodged themselves and could well maintain their ground, and that they in the town could not reach them with missiles. I sent them two picks, and they worked with them and made three holes in the barbican, into each of which two men could very well go. [377]

CCLXIII.

Meantime I sent one of the "fonevols" to Cilia under two barons, Don Pedro Fernandez de Açagra and Don Exemen de Urrea, who attacked it for eight days, at the end of which time the enemy surrendered. So was Cilia⁽²⁹⁾ taken.

CCLXIV.

While we were mining into the "barbican," and the Saracens were defending it as well as they could, there came against us, to the Grau of Valencia, twelve galleys and six "atzaures" (smaller vessels) of the King of Tunis, between first sleep and midnight.⁽³⁰⁾ There came also during the night a message from those who were at the Grau, saying that many galleys had arrived, they thought from twelve to fifteen. Hearing that, I got ready fifty knights, with horses in armour, and about two hundred footmen, and I set them in ambush on a bank at some distance from the sea, between certain ditches (*caues*) and the bank,⁽³¹⁾ where they could lie well. I exhorted them not to sally out [378] till the enemy were well advanced, and not to give up their ambush till half tierce. The Saracens, however, for fear of the ambush, did not

land. When it was night, they put up full a hundred signal lights on the galleys,⁽³²⁾ that they in the town might see, and they beat their drums. They in the town set full a thousand lights on the walls, and also beat their drums, to let them know that they held the King of Tunis for their lord. When they had done all that display and noise (algazara⁽³³⁾), I ordered the army also to prepare torches in every tent, and when it became dark to light them all, and throw them into the moat after setting up a great shout; and it was done as I had ordered, that the Saracens might understand that we cared little for their bravados. In this manner did my men throw five hundred burning torches against the rampart. So the Valencians saw that we cared little for what they had done, and that the galleys could in nowise help them.

CCLXV.

Meantime I sent by the shore as far as Tortosa and Tarragona, bidding them be on their guard and to come in a body, which they did. I had three galleys at Tarragona and Tortosa, which were [379] immediately armed. After stopping two days [at the Grau] the galleys of the Saracens went to Peñiscola, and landed to attack the place. Fernan Perez de Pina was inside with his men. He went out of the castle which he held for me; he had with him ten horsemen between himself, Don Fernan Ahones, and others who were there. With this small force and the Saracens of the town, who gave him very good aid, Don Fernan beat off the people of the galleys, of whom seventeen were slain. Meanwhile the convoy from Tortosa, which consisted of twenty-one sails, armed seven vessels (*lenys*) in such wise that any one of them could take a galley if it ran alongside of her.⁽³⁴⁾ The three galleys [of Tarragona] and the seven vessels [of Tortosa] came all in a body, so that when the enemy's galleys came to know of this, they took flight and disappeared, not daring to wait for them. In this manner there came to me a great supply of bread, wine, barley, cheese, fruit, and other smaller articles. So large became the camp that there were at last in it no less than a thousand knights and sixty [thousand] footmen. One could find in it every article one wished to sell or buy, as in a city; nay, there were there apothecaries from Montpellier and Lerida, who sold drugs and spices, such as one could find [380]

in a great town, for the sick as well as the sound. Meanwhile I made my engines batter the walls every day, and my men had frequent skirmishes with those within, or made attacks. In one of these the Exerea⁽³⁵⁾ was taken; more than a hundred horse in armour got into it, and full fifteen Saracens were killed in the defence.

CCLXVI.

At another time the men of the Archbishop of Narbonne were skirmishing with those from inside, but the Archbishop's men did not know the way of the Saracens, who on that occasion, as in others, fled from them to draw them nearer to the town. Perceiving that the enemy's footmen were only retreating with that end, I sent my people a message not to pursue, or else the Saracens would do them great hurt. They would not stay for my message; but I, fearing lest thirty or more of them should be killed by the Moors, went up to them on the same horse I was then riding, and made them draw back. As I was coming with the men, I happened to turn my head towards the town in order to look at the Saracens, who had come out in great force, when a cross-bowman shot at me, and hit me beside the sun-hood,⁽³⁶⁾ and the shot struck me on the head, the bolt lighting near the forehead. It was God's will [381] it did not pass through the head, but the point of the arrow went half through it. In anger I struck the arrow so with my hand that I broke it: the blood came out down my face; I wiped it off with a mantle of "sendal"⁽³⁷⁾ I had, and went away laughing, that the army might not take alarm. I then went and lay down in a tent, when all my face and eyes swelled, so that I could not see for the swelling of the eye on the wounded side. When the swelling in my face had gone down, I rode round the camp that the army might not be discouraged.

