

Ramon Muntaner
Chronicle

translated by

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Prologue

In which are recounted the favours God bestowed on the author and bestows on all those who love Him truly.

In the name of Our Lord the true God Jesus Christ, and His blessed Mother, Our Lady Saint Mary, and of all His blessed saints, Amen. It is the duty of everyone to give thanks to God and to His blessed Mother for His favour and also not to keep it hidden, but rather to manifest it, so that every man take good example by it and endeavour to act and speak well. For, surely, everyone must hold it to be the truth that, to him who acts, thinks and speaks well, God gives good guerdon, and if a man does the contrary, then the contrary happens to him, if he does not amend his ways, so that he turn the evil as well as he can into good; for nothing can be hidden from God. And a saying pleases me, used much in the kingdom of Sicily, which is said when a man is striving with another: *Or layxa anda a fide que Deus te vide*. And so everyone will act wisely who lives in the faith that God sees him, for nothing can be hidden from God.

And therefore it is right that, amongst the rest of the men in the world, I, Ramon Muntaner, native of the town of Peralada and citizen of Valencia, give great thanks to Our Lord the true God and to his blessed Mother, Our Lady Saint Mary, and to all the Heavenly Court, for the favour and grace He has shown me and for my escape from many perils I have been in. Such as thirty-two battles on sea and on land in which I have been, as well as in many prisons and torments inflicted on my person in wars in which I have taken part, and many persecutions I have suffered, as well in my fortune as in other ways, as you will understand from the events of my time. And

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assuredly, I would willingly refrain from recounting these things. But it is meet that I should recount them, and, especially, in order that all should understand that no one could escape from so many perils without the aid and grace of God and of His blessed Mother, Our Lady Saint Mary. I wish you to know that when I left the village of Peralada I was not yet eleven years old, and that when I began this book by God's mercy, my age was sixty years, which said book I began on the fifteenth day of May of the year of the Incarnation of Our Lord God Jesus Christ one thousand three hundred and twenty five.

I

How an apparition came to the bedside of Ramon Muntaner and made him begin this book.

One day, I being at my farm called Xiluella (which is situated in the huerta¹ of Valencia), and asleep in my bed, there came to me in a vision an old notable, dressed in white, who said to me: "Muntaner, get up and prepare to make a book of the great marvels that thou hast seen, which God has worked in the wars in which thou hast been. For it is God's pleasure that by thee they should be manifested. And I wish thee to know that for four reasons more particularly has God prolonged thy life and has brought thee to a prosperous position and will bring thee to a good end. Of these four things the first is, that thou hast held many commands, as well on the sea as on land, in which thou mightest have done more wrong than thou didst. The second is that thou hast never wished to return evil for evil to anyone who was in thy power; rather, many men of great importance came into thy power, who had done thee much injury and who thought to die when they came into thy hands, and thou, then, gavest thanks to God for the favour done to thee, and when they thought themselves most

¹The irrigated plain in the neighbourhood of a town, laid out in gardens, orchards and fields.

certain to die and to be lost, thou didst surrender them to Our Lord and true God, and didst deliver them from thy prison and didst send them to their country, safe and sound, clothed and apparelled as was fitting for each one. The third reason is that it is God's pleasure that thou shouldst recount these adventures and marvels, for there is not another alive to-day in the world who could relate them as truly. And the fourth, that whoever is King of Aragon should endeavour to act and speak well when he hears the favours God has shown in those events that thou wilt relate to them and to their people; and that they should believe that they will always go from well to better whilst they employ and spend their time in truth and rectitude. And that they should see and know that Our Lord always helps the righteous and that him who wages war and walks in uprightness, God exalts, and gives him victory and makes him, with few followers, destroy many who walk in pride and wickedness and trust more in their own power than in the power of God. And so, for this reason, arise and begin thy book and thy history in the best way God has granted thee."

And I, when I had heard this, awoke and expected to find the said notable, but found no one, and I made the sign of the Cross on my forehead and let some days pass without wishing to make any beginning of this. But, on another day, in the same place, I saw in a vision the said notable, who said to me: "Oh, Son, what art thou doing? Why despisest thou my command? Arise and do what I bid thee and know that if thou doest it, thou and thy children and all thy relations and friends will deserve well of God for the trouble and labour thou wilt have, and besides, thou wilt deserve well of all the lords who have issued and will issue from the House of Aragon." And he made the sign of the Cross over me and blessed me and my wife and children and went away.

And I at once began this book and pray all who hear it to believe me (for, assuredly, all is truth which they will hear) and to doubt nothing, and every time they hear of great battles and feats of arms, let them be persuaded that all victories depend solely on the might and will of God and not on the might and will of men. And let all know that I do not think, nor ever could think, that the Company of Catalans, which has continued so long in Romania, would have continued there so long but for two

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things, which the Catalans have always had and have still, namely: firstly, that, whatever victory they gain, they never attribute to their own worth, but solely to the power and might of God; and secondly, that they always wish justice to be maintained amongst them. And these two things they all hold to, from the smallest to the greatest.

And so, for the love of God, you, Lords, who shall hear this book, imbue your hearts especially with those two things, and, as occasion arises, put them into practice and God will dispose your affairs for the best. For, he who ponders the power of God and our own, will easily understand that there is no other but God and His power; therefore this book is made especially in honour of God and His blessed Mother and of the House of Aragon.

II

In which the author claims the attention of his readers because he propounds the matter of which he will have to speak in this book, namely of the doings and prowess of the House of Aragon.

And therefore I shall begin with the favour God did to the Most High Lord En² Jaime, by the grace of God King of Aragon, who was the son of the Most High Lord King En Pedro, King of Aragon and of the Most High Lady Doña Maria of Montpellier, who was a very virtuous lady, worthy before God and the world, and was of the highest lineage of the world, she and her descendants being issued from the House of the Emperor of Rome.³ And I begin with the said Lord King, En Jaime, because I saw him, I being still very young and the said Lord King being in the town of

²'En' was the Catalan equivalent of the Castilian 'Don'; the feminine was 'Na,' or 'N' if before a vowel; in that case it was joined to the word, i.e., 'Nisabel,' instead of 'Na Isabel.' The same contraction was made in the case of masculine names beginning with a vowel; thus 'En Alfonso' was 'Nanfos.'

³Maria, his mother, was the granddaughter of Emmanuel Comnenos, Emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire.

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Peralada, where I was born, and where he lodged in the house of my father, En Juan Muntaner, which was one of the largest houses of that place and stood at the top of the plaza. And I recount these things in order that it should be known that I saw the Lord King and that I can tell what I saw of him and what I had part in, for I do not wish to meddle but with what was done in my time.

And first I shall speak of him and of the doings of the Most High Lord En Pedro, by the grace of God King of Aragon, his eldest son, and of the Most High Lord En Jaime King of Mallorca, likewise son of the said Lord King. And afterwards of the Most High Lord King En Alfonso, son of the Most High Lord King En Pedro; and afterwards of the Most High Lord King En Jaime, son of the said Lord King En Pedro; and of the Most High Lord Fadrique, son of the said Lord King En Pedro; and of the Most High Lord Infante En Pedro, their brother. And afterwards of the Most High Lord Infante En Alfonso, firstborn of the aforementioned Lord King En Jaime; and of the Lord Infante En Pedro, son of the said Lord King En Jaime; and of the Lord Infante En Ramon Berenguer, son of the said Lord King En Jaime. And afterwards of the Lord Infante En Jaime, firstborn son of the Lord King of Mallorca; and afterwards of the Lord Infante En Sancho, son of the said Lord King of Mallorca; and of the Lord Infante En Ferrando, son of the said Lord King of Mallorca; and of the Lord Infante En Felipe, son of the said Lord King of Mallorca. And also of the Lord Infante En Jaime, son of the Lord Infante En Ferrando of Mallorca.

And when I shall have spoken of all these lords, and of the favours God has bestowed on them and on their subjects, everyone will be able to see that God has showered on them and their peoples His full grace, and if it please Him, He will hereafter do the same for all who are descendants of them and of their vassals. Yet ought it always to be their pleasure to remember the might of God and not to trust too much to their own valour, nor to their own power and worth, but rather leave all things in the hand of God.

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III

How the notables and consuls of Montpellier were ever watchful to prevent harm coming to Montpellier; and how the birth of the Lord En Jaime came about through a miracle and specially by the act of God.

It can be clearly understood that the grace of God is and must be with all those who are descendants of the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon, son of the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon and of the Most High Lady Doña Maria of Montpellier, as his birth came about through a special miracle of God and by His act. And in order that all should know it who, hereafter, will hear this book, I will relate it.

It is the truth that the said Lord King En Pedro took for his wife and queen the said Lady Maria of Montpellier, for the sake of her high descent and of her worth, and because he would thus acquire Montpellier and the barony which she held in freehold. But as time went on, the said Lord King En Pedro, who was young, became enamoured of other gentlewomen, and it followed that he did not return to the said lady Doña Maria of Montpellier, but sometimes came to Montpellier without going near her, which much afflicted and displeased all their subjects and especially the notables of Montpellier. It happened one day that the said Lord King came to Montpellier and, being there, became enamoured of a gentlewoman of Montpellier and for her held tourneys and knightly exercises, and did so much that he made his love evident to all. And the consuls and notables of Montpellier who knew this, sent for a knight who was an intimate of the said Lord King in such matters, and said to him, that if he would do what they told him, they would make him for ever rich and prosperous. And he told them to say what they wished, and there was nothing in the world he would not do for their sakes, except anything against his faith. And they pledged each other to secrecy in this cause. "Do you know," said they to the knight, "what we wish to say to you? The case is this: As you know, our Lady the Queen is one of the worthiest and most pious and virtuous ladies in the world; and you know that the Lord King does not return to her, to the great injury and hurt of the whole dominion. And the said Lady Queen

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goes about like a virtuous lady and does not let it appear that it is a grief to her. But for us it is an injury; for if the said Lord King should die and there should be no heir, it would be a great hurt and disgrace for all his country, and especially it would be a great injury for our Lady the Queen, and for Montpellier, for it would have to pass into other hands, and we, on no account, would wish that Montpellier should ever be separated from the Kingdom of Aragon. And so, if you like, you could give us advice."

And the knight answered: "I say to you, my Lords, I will do willingly all that depends upon me, and anything in which I can give advice in what is to the honour and advantage of Montpellier, of my Lord the King and of the Queen, my Lady Doña Maria, and all their people."

"Now, as you speak so well, we tell you that we know that you are in the confidence of the Lord King in the matter of his love for yonder lady, and that you are endeavouring that she should be his. Wherefore we beg you to tell him that you have obtained that she shall be his and she will receive him, all secretly, in her chamber; but that she will, on no account, have any light there, so that she shall be seen by no one. And at this he will have great pleasure. And when he has gone to bed and the court shall have dismissed everyone, you will come to us here, at the consulate of Montpellier and we shall be here, we twelve consuls, and shall have, between knights and other citizens, another twelve of the highest of Montpellier and of the barony. And we shall have here our Lady Doña Maria of Montpellier, the Queen, who will be with us, with twelve ladies of the most honourable of Montpellier, and twelve damsels. And she will go with us to the said Lord King; and there will also come with us two notaries, the best of Montpellier, the clerk of the bishop and two canons and four worthy religious; and each man, and each lady, and each damsel will carry a taper which they will light when our Lady, Doña Maria, shall enter the chamber of the Lord King. And at the door of the said chamber all shall be assembled until it is nearly dawn, when you will open the door of the chamber. And when it is open, we, each with our taper in our hand, will enter into the Lord King's chamber. And there he will wonder, and then we shall tell him all and show that he has by his side my Lady Doña Maria, Queen of Aragon, and that we trust in God and in our Lady Saint

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Mary that in that night such fruit was engendered as will please God and all the world, and his dominion will be provided for, if God so wishes."

IV

Recounts the answer the knight made to the Consuls of Montpellier, and the prayers and orisons that were said; and how they made an agreement with the Queen concerning their intentions.

And when the knight heard and understood their object, which was virtuous and just, he said that he was ready; that he would do all that they had said and that he would not be held back by the fear of losing the love of the Lord King, nor even his own life; and that he trusted in our Lord, the true God, that, as they had planned and meditated this action, that so it would come to a happy issue, and that they might be sure of that. "But yet my Lords," said the knight, "as you have planned so well, I beg you will do something more for my sake." And they answered very kindly and said: "We are prepared to do all you will advise us." "Then, my Lords, in honour of God and of our Lady Saint Mary of Vallvert, to-day being Saturday, when you have begun to confer on these matters, I beg and advise that, on Monday, in honour of our Lady Saint Mary all priests and men in orders that there are in Montpellier begin to say masses of our Lady Saint Mary, and that this be continued for seven days, in honour of the Seven Joys that she had in her Beloved Son; and that it may please her that God give us all joy and content of this agreement, and give it issue by which the Kingdom of Aragon and the counties of Barcelona and of Urgel and of Montpellier and all the other territories be well provided with a good Lord." And so he would ordain that, on the following Sunday, at the hour of vespers, all should be done as they had planned, and likewise, they should have masses sung of Our Lady Saint Mary of the Tables and our Lady Saint Mary of Vallvert. And to this all agreed.