CCLXVII.

Meantime Don Pedro Cornell and Don Exemen de Urrea agreed that they would attack the tower which stands at the gate of the Boatella on the street of Saint Vincent.⁽³⁸⁾ This they concealed from me and from every one else in the camp. But though they made the attack and continued it for a good while, what with the forces that came out to it from the city, and the gallant defence of those within the tower, Don Pedro and Don Exemen could not take it, and had to retreat. I told them they had done ill to begin so great an undertaking without my counsel and that of the barons and knights of the army, and that it was right well that they had fared so ill. [382]

CCLXVIII.

Thereon I sent for the bishops and the barons of the army, and we agreed that since the thing had been begun, by all means the tower should be taken the next day; that we would arm two hundred horse and all the cross-bowmen of the army; at sunrise we would go to the attack, resolved to take the tower, and no man should draw back till it was taken. At sunrise I went there myself; there were about ten Saracens prepared to defend the tower. We attacked them, and they defended themselves well and gallantly; no men could defend themselves better than they did. But so great was the effect of the cross-bowmen on our side, and of the stones that were thrown against the tower, that no Moor could put his hand out of cover but it was immediately pierced by an arrow. With all that they would not surrender the tower when summoned. Then one of our men set fire to the tower. When they saw the fire they were cowed, and said they would surrender; but I said we would not give them quarter, as they had not surrendered at first. I burned them all there, took possession of the tower, and returned to the camp. [383]

CCLXIX.

When that was done, great fear fell on those inside the city for the capture of that tower; we made our engines batter the city night and day. After a time, when a month was past, a Saracen trader came out of the city under safe conduct; the men of En Ramon Berenguer de Ager met with him and brought him in on the croup of a horse. He came before me and gave me news of Zaen, the King of Valencia, how he managed his affairs and what his plans were. He told me that three things had greatly discouraged the Valencians; firstly, that the galleys of the King of Tunis had done so little for them; the second, the tower that we had burnt; the third, the great army they saw, that had invested almost the whole of Valencia; he (the trader) thought they could not hold out long because they had not supplies for so many people as were in Valencia, - men, women, and children - owing to our having surprised them and besieged the town before they got in their harvest. He believed it certain that it would not be long before we got it.

CCLXX.

When I heard the words the Saracen said to me, they pleased me much, as well as those of the army who happened to know of them. And [384] as this book is such that one should not put small matters into it, I leave telling many things there were, and will only tell the greatest, that the book may not be much lengthened; but the things that were great and good, of them will I speak and treat. As to our camp, I can say of it that I, who have made thirty of them at different times, have never seen one so well supplied as that was with the things that were necessary for man's help; so that sick people got the help of apothecaries as if they were at Barcelona or Lerida.

CCLXXI.

When it got to within fifteen days of Michaelmas, Zaen sent me word that if I would give a safe conduct to a Saracen named Ali Albata,⁽³⁹⁾ a native of Peñiscola, he would send him on to parley with

me. I said I was well content that he should come, and that I would give him a safe conduct; when the messenger came, he told me what⁽⁴⁰⁾ the King of Valencia had sent him for; I said I would consider it, and would give him an answer briefly. I reflected that it was not well to make those words of Ali known to any one in the camp, whether baron, knight, or others; for there were many among them who would not be pleased that [385] Valencia should be taken; they would rather it belonged to the Saracens than to me, as I afterwards had sufficient proof of it. I went to the Queen, and told her what Ali Albaca had said, and what my intention was; if it seemed well to her, I prayed and commanded that no one in the camp but I and she, and the messenger who acted as interpreter, should know of it. She said that what I told her pleased her much; no one had so great an interest in my honour and welfare as herself; if God loved me and gave me honour, she thanked Him for it, for her hopes were all centred in me. She thought it well that no one should know of these proposals, that I might not be hindered in my undertaking; for she had seen me take possession of other places and castles, which my barons would rather see as they were than in my power, and as to which they did many things they should not do; wherefore she well believed that since in small things they acted so, they would with regard to Valencia show their power in such wise that I should not take it. She thought secrecy good beyond everything, till I was sure of taking the city.