And, besides they ordained that on the said Sunday, when this was being done, all the inhabitants of Montpellier should go to the churches and watch there, praying, whilst the Queen was with the Lord King, and

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that, on Saturday, all should fast on bread and water. And thus it was ordained and disposed.

And upon this they, all together, as they were assembled in council, went to my Lady Doña Maria of Montpellier, Queen of Aragon, and told her all they had disposed and ordained. And the said Lady Doña Maria said to them that they were her natural subjects and that she was certain that throughout all the world it was said that the wisest council of the world was that of Montpellier, and that, therefore, the world would declare that she must be satisfied with their advice, and that she held their coming to her to be like the salutation of our Lady Saint Mary by the angel Gabriel, and that as, through that salutation, the salvation of the human race had been accomplished, so, also, their device and agreement would come to a happy issue if it pleased God and our Lady Saint Mary and all the Heavenly Court, to the honour and profit of the soul and body of the Lord King and hers and those of all their subjects. And thus may it be fulfilled. Amen.

And so they departed in great joy and you may well understand and think that all were praying and fasting that week, and especially the Queen.

V

How it was that the Lord King did not understand wherefore the people prayed and fasted though he knew they did so; and how the matter came to a happy issue, the Lord King recognizing with whom he had rested.

Now we might say how could it be that the Lord King knew this not, when all prayed so openly for this event and everyone had been ordered to fast? I answer and say that, throughout all the territory of the said Lord King, there was a command that orisons should be said every day, specially praying to God to establish peace and love between the said Lord King and the Lady Queen; and to give them such offspring as would be pleasing to Him and be for the good of the kingdom; especially every time the Lord King went to Montpellier, there was a splendid procession made

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for this. And when they told him of it, he said "They do well; it will be as God pleases." And these fitting words the Lord King spoke, and other good words were spoken about it by the Queen and her people. Wherefore our Lord and true God brought it to a good issue when it pleased Him. And you shall hear further on why the Lord King thought nought about the prayers that were being said, just as no one knew either what was being disposed, except those who had been present at the council. And so the orisons and masses and other holy offices went on for seven days that week; and meanwhile the knight acted in the matter and brought it to an issue, such as you have heard was planned. So that on Sunday night, when everybody in the palace had lain down to rest, the said twenty-four notables and abbots and priors and the bishop's clerks, and religious, and the twelve ladies and the twelve damsels, with tapers in their hands, entered the palace, and the two notaries likewise, and all together they came to the door of the chamber of the Lord King, and into it entered my Lady the Queen, and they remained outside kneeling in prayer all together.

And the King and the Queen rested together, and the Lord King believed he had at his side the lady of whom he was enamoured. And so, that night, all the churches of Montpellier remained open and all the people in them were praying to God, as has been said before had been ordained. And when it was dawn, all the notables and prelates and religious and ladies, each with their lighted taper in their hand, entered the chamber; and the Lord King was in his bed with the Queen, and wondered, and sprang up at once on the bed and seized his sword. And all knelt down and said weeping: "Lord, deign to look and see who it is lies by your side." And the Queen sat up and the Lord King recognized her; and they told him all they had disposed. And the Lord King said that, as it was so, may it please God to fulfil their intention.

VI

How the Lord King departed from Montpellier and my Lady the Queen bore a son who was called En Jaime, who was, in regular course, crowned King of Aragon and married the daughter of King Don Fernando of Castile and a daughter of the King of Hungary by whom he had three sons.

However, the Lord King rode that day and departed from Montpellier. And the notables of Montpellier retained six knights of those the Lord King loved best, and with them, all together, as they had been when they discussed their plan, disposed that they should not leave the palace nor the Queen, neither they nor their wives who had been present, nor the damsels who likewise had been present, until nine months should be accomplished. And the two notaries likewise who, in the presence of the Lord King had written public letters of the event, writing the same night; and yonder knight also remained with the queen. And so they, all together, remained with the Lady Queen very joyously and their joy was greater still when they saw that it had pleased God that their plan should come to a happy issue; that the Queen grew bigger. And at the end of nine months, [1208] according to nature, she gave birth to a beautiful and fine son, who was born for the good of Christians, and more particularly for the good of his peoples, for never was lord born to whom God showed greater or more signal favour. And with great rejoicing and satisfaction they baptised him in the church of Our Lady Saint Mary of the Tables in Montpellier, and they gave him, by the grace of God, the name of En Jaime, and he reigned many years and obtained great victories and gave great increase to the Catholic Faith and especially to all his vassals and subjects.

And the said Infante En Jaime grew and improved more in one year than others do in two. And it was not long before the good king, his father, died,⁴ and he was crowned King of Aragon and count of Barcelona and Urgel and Lord of Montpellier [1213]. And he had to wife the daughter of

⁴In the Battle of Muret in the year 1213.

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King En Fernando of Castile, by whom he had a son, called En Alfonso, who would have been a lord of great spirit and state if he had lived; but who died before the Lord King his father; wherefore I need speak of him no more. And the Queen, mother of the said Lord Infante En Alfonso, had died a long time before; she was only a short while with the Lord King,⁵ Then the said Lord King took to wife the daughter of the King of Hungary [1235] and by her he had three sons and three daughters. The eldest was called the Infante En Pedro, the other the Infante En Jaime, and the other the Infante En Sancho, who became archbishop of Toledo. And of the daughters, one became Queen of Castile, and the other Queen of France, and the other wife of the Infante En Manuel, brother of the King of Castile.⁶ And each of those two Queens, in the lifetime of the Lord King En Jaime, gave birth to many sons and daughters, as did also the wives of the Infante En Pedro and of the Infante En Jaime, all of whom the said Lord King En Jaime saw in his lifetime.

So, from now onwards, I will turn to our design, to the doings of the said Lord King En Jaime. I say, and it is the truth, that he was king by nature and king by virtue and grace; for you have heard that his birth was a signal act of God and one of the greatest and most manifest miracles that have ever happened. Wherefore every one of the kings who have reigned in Aragon and in Mallorca and in Sicily, and all who shall descend from them hereafter, can reckon that they are in the same degree kings by nature and full of virtue and grace. As God has created them so He exalts them and will exalt them always over all their enemies. Wherefore the Holy

⁵Jaime married Eleanor of Castile in 1221, and repudiated her in 1229. Their son Alfonso was, however, acknowledged as heir. Jaime subjected him to incessant persecution until Alfonso's death in 1260 put an end to the violent dissensions between father and son. In 1235. Jaime married Yolande (Violante) daughter of Andrew, King of Hungary. "Her dowry was to consist of 10,000 silver marks and her rights in France and Namur, but her territorial claims were certainly never made good." (F. D. Swift: James I of Aragon.)

⁶Isabel married Philip III, le Hardi; Violante married Alfonso X. the Learned, of Castile; Constanza married the Infante Manuel. Muntaner does not mention a fourth daughter, Sancha, who became a nun.

Father would confer a great mercy on Christianity if, leaving all the other kings of the world, he allied himself with these and became reconciled and made a treaty with them. If he gave them enough of the money and treasure of Holy Church, they would recover for him the Land beyond sea and would put down all infidels. Thus God's act in causing the said Lord King En Jaime of Aragon to be born, would not be in vain, but rather it would be for His service; and this has been shown from that time until now and will be shown hereafter, if it pleases God. And he toils in vain who wishes to oppose this work of God, for, assuredly, the greater they are who oppose the descendants of that lord, the greater the loss they will suffer, for nothing which opposes what God has created and made can last.

And so, Lords of Aragon and Mallorca and Sicily who are descendants of that virtuous Lord, King En Jaime, whom God by His act and virtue caused to be born, be of good cheer and be all of one mind and one will, and thus you shall be superior to all your enemies and all princes of the world. Let not evil counsellors turn you from Your purpose, for, to desist, would be to go against what God has fashioned. And be content with what God has given you and will give you, and take to heart all you have heard hitherto, for you may well understand that you are all the work of God and God is all truth and mercy and justice towards you.

THE CONQUEST OF MALLORCA

VII

Recounts briefly the great prowess of King En Jaime and how not being twenty years old, he took Mallorca by force of arms.

Now, in order that everyone should know the great favours God bestowed on the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon throughout his life, I wish to tell you a part of them briefly. I do not wish to tell you all in regular order and I abstain therefrom because many books have already been made about his life and his conquests and about how accomplished he was in matters of chivalry, and in planning and in all prowess. But I will tell

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you about it briefly, in order to enter better into the matter of which I wish to speak to you.

As I have told you already, there never was born a king to whom God showed greater favours throughout his life than He did to the Lord King En Jaime, and of these I will tell you a part. Firstly, his birth was a great miracle, as I have told and related to you already; and next, he was acknowledged to be the most handsome prince of the world and the most wise, and the most generous, and the most upright, and one more beloved by all, as well by his subjects as by others, strangers and intimates, than any other king there ever was. As long as the world lasts he will be called the Good King En Jaime of Aragon. Besides, he loved and feared God above all things, and he who loves God, loves also his neighbour and justice and truth and mercy. And with these virtues he was plentifully endowed. Besides he was more accomplished in feats of arms than any other man. And all these qualities I was able to see and ascertain, like all those who saw him and heard about him. Further, God granted him the great favour of having good sons and good daughters and good grandsons and grand-daughters, whom he saw in his lifetime, as I have told you. And besides God did him the grace that, before he was twenty years old, he conquered the kingdom of Mallorca, which he took from the Saracens with much trouble to himself and his followers as well in battles as from lack of provisions, from sickness and other causes, as you can learn in the book that was written about the Conquest of Mallorca. And also, I want you to know that the said conquest was made with more vigour and manly courage than has ever been shown in the taking of any city like Mallorca,⁷ which is of the strongest cities of the world, and surrounded by the best walls. And when the siege had lasted a long time, in cold and heat and lack of provisions, the King ordered the good Count of Ampurias to make a breach through which the city could be invaded. A great piece of the wall came away on the day of Saint Sylvester and Saint Coloma in the year 1228, and, through the place where the aperture was made, the company of the

⁷The present name of the capital, La Palma, dates from the fifteenth century.

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Lord King was amongst the first to enter, his followers forcing their way in, sword in hand; and in the street now called San Miguel the fight was so fierce, it was marvellous to behold. And the Lord King recognized the Saracen king and forced his way to him, and seized him by his beard. And this he did because he had sworn that he would not leave that place until he had seized the Saracen king by the beard. And so he wished to fulfil his vow.⁸

VIII

Why the Lord King En Jaime, being before Mallorca, swore he would not depart thence until he had seized the Saracen king by the beard; and how, Mallorca being taken, Minorca and Ibiza paid tribute to him; and who were the first Christians who peopled Mallorca.

And the Lord King made that vow because the said Saracen king had, by means of catapults, flung Christian captives into the midst of the host; wherefore it pleased our Lord Jesus Christ that the King should avenge them. And after he had taken the city and all the Kingdom had surrendered to him, he had to leave the island of Minorca, which is thirty leagues beyond the island of Mallorca. But the almojarife of Minorca became his man and vassal, and agreed to pay a fixed tribute every year. And he made the same agreement with the island of Ibiza, which is distant sixty leagues from the island of Mallorca. And each of these islands is fertile and beautiful, and each has a circuit of a hundred miles, and each is thickly peopled with Moors of good lineage.

And this the said Lord did because he could not tarry there. The Saracens of the Kingdom of Valencia were overrunning a great portion of his country, so that his people suffered great damage; wherefore it was necessary that he should go to succour them. And for this chiefly did he

⁸"To 'beard' a man was regarded in the Middle Ages as the worst affront; by the Usages of Ramon Berenguer it was punished by the same fine as a blow to the effusion of blood – 20 sols." (Gayangos.)

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leave those two islands and did not, at that time, expel the Saracens; and also, he left them there because he wanted his followers for the peopling of the town of Mallorca and all that island. And so the one population was to be worth less than the other, because so it seemed best to him. Therefore it was that he left the two islands inhabited by Saracens, for he knew he could at any time conquer them. And when he had taken the said town and island, he gave it greater exemptions and privileges than had any other town in the world; wherefore it is to-day one of the noblest cities of the world and one of the richest, entirely inhabited by Catalans, all coming from good and honourable places. Wherefore they have heirs to-day who are the most prosperous and well-nurtured people of any city in the world.

OF THE CONQUEST OF THE KINGDOM OF VALENCIA

IX

How the Lord King En Jaime, after Mallorca had been taken, returned to Catalonia and resolved to make war upon the King of Valencia and how he acquired the city and the kingdom; and at what time Murcia was acquired and conquered.