CCLXXII.

I then sent for Ali Albaca to come again to me, and told him to state what he had come for. He [386] said that the words Zaen had to say were great and of high import. "They are not for me to speak out, but Zaen, King of Valencia, sends me to say that if you will he will send to you the Rais⁽⁴¹⁾ Abulphamalet (or Abulamalet) his nephew, his sister's son, and after himself the most powerful man in Valencia and in the kingdom, and the one in whom he most trusts. If it please God, before you and he part, I trust that this business will come to a good conclusion." To that I replied that he might go back to the town, and that the other one should come as soon as possible. I gave him a knight to escort him and take him back to Valencia. And he fixed a time, next morning at sunrise, when he would be with me, and that I should send then a knight to escort him to the camp. I agreed to do so. In the morning I accordingly sent a knight, and he came. When he was before me, he said that Zaen, King of Valencia, saluted me. He told me besides, on that king's behalf, that next morning, between tierce and sunrise, I was to send two nobles to escort Rais Abul-phamalet,⁽⁴²⁾ [387] who would forthwith come to me. I ordered Don Nuño and En Berenguer Roger de Ager to get ready in the morning to meet Zaen's nephew, Rais Abulphamalet, and to escort him to me; and they said they would do so.

CCLXXIII.

Meantime two Saracen knights challenged any two of our army to joust with them, and they made this known to me; Don Exemen Perez de Tarazona, who was afterwards lord of Arenós, came to me and asked me to give him that joust, together with Miguel Perez de Isór.⁽⁴³⁾ I told him I marvelled much at him, that a man who was such a sinner as he was, and of so bad a life, could ask to joust; I had my fears that we all should be brought to shame through him. But he begged of me so hard that I assented; he jousted with the Saracen, and the Saracen overthrew him. Pere de Clariana then went against the other Saracen, and at coming together in the joust the Saracen turned and fled, and he pursued him, till he got across the Guadalaviar, and among his own people.

CCLXXIV.

The next morning early, Rais Abulphamalet came out with the Saracen who had jousted, and with ten [388] other knights, well equipped and dressed, with good horses and good new saddles, fit to go into any court as well-appointed men. I had my house well decked out to receive him. On entering, he would not kiss my hand, but prostrated himself and embraced me;⁽⁴⁴⁾ then he seated himself before me,

and saluted me on behalf of Zaen, King of Valencia. He said that he had not before seen me, and was very glad to do so. I told him I prayed God to prosper him, that I was well pleased that he had come to see me, wherefore I would do him honour and good in such wise that he should have to thank me. He said that was what he expected of me, that I was such that those whom I loved had ever good and honour from me. I invited him to eat; he replied that he thanked me much for the invitation, but that he would not eat out of the city, that it was forbidden him by his lord; but he held himself as honoured by an invitation from me. I told him that if he would not take dinner there, I would send it into the town to him; he said that he thanked me much more, that at another time he would come when he could take it better, but then he would not for he really could not. Then I said that if he wished I would send away every one, and he could speak in secret with me. He said that so he wished, that he would not speak to me, except [389] before one or two only in whom I put much trust.⁽⁴⁵⁾ I made every one go away, except myself, him, and the interpreter. Then I asked him what he wished to say.

CCLXXV.

He said that Zaen marvelled much at me that I was so enraged against him that I had made my armies and my power come against his land and his power; he did not think he had done anything against me that he should receive so much harm from me. To that I answered and told him, that yes, he had; when I went to the conquest of Mallorca he came to make a raid in my land, going as far as Tortosa and Amposta; what harm he could do there against men and cattle he certainly did do; he also attacked Ulldecona, which is in my kingdom. And that yet in another thing he had wronged me; I sent him once a message that I wished to have peace and truce with him, and as during my childhood I was wont to have and take the fifths of Valencia and Murcia, he was told to make good what they of Valencia had failed to pay; I made demand on him of a hundred thousand besants, sending to him as messenger Don Pedro Sanz, my notary; and he, despising my message and my love, only [390] offered me fifty thousand besants. Whereupon I discharged myself of his love, and decided to come against him, since he had preferred fifty thousand besants to my love.⁽⁴⁶⁾

CCLXXVI.