And when he had conquered and obtained all this, he returned to Catalonia and afterwards to Aragon. And in each of these provinces he held Cortes,⁹ in which he gave to his barons and subjects many rich gifts

⁹Cortes were originally merely an assembly or council of the nobility whose function it was to submit certain cases to the Sovereign, and, on some occasions, to act as judges. When Count Ramon Berenguer I assembled the nobles for the purpose of regulating the legal practice, they already possessed legislative powers and, soon after, as the middle classes acquired importance and the great fiefs of the crown were subdivided, thereby strengthening the royal jurisdiction and diminishing that of private individuals, the Cortes acquired greater power. Popular representation increased, although the councils also sent their representatives who formed, later on, one of the three branches of the Permanent Deputation or 'Generalidad,' with the title of Royal Branch, i.e., composed of vassals of the king, not of a lord. The Cortes of Lerida, in which fealty was sworn to

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and exemptions and privileges, as he had done in Mallorca. But do not think that he sojourned and tarried long in the country; rather, he soon went to Tortosa, on the frontier, and began war [1232] against the Saracen king of Valencia and all the other Saracens of the world, as well by sea as by land, suffering from storms and rain and thunder, hunger, thirst, cold and heat. And he went about conquering towns, castles and fortified villages in the mountains and in the plains, taking them from the Saracens. And this toil lasted so long that, from the time he left Mallorca, until he came to the siege of Valencia and had taken it, ten years had gone by; and so this is certain, that, from the conquest of the city of Mallorca, until that of the city of Valencia, was ten years exactly, neither more nor less. And after he had taken the said city of Valencia, which was on the eve of Saint Michael in the year 1238, and had peopled it with his own followers, he went on conquering and taking all that belonged to the Kingdom of Valencia in the direction of the Kingdom of Murcia. Thus he took Alcira, which is of the strongest towns of the world and a fair and notable town. And then he took the castle of Játiva and the town; that castle is the most regal castle any king has, and the town is fair and large and wealthy and strongly walled round. And then he took the castle of Consentayna, and the towns of Alcoy and Albaida and Penaguila and many other places which it would take long to describe. And so, also, he made truces with many Saracen barons there were in the said kingdom, in order that he might people the places he had taken. But all those with whom he made truces were responsible to him for a fixed annual tribute. And besides, he afterwards took the castle of Cullera which is on the sea shore, and the

Don Jaime as King of Aragon, are the first Catalan-Aragonese Cortes recorded in Spanish history in which a representative form can be discerned, a form preserved for many centuries in the Cortes held sometimes by each state of the confederation in its own capital, sometimes by all jointly at some point near the boundaries, generally at Monzon. In the former case they were called 'Parliament' or 'General Cortes of Aragon,' or Catalonia, &c., and were an assembly met for some special purpose. In the latter case they were called 'General Cortes of the Crown'; they were a genuine assembly of the representatives of all the states under the crown." – Bofarull.

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town and castle of Corbera, and the town of Alfandech with three castles there were there. And then he took Bairen, which is a fine castle, and then Palma, and Villalonga, and Rebollet and Gallinera, and the vale of Logar, and the vale of Xaló, and the vale of Jabea, and Alcalá, and Denia, and Locayba, and Polop, and Carbona, and Guaix, and Berdia, and Calpe, and Godalest, and Confrides, and the castle of Hortgeta and Finestrat and many other castles and towns which are in those parts. Then he took Sariá and Elocau, and Castellnou and the city of Segorbe, and the castle and town of Ejérica and many other places which are in those parts. Then he took Quart, and Manizes and Paterna and Ribarroga, and Vilamarchante, and Cheste, and Benaguazir, and Liria, and Chiva, and Buñol, and Macastre, and Madrona and Xullell, and Viladejora which are seven castles in one valley; and then Novarres and Lombay, and Anguera, and Castalla, and Tibi, and Ibi, and Sexona and Torrestorres, and Albes, which are more than ten castles; and many other places which I do not wish to write down, for the reason I have told you before, that you will find them in the book which has been made of the Conquest. However, before the King had taken the city of Valencia he had already taken many fair villages and towns and castles, as I have told you before, and I will name to you some of these places which are very magnificent, so that everyone of them is worthy of being a city. First he conquered, going from Tortosa towards the sea, Amposta which, at that time, was a splendid place, and the castle of Uldecona and Peñiscola and Orpesa and Castellou and Burriana and Almazora and Chilches and Almenara and the vale of Segó and Murviedro and El Puig. And he likewise conquered, going inland, the vale of Roures and Morella and San Mateo and Cervera and Valltrayguera and La Jana and La Salzadella and Las Coves and Cabanes and Elbalech and Vilafames and the castle of Montornes and Burriol and Nulles and the castle of Uxó and La Vall and Altura and Rio-de-Millás, which are thirty castles marvellously strong; and the castle and town of Onda, where there are as many towers as there are days in the year. And likewise he had conquered

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all I have already told you of and many other castles, which you will find in the Book of the Conquest.¹⁰ And when he had conquered and settled all this, he wished to go and visit the Kingdom of Aragon and Catalonia and the counties of Roussillon, and Cerdagne, and Conflans, which his cousin-german, count En Nuño Sanchez, who had passed with him into Mallorca, had bequeathed to him. And so likewise he went to visit Montpellier, which he took great pleasure in visiting. And in every place he went to, great processions were made and thanks given to Our Lord, the true God who had saved them; and there were dances and games and divers amusements; for everyone endeavoured to do honour to the King and to please him; and he, likewise, dispensed favours to everyone and distributed so many gifts that the heirs of the recipients are still made prosperous by them.

X

How the Moors of the Kingdom of Valencia rebelled with the aid of the Kings of Murcia and Granada; and how the Lord King En Jaime, being in Catalonia, sent his son, the Infante En Pedro, with a company of knights; and Montesa was taken and the Kingdom pacified.

And so the King being thus occupied, the Saracens who were in the Kingdom of Valencia and who had concluded peace and truces with him, thought that, as the said Lord King was far away, they could recover many castles and many places before he could hurry back. Thinking thus, and with the aid and advice of the King of Murcia and of the King of Granada, they rose in the forts and in the castles which they were able to recapture, of which they took many before the Christians had perceived it. And they overran the whole of the country and took many Christians captive and did

¹⁰Bofarull thinks that by the Book of the Conquest, Muntaner perhaps refers to the books of the Repartimiento (division or distribution) which recall William the Conqueror's Domesday Book, and, like it, give minute details. They are kept in the Archives of the Crown of Aragon at Barcelona.

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much damage. And the procurator of the Kingdom and the richs homens¹¹ and the cities and towns and villages sent messages at once to the Lord King and let him know all that was happening. With this he was much displeased and, at once, ordained that the Lord Infante En Pedro, his eldest son, should go to the Kingdom of Valencia, and take with him a Company of knights of Catalonia and Aragon; and he gave him full power in all things, as if it had been himself. And the said Lord Infante En Pedro, being a man of the highest and best spirit of any man ever born or that, I believe, ever will be born, received the said power with great joy and content and took leave of the Lord King, his father, who blessed him and made the sign of the Cross over him and granted him leave.

And he at once went to the Kingdom of Valencia with richs homens and knights and men afoot of Catalonia and Aragon. And when he was in the

¹¹The great barons of Aragon and Catalonia were styled richs homens (in Castilian ricos hombres); they had a special banner and their full title was richs homens de señera. Nine families bore the title of richs homens de natura; these were the descendants of the nobles who ruled the kingdom before a new Prince had been elected after the conquest of Spain by the Moors. Prescott says: "The privileges, both honorary and substantial enjoyed by the ricos hombres were very considerable. They filled the highest posts in the State. They originally appointed judges in their domains for the cognizance of certain civil causes, and over a class of their vassals exercised an unlimited criminal jurisdiction. They were excused from taxation except in specified cases; were exempted from all corporal and capital punishment, nor could they be imprisoned, although their estates might be sequestrated for debt.

"The king distributed among the great barons the territory reconquered from the Moors, in proportions determined by the amount of their respective services.

"The laws conceded certain powers to the aristocracy, of a most dangerous character. They were entitled to defy, and publicly denounce their allegiance to their Sovereign, with the whimsical privilege, in addition, of commending their families and estates to his protection, which he was obliged to accord until they were again reconciled. The mischievous right of private war was repeatedly recognized by statute. It was claimed and exercised in its full extent.

"This remnant of barbarism lingered longer in Aragon than in any other country in Christendom." (W. H. Prescott: History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic. Introduction, section ii.)

city of Valencia he disposed his rich homens and knights and citizens and almugavars¹² and retainers and seamen, and distributed them all where he

¹²"In consequence of the first invasions from Africa, several of the territories of which Spain was then composed became deserted, and the fugitive inhabitants took shelter in the rugged mountains whence they made constant raids on neighbouring nations, or where they were isolated, as in the Muradal. They came down, driven by want, to attack friend or foe. Their places of refuge became notorious fastnesses in which both Christians and Saracens took shelter, formed themselves into tribes and gave their chiefs Arabic titles. They made raids on their own account, without performing any regular military duty for any of the Spanish nationalities. The Crown of Aragon it was who transformed this wandering and savage population, or rather who, by her example, created a new military institution of great utility in her conquests as the almugavars, whilst being soldiers, preserved at the same time the original character of their race, so that they and not the settled inhabitants are properly renowned for their exploits. They were divided into companies of which the captains were called 'al mocaten' or 'almugaden,' and they had other leaders called 'dalil' or 'adaliid,' who were guides knowing the roads and paths, and had power to take decisions concerning raids or incursions, to distribute booty, &c. The almugavar, according to Desclot, was clothed in a sort of loosecoat and breeches made of hides; he wore rough leather sandals and protected his legs with antiparas [half-gaiters for the front of the leg] also made of hides, as was the knapsack or bag in which he carried his daily meal. On his head he wore the 'redicilla' (perhaps the 'rociolo' of the Goths) with which he bound his hair (Moncada says it was made of steel). Attached to his belt was a leather strap from which hung a bag or pouch for his flint and tinder and, with it, a knife or dagger. His hair was long, like that of the barbarians of old, as he never cut it, nor did he ever shave. His weapons consisted of a short spear or lance, easy to throw, and of three or four darts which he carried slung on his shoulder, as reserve ammunition. In attack, the almugavars shouting their war-cry 'Desperta ferres,' struck their spears or lances against stones, producing innumerable sparks in every direction, with a terrifying effect; after which, amidst a general clamour, they threw themselves as in a torrent upon the enemy — 'Mghabbar,' means 'dusty' and 'Muhavir' is the same as the Hebrew 'Muhavar,' which means 'partner,' 'companion' and 'assistant.' Almugavar still occurs as a surname in Catalonia." (Bofarull.) Gayangos says: "Almugavar is an Arabic word ('mughaver' and with the article 'al-mughaver') participle or noun of 'agent' from 'gara'.... From the same root are derived the Spanish words 'algará,' 'algarada,' a foray, and also 'almugavar,' the soldier employed in forays. The name was given to a sort of militia, originally from Catalonia, but which in the course of time spread also to Aragon

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saw they were wanted, and he went towards Játiva and encountered the Moors who were in great numbers by the canal of Alcoy, and he defeated them, sending them all to death and perdition. And then he went to another part of the country and did the same, so that, when he was believed to be in one place, he was in another, and where he could not go on horseback, he went on foot with the almugavars. And so he conducted the war with so much vigour that the Saracens did not know what to do, for where they thought to be most safe, there they were taken and killed, and their enemies made captive all they wanted to and put the fear of death in their hearts, so that they did not know where to go. And they decided to occupy a strong castle, which is distant one league from Játiva and is called Montesa, and from there to do great damage to all the country.

And the Lord Infante learnt their intention from spies he had amongst them, and he let a great number of them collect there. And one morning, before daybreak, he surrounded the castle and the rock with many men afoot and then he sent a message throughout the country, to his richs homens and knights, to come to him at Montesa. And, as he commanded, so it was done and there came to him the host of the city of Valencia and the hosts of all the towns of the Kingdom. And he besieged the said place, Montesa, and held it besieged in such manner and so closely that he took it and it surrendered to him. And after the said place, Montesa, had surrendered, all the places which had risen surrendered also, so that, assuredly, it can well be said that the Lord Infante En Pedro conquered part of the Kingdom of Valencia a second time. And every day the news went to the Lord King, his father, of the bold undertakings and skirmishes

and Navarre and counted in its ranks volunteers of all nations, Christians as well as Mahomedans. It was they who, in the thirteenth century conquered Sicily and part of the Morea. They fought generally on foot, although in Castile at least, some of them were mounted, constituting a sort of light cavalry. Their officers and captains were called 'almocadem' from the Arabic, in Spanish 'almocaden' and 'adelantado.'" (Chronicle of James I, translated by Forster and Gayangos.)

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and feats of chivalry and other enterprises of the said Lord Infante En Pedro against the Moors.

XI

How the Lord King En Jaime married his son the Infante En Pedro to the Queen Doña Costanza, daughter of King Manfred of Sicily, and the Infante En Jaime to Esclaramunda, daughter of the Count of Foix, and made the Infante En Sancho Archbishop of Toledo.