Thereupon the Rais answered and said: He did not think that I had been wronged in that, for at the time I was entitled to and received the fifths of Valencia and Murcia, Zait Abuzeit was the king. "Things have since come to what God willed; but for what there now is between us and you, let us take counsel, and let it be well settled for your honour, for such is the wish of Zaen." I answered that he spoke well, and that men had to consult what to do with things in actual sight, not with things past. He said that he wished to know from me what I intended doing in these affairs that God had ordained should come upon them; wherefore he prayed me much that I should discover what my wish was. If I wished his lord to give me according to the means he had, he would give. But I ought to know well what loss in men the city of Valencia had suffered through our power ever since the building of the fortifications at the Puig, and how I had laid waste the corn lands and the garden of Valencia, and done the same harm in other places of the kingdom, in the best of them. To [391] that I replied that I thought it fit for the Queen to be there, and no one else in the world to know but ourselves and she, and he who spoke those words as an interpreter. He said there were two things he gave me great thanks for; one was that I would bring no one but the Queen into the conference, and that no one besides should be concerned in it; the other, because it pleased him well that I should keep the matter secret. It was better so for them and for me, for he knew well that I had to guard myself against many who did not wish my advantage or profit in that, nor in other things.

CCLXXVII.

I accordingly sent for the Queen, and when she came sent away all the women who came with her and all the rest. She alone remained with me, and I repeated to her the words that had passed between Rais

Abnalmalet and me, as above written. Then I told him that I would say more to him in the Queen's presence than apart, and this was the answer: "I have reached this place where I now am encamped; God has conducted me in all undertakings up to this day, and I have succeeded in them all. Since I am here, it is my intent and my resolution, never to depart thence till I get Valencia. If the King wishes to avert the great mischief there will be at the capture of a city [392] like Valencia - so many Saracens, men, women, and children, who may then die or lose all they have - it will please me well." I said moreover that for their good and profit I would take them under my protection, and would escort them, with all they could carry, for I should grieve at their death. If I could get the place by their willingness to surrender it, I would rather have it so than in the other wise, by force; "For the greater part of the army (said I) wishes for the sack of the town, and I will not have it so for the pity I have of you. This is my wish, and nothing else will I do, unless you positively force me to do you hurt." He, the Rais, then said: "Those words are very weighty (*cares*); I cannot further confer with you without consulting my lord and uncle, Zaen." I saw that he spoke reason, and told him to do so in good speed. I invited him again to eat, but he declined.

CCLXXVIII.

On the third day the Rais sent me word that if I would give him an escort he would come out to me. I sent one of my barons to him, and he came immediately. He told me that the King of Valencia, Zaen, had considered the thing, and that he knew that the town could not hold out in the end; wherefore, that he might not cause the Valencians to [393] bear more ill than they had already borne, he would surrender the city on this condition : that the Saracens, men and women, might take away all their effects; that they should not be searched, nor should any outrage be done to them, and they all, himself and they, should go under escort to Cullera. Since it was the will of God that I should have the city, he had to will it so. On that I said that I would consult the Queen, who alone was in the secret. He said that he thought that was good, and he went out of the house, where I and the Queen remained. I then asked her what she thought of Zaen's proposal. She said, that if it seemed right to me to take those terms, she thought it right also; for Valencia was not a thing that a man who could have, should risk it from one day to another. I felt that she gave me good advice, and I told her that I agreed with what she said, but I would add what I thought a very good reason for accepting Zaen's terms, namely, that should the town be taken by force, it would go hard for me if a wrangling (*baralla*) over it arose in the army. Not for base lucre nor for apparel of any sort⁽⁴⁷⁾ ought I to put off what my ancestors and myself had so long desired to take and have; and even yet, if I were wounded or fell ill before the town [394] could be taken by force, the whole thing might still be lost. Wherefore, so good a work as that should not be put to risk, and one should follow it up well, and end it.

CCLXXIX.

After saying that, I sent for Rais Abnalmalet,⁽⁴⁸⁾ and answered him in this wise: - "Rais, you know well that I have made a great outlay in this business of mine; yet notwithstanding the outlay that I and my people have made and the ills we have suffered, for all that it shall not be but that I will agree to your terms, and have you escorted to Cullera, with all the goods that the Saracens, men and women, may be able to carry. For love of the King and of you, who have come here, will I do your people that grace, that they may go safely and securely with their apparel and with what they can carry, and wish to carry."

CCLXXX.

When the Rays heard that, he was content; and he said he gave me great thanks, though their loss was to be great; withal he thanked me much for the grace I did them. After a time, I asked him on what day it should be. He said they [395] needed ten days for clearing out. I told him that he asked too much, that the army was growing weary of the delay, for nothing was being done, and it was not for their good nor

for mine. And so after long discourse we agreed that on the fifth day they would surrender the town, and would begin to depart.

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

CCLXXXI.

When that was done, and I had eaten, drunk, and taken sleep in a pavilion beside my quarters, I sent for the Archbishop [of Tarragona], for the bishops and the barons, as well as for the Archbishop of Narbonne, who was there in the camp. When all were present, I told them how Our Lord had done me many favours, and among others had now done me one for which I and they ought to give Him great thanks. As they had a good share in that great gain of mine, I would make them know, that they all might rejoice in it, that Valencia was [396] ours at last. When I had said that, Don Nuño, Don Exemen de Urrea, Don Pedro, Fernandez de Açagra, and Don Pedro Cornell, lost colour, as if some one had stabbed them to the heart; all murmured except the Archbishop and some of the bishops, who said that they thanked Our Lord for giving me that gain, and that grace; not one of the others thanked God for it, or took it well. Then Don Nuño and Don Pedro Fernandez de Açagra asked how it was done, and in what wise? I said that I had engaged for the safety of the King of Valencia and of the Saracens, all those living in the town, men and women, and for escorting them to Cullera and Denia; and that they were to surrender the town on the fifth day from that. All said that since I had done it, they approved of it. And the Archbishop of Narbonne added: "This is the work of God, and I do not believe but that of three things⁽⁴⁹⁾ one must be; either you have done service to God, or you are now serving Him in this, or you will serve Him hereafter." And En Ramon Berenguer said: "We ought to give God great thanks for the love He has shown you, and since that which you and your ancestors had desired is now fulfilled through you, we ought to be very thankful to Our Lord." [397]

CCLXXXII.

Next day, at vespers, I sent to tell the King and the Rays Abulhamalet that, in order that the Christians might know that Valencia was ours, and might do nothing against it, they should hoist my standard on the tower, which now is that called of the Temple; they said they were content, and I went on the Rambla,⁽⁵⁰⁾ between the camp and the tower. When I saw my standard upon the tower I dismounted, turned myself towards the east, and wept with my eyes, kissing the ground, for the great mercy that had been done to me.

CCLXXXIII.

Meantime the Saracens busied themselves about departing within the five days I had agreed on with them, so that on the third day they were all ready to quit; and I myself, with knights and armed men about me, brought them all out into the fields between Ruçafa and the town. I had, however, to put some of my own men to death because of their attempting to take goods from the Saracens, and carry off some women and children. So it was, that though the people who came out of Valencia were so numerous - there being between [398] men and women well fifty thousand - by the grace of God they did not lose between them one thousand sols, so well did I escort, and have them escorted, as far as Cullera.⁽⁵¹⁾

CCLXXXIV.

When that was done I made my entrance into the city, and on the third day began the division of the houses among the Archbishop of Narbonne, the bishops, and the barons who were with me, as well as

the knights who were entitled to heritages in the district. I also gave shares to the corporations of the cities [of Aragon and Catalonia], according to the number of men-at-arms each had there.

CCLXXXV.