And the King was very pleased and content. Nevertheless, as soon as he could, he went to the Kingdom of Valencia, and more particularly because he had received the message that King Don Alfonso of Castile,¹³ who was his son-in-law, wished to see him and that he would bring to Valencia the Queen (the Lord King En Jaime's daughter) and his children, to please the said Lord King En Jaime whom he looked upon as a father. So he came to Valencia and found there the Lord Infante En Pedro, who had destroyed all the Moors who had rebelled; and he was greatly pleased and

¹³Alfonso X, El Sabio, thoroughly deserved his name of 'The Learned'; he was legislator, philosopher, historian, mathematician, astronomer and poet. His *Fuero Real de España*, and the celebrated *Siete Partidas* are important legal works; he is supposed to have been the philosopher who wrote *El Tesoro*; he wrote the *Crónica general de España*, and compiled the astronomical tables called after him the *Alfonsine Tables*. He is known as a poet by his *Cantigas* and his *Querellas*. As king, warrior and father he was most unfortunate. His father, Ferdinand III. the Saint, left him a splendid inheritance, but Alfonso's life was spent in wars – against the Moors, against Portugal, Navarre, against rebellious, powerful vassals. His brother Enrique joined the rebels, and the chief rebel of all was his own son, Don Sancho. Discontent was general, the country impoverished by the constant wars of this and the previous reign. One of Alfonso's first acts had been the depreciation of the coinage; he spent much money on claims to Guienne and to Swabia, and on his election as Emperor of Germany which never became effective. His claim to Guienne was settled by his acceding to Henry III's proposal that he should make it over to his daughter, Eleanor, who became the wife of Henry's son, Edward I. Alfonso died in 1284, and was succeeded, against the dispositions of his will, by his son, Sancho.

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satisfied with him and all his doings. And, finally, he arranged to marry him, for, from many parts, very honourable offers of marriage came to him, of daughters of emperors and kings. And, at last, he agreed to give him the daughter of King Manfred, who was King of Sicily and of the Principality and of all Calabria, and of the province of Taranto, and of that of Otranto, and of Apulia, and of the Abruzzi and all that country as far as the city of Ascoli which is in the March of Ancona; and his sea coast extended from the Roman shore to San Fabian, which is the sea of the city of Ascoli and of Fermo. And King Manfred was the son of the Emperor Frederick who was the greatest lord in the world and of the most illustrious blood.

And the said King Manfred lived more magnificently than any other lord in the world, and with greater doings, and with greater expenditure; so that this marriage pleased the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon and the Lord Infante En Pedro, his son, more than any other in the world. He selected worthy and honourable messengers who went to conclude the matter with King Manfred's messengers who had come for that purpose. And when they came to Naples they concluded their business with King Manfred; and with ten well-equipped galleys they brought away the damsel, who was fourteen years old and the most beautiful creature and the most discreet and virtuous that lived at that time. And, very joyously and very gaily, with a great company of richs homens and knights and citizens and prelates and ladies and damsels, they brought her to Catalonia to the Lord Infante and he took her for his wife according to the law, as Holy Church commands.¹⁴ And the good king his father, and all his brothers and all the barons of Aragon and of Catalonia were present at his wedding [1262]. And I could tell you the great doings at these nuptials, but they who would know them, let them go to the book that was made about the said Lord Infante En Pedro after he was king, and there they will find the noble doings and the great gifts that were made at these nuptials, and other long accounts which I refrain from writing because they are written

¹⁴The marriage of Pedro III and Constance, daughter of Manfred of Hohenstaufen, and Beatrice (daughter of Amadeo, count of Savoy) was celebrated at Montpellier on the 13th July, 1262.

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already.¹⁵ And by this damsel, who was called Queen Costanza, the Lord Infante En Pedro had many children of whom four sons and two damsels survived the said Lady Queen and their father; namely, the Infante En Alfonso and the Infante En Jaime and the Infante En Fadrique and the Infante En Pedro. And all these lords became the wisest princes of the world and the most accomplished in feats of arms and in all feats, as you will see further on, when it is time and place for me to speak of them. And of the damsels, as I have told you before, one became Queen of Portugal, and the other became the wife of King Robert,¹⁶ King of Jerusalem. And so, this marriage concluded, the Lord King En Jaime married his other son, called the Infante En Jaime, and gave him to wife the daughter of the count of Foix who is the most illustrious baron and the richest there is in Languedoc. The said daughter of the count of Foix was called my Lady Esclaramunda, and she was one of the most discreet and modest ladies of the world, and a lady of the most virtuous life there ever was. And at these nuptials also there were great and splendid doings by the barons of Catalonia and of Aragon and France and Gascony and all Languedoc. And by this lady the said Lord Infante En Jaime had many sons and daughters, of whom four sons and two daughters survived their father and their mother, the same as in the case of the Lord Infante En Pedro. And the eldest son was called the Infante En Jaime, and the other the Infante En Sancho, and the other the Infante En Ferrando, and the other the Infante En Felipe; and of all these lords I will tell you the life and the doings in due time and place. And of the damsels one became the wife of Don Juan, son of the Infante En Manuel of Castile, and the other became the wife of the aforementioned King Robert, who took her to wife after Doña Violante had died, who was the daughter of the Lord King En Pedro. And of all these Infantes I will recount to you the life and state in due time and place.

¹⁵Perhaps Muntaner refers here to the Chronicle of Bernard Desclot, written a few years before his own.

¹⁶Robert the Wise, or the Good (1309-1343), King of Naples and Jerusalem, Count of Provence, third son of Charles II, the lame.

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After the King had married these two sons of his, he made his third son, who was called the Infante En Sancho, archbishop of Toledo; and he was very devout and virtuous, so that he was held in his lifetime to be one of the best prelates of the world, and one of the most holy and virtuous, and one who helped greatly the increase of the Holy Catholic Faith in Spain, and caused great damage to the Saracens and greatly reduced them. In the end he died in battle against them, and so he can be counted amongst the martyrs, as he died to maintain and exalt the Holy Catholic Faith.¹⁷ And when the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon had seen all these things accomplished, he was very joyful and content, and he set all his dominions in order.

XII

How King Don Alfonso of Castile came for the first time to the Kingdom of Valencia with the Queen his wife and with his sons to see the King of Aragon; and of the good reception the King of Aragon gave him and of the covenants they both negotiated regarding the conquest of the Kingdom of Murcia; and how King En Jaime made it his charge.