At the end of three weeks I appointed partitioners to divide the lands of the district of Valencia. I made the yoke, "jouvada,"⁽⁵²⁾ to be of six "cafiçades." I had the whole land of the district measured, and the grants I had made carefully examined. When this was done, I found that, in consequence of the grants made to some of the men, the charters came [399] to more "jouvadas" than the land itself. Many men there were who had asked for a small portion of land, and I found afterwards that, through their cheating, it was twice or three times as much as they ought to have had. As there was not enough land for the grants, I took away from those who had too much, and redistributed it, so that all had some, as was fitting.

CCLXXXVI.

So was the land of Valencia divided; but as the division would have been too great a work for me to do, I had appointed Don Assalit de Gudar and Don Exemen Perez de Tarazona, then my steward (*reboster major*) in the kingdom of Aragon, as partitioners. The bishops and barons then came to me and said : "We marvel much that the lands of so honourable a city as this is, the head of all the kingdom of Valencia, you should give to be divided by Don Assalit and Don Exemen Perez; though they may be good men and learned in law, it is not for them to make such a division. You should rather set to it the most honourable men you have here; and we pray and counsel you that you do so, for all people talk already of it, and say that you do not direct this matter well." I said: "Who do you think then that I should set to do it?" They said:

[400] "We hold it good, and counsel you that you set to do it two bishops and two barons; just as the place is honourable, ought you to put honourable men in it." I said: "Tell me, that I may better answer you, who you wish me to appoint, and I will consider it." They said they thought it should be the Bishop of Barcelona, En Berenguer, the Bishop of Huesca, En Vidal de Çavalles, En Pedro Fernandez de Açagra, and En Exemen de Urrea. I said: "I will consider of it, and will give you an answer."

CCLXXXVII.

Thereupon I sent for Don Assalit de Gudar, and Don Exemen Perez de Tarazona, and said to them: "Hear what the bishops and barons say, that I am to take out of your hands the division of the property (*hereditaments*), and put it into those of the Bishop of Barcelona, the Bishop of Huesca, Pedro Fernandez de Açagra, and Exemen de Urrea." They answered: "We knew that they meant to say that to you, but we pray you not to put us out of it; it would be a shame to us." I said to them: "It seems to me that you are not of good judgment in this matter, for if they take up the business I am sure to overthrow them at their very beginning." They asked in what wise, and I answered: "In this: I [401] will do as they desire. I know that there is not land enough for the grants already made, and they will have to give back their charge because of their not knowing how to do the thing." They again said: "We pray you not to take the charge from us; it would bring shame on us;" and I replied, "Leave it to me; in the end I will save you both from shame and reproach." They said, "It must then be as you wish." I accordingly sent for the bishops and barons to come, that I might give them an answer, as I had promised.

END OF VOL. I.

Notes

1. "E dixerem nos que parlarien ab la Aljama, e que endreçarian com nos poguesem hauer aquell lloch."
2. *Jouvada*, from the Latin *jugum*, in Spanish *yugada* is the extent of ground which a yoke or pair of oxen can plough in one day.
3. "E que totes a questes jouvades serien de les *alquebes*, ço son de aquells qui havien desamparat lo llogar qui sen eren fuyts." *Alquebe* comes from (*Arabic letters in book*), the absentee, or emigrant. In the Spanish version the word is printed *Alquebers*, which has no meaning at all.
4. "E que donassem a aquels dos sengles rocins qui anassen en compte de cauallers."
5. "Qui no dona ço que dol, no ha ço que vol."
6. The text reads "grua," which is a crane, in Spanish *grulla*; but I should think that the "garza," or heron, is meant.
7. "E enviam los a dir que per sterna de Almenara menjassen la grua, e que nos lals enviavem tota viva, per ço car sabiem lur costum, que nola volien morta." Mohammedans, as is well known, do not eat beef, mutton, or game, unless the jugular vein is cut.
8. The word used is *Mesquita*, from the Arabic (*Arabic letters in book*), a place of worship.
9. "Era cavalier e conexia be que a nos nos poria defendre."
10. "E nos exirlos hiem a una torra, qui es Forçada (*sic*) hon se parten (?) lo terme Dalmenara e de Vxo."
11. Perhaps this means, "which is *now* called Forçada, or of the fork - and was called Mancofa in the time of the Moors."
12. "Al Figueral qui es sobre Mancofa." Elsewhere *Mancopha* and *Mencofa*.
13. The word used is *Aljames*, in Spanish *aljamas*, the plural of *aljama*, (*Arabic letters in book*), meeting, congregation.
14. The editions of 1515 and 1557 say more explicitly, "till they had dined and were merry," &c.
15. "Que no voliem parlar ab ells tro que fossem escalfats del menjar e del vi." See above, p. 360, note 3. It would appear from these two passages that the Valencian Moors were not so averse to wine as their other Mohammedan brethren in the Peninsula.
16. *Alcayt*, in Spanish *alcaide*, from the Arabic (*Arabic letters in book*).
17. Or *Bulla*.
18. Now *Alcaniz*. A commandary belonging to the Order of Calatrava.
19. "E passam un pas que nos haviem a la marjal e anam nos en riba mar tro al Grau." *Marjal*, a fen, a low-lying marshy ground. The word is Arabic, and derived from (*Arabic letters in book*), *merj*, a field, pasture-ground, &c. No doubt the low grounds round the Albufera or lake, (*Arabic letters in book*), are here meant.
20. E passam alli a Guadalaviar, *i.e.*, the white river, (*Arabic letters in book*), for such is the meaning of that name : the *dh* of *Wad-al-abyadh* having been converted by euphony into *r*.
21. (*Arabic letters in book*), *Rusafah* or *Risafah*, "a pavement, a floor paved with bricks," gave its name

to a palace in Cordoba (La Rizafa), as well as to a suburb in Valencia. The Spanish word *arrecife*, a paved road, comes from the same Arabic root.

22. The word translated by "water-courses" is *asequies*, from the Arabic (*Arabic letters in book*), "rivus quo rigatur terra."

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

24. The right name of this bishop was Pierre Amyell.

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

26. *Xerea* is again an Arabic word, meaning a way (*via*), and also the law prescribed by God, (*Arabic letters in book*), At Granada there was also a gateway so called, Babo-x-xarea, or "Puerta de la Justicia."

27. In Arabic Bab-el-Khanah, (*Arabic letters in book*), the gate of the barbican.

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

29. Also written Ciyla, one league from Valencia on the road to Xàtiva.

30. Vengueren a nos xii. galees e vi. *agzaures* del Rey de Tunis, sus entre prim son et mija nuyt. If *agzaures* is, as I believe, a misprint for *at-zaures*, or *az-zaires*, it may be a corrupt form of (*Arabic letters in book*), and with the article (*Arabic letters in book*), *Azzabra*, *i.e.*, a small vessel called by the Castilians *zabra*.

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

32. "Et quant vench a la nuyt faerem be cent *alimares* de foch en les galees," thus in the original text, but I suspect that *alimares* is a misprint for *almenares*, from (*Arabic letters in book*), locus lucis, signum.

33. 2 Algazara is an Arabic word (*Arabic letters in book*).

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

35. See above, p. 375.

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

37. Light silk stuff.

38. "La torra que es a la part de la Boatella, en la carrera de Sanct Vicent."

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

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

41. Rais, in Spanish *arraez*, means a chief, (*Arabic letters in book*), but it is not so easy to guess what is meant by *Abulphamalet* or *Abnalmalet*, as in the edition of 1557. If the former reading be accepted, the prefix *Abu*, (*Arabic letters in book*), indicates the father of Alfamalet (?); if *Abn*, the meaning undoubtedly is "the son of Alfamalet." Supposing, however, the last letter to be a *c* instead of a *t*, we

would have (*Arabic letters in book*), Abnalmalec or Ibn Malec, a very common name among Arabs and Moors.

42. Written Abnalmalet. See above, p. 386, *note*.

43. Periç Disor.

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

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

46. "E sobra aço desexim nos de sa amor, e haguem a venir contra ell."

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

48. Here, as in many other places, the name of the Rais is written Abualmalot, and Zaen is for Çaen. See p. 386, *note*.

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

50. Rambla, properly "the sands"; in Arabic, (*Arabic letters in book*); the word is still used in Catalonian towns for the public promenade.

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

52. "Jouvada," in Spanish "yugada," from "yugo" (yoke), is the extent of ground which a pair of oxen can plough in twenty-four hours. "Cafizada," from *cahiz*, a nominal measure of about six English bushels, that which requires that amount of grain as seed.