Now I will tell you how the Lord King of Castile came to Valencia, with the Queen his wife, and with his sons. And the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon went to meet him at the boundaries of the kingdoms [1248], and he ordained matters in his kingdoms and his territories in such manner that the people who came with the King of Castile had not to buy anything for money, but all went to take rations of all things wanted for meals to the

¹⁷He died in the battle of Torre del Campo (21st of October 1275), in which he was taken prisoner. A quarrel arose amongst his captors as to whose prisoner he was. "Atar, Lord of Malaga, thrust his sword right through his body, saying: 'It is not right that, for the sake of this dog, such noble knights should fight.' After his death his left hand, on which was the episcopal ring, and his head were cut off his body, head and hand, redeemed at the cost of much gold, were buried in the royal chapel at Toledo, called the Chapel of the Holy Cross." (Mariana: History of Spain, book xiv, chapter i.)

court of the said Lord King of Aragon. And they were so well supplied by the court with all the provisions they required and needed, that their scouts ended by selling, in the market-places, whole sheep and kids and quarters of veal and beef, and bread and wine and capons and fowls and rabbits and partridges and all other kinds of poultry, so that the people of the place in which they were lived almost for nothing, so well supplied were the markets. And so this expenditure went on for more than two months, whilst the King of Castile was in the city of Valencia or in the kingdom; and he never spent any money of his own, neither he, nor any of those who were with him. And you may imagine that during that time the Kings and Queens and Infantes and counts and viscounts and barons and prelates and knights (of whom there were many from all the Kingdoms) and citizens and seamen lived very joyously and gaily.

And, whilst they were together, one day the King of Castile spoke to the King of Aragon and said to him: "Father, well you know that, when you gave me your daughter to wife, you promised that you would help me to conquer the Kingdom of Murcia; and it is the truth that you have a good part of that Kingdom. because to your conquests belong Alicante, and Elche, and the valley of Elda, and of Novelda, and Aspe, and Petrel, and Crevillente, and Abanilla, and Callosa, and Orihuela, and Guardamar, up to the plain of Montagut by land, and by sea up to Cartagena and Alama and Lorca and Mula and Caravaca and Cehegin and Bulles and Nogat and Libreny and Villena and Almansa and many other castles which belong to that kingdom and are part of your conquest. And so as God has shown you so much favour that you have conquered the Kingdom of Valencia, I beg you, as a son may beg his father, that you help me to conquer the said kingdom, and when it is conquered that you keep the places that belong to your conquest and we shall keep ours; for, certainly, great damage comes to us and to all our territories from that kingdom." And the Lord King of Aragon answered that he was very well pleased with what the King of Castile had said to him and that all these things were as he had said and that he should return to his country and see to his other frontiers; that he, himself, would undertake the conquest of Murcia; and he swore in his

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presence that he would not rest until he had conquered the city and a great part of the kingdom.

And the King of Castile rose and went and kissed him on the mouth and said to him, "Father and Lord, I render you great thanks for what you have said to me and, as it is so, I shall return to Castile and see to the putting in order of all the frontiers towards the country of the King of Granada, especially towards Cordoba and Ubeda and Jaen and Baeza and the frontier of Seville. And as I can now hold myself secure that no harm can come to me from the Kingdom of Murcia, I shall defend myself well against the King of Granada and the King of Morocco and against all their supporters. The greatest danger to my territory is from the Kingdom of Murcia, but henceforth, with the help of God and His Blessed Mother Our Lady Saint Mary, you will defend me against them." And these covenants made, the King of Castile returned to his country and the said Lord King of Aragon accompanied him until he was out of his Kingdom and all the time supplied his needs and those of all his retinue, as has been said before.

XIII

How, after the King of Castile had departed, the Lord King En Jaime made an agreement with his barons and richs homens in the matter of the promise given to the King of Castile; and how he sent the Infante En Pedro to harry the Kingdom of Murcia; and of the great captures the Lord Infante En Pedro made in the said Kingdom.

From now onwards I shall leave the King of Castile, who is back in his territories and his dominions, and I shall turn to speak of the Lord King of Aragon, who was preparing to enter the Kingdom of Murcia. And to that end he held a council with his sons and his barons and all agreed that, as he had given that promise to the King of Castile (which he related to them fully), he must at once invade the Kingdom of Murcia; and they all offered to follow him at their own cost and provisioning and said they would never fail him whilst there was life in them and until he had completed the said conquest. And of this the said Lord King was very joyous and content

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and gave them great thanks and immediately ordained that the Lord Infante En Pedro should make an incursion into the kingdom of Murcia, in order to reconnoitre all that kingdom. The Lord Infante En Pedro had a battle arrayed of many richs homens and knights of Catalonia and Aragon and of the kingdom of Valencia, and citizens and seamen and almugavars; and, overrunning the said kingdom by land and sea, went about, sacking and laying waste the whole country. And in each place he remained until he had destroyed it quite. First he laid waste and destroyed all the country around Alicante and Nompot and Aquast, and then he destroyed Elche and the vale of Elda and of Novelda and Villena. and Aspe and Petrel and Crevillente and Catral and Abanilla, and Collosa, and Guardamar, and Orihuela. And he went as far as up to the castle of Montagut, which is in the huerta of Murcia, and that place he wasted and destroyed. And the Saracen king of Murcia came out to meet him with all his power of horse and foot. And the said Lord Infante was two days awaiting him in order of battle, but the king of Murcia dared not fight with him. And, assuredly, if it had not been for the acequias¹⁸ which were between the two hosts, the Lord Infante would have attacked, but the acequias were so wide and the water in them so deep, that he could not do it. Nevertheless there were many fine feats of arms, and in one hand-to-hand fight the Lord Infante had, it was found that he had killed, with his own hand, ten jinetes¹⁹ and, where he attacked, do not imagine they dared face him. What shall I tell you? For a whole month he remained in the said kingdom with his hosts, burning and sacking; and all who were with him became wealthy men and prosperous from the great spoils they carried away, as well of captives, male and

¹⁸Irrigation canals.

¹⁹Knights on small horses, light cavalry, nowadays any rider. Lafuente derives the word from "Zeneta" a Moorish tribe. "These Beni-Merines who had founded a new Empire in that Africa from which so often had come both salvation and servitude to the muselmans of Spain were descendants of the zenetas, called zinetes by our historians" (Historida de España). Ben Athamar, King of Granada, summoned the zenetas to Spain and by their help defeated Alfonso X of Castille in 1262, in the great battle of Alcalá la Real.

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female, as of goods, and of cattle they drove off. The Lord Infante sent to the Lord King, his father, full a thousand head of big cattle and full twenty thousand of small cattle, and full a thousand male Saracen captives, and full a thousand female Saracen captives. And of these captives the said Lord King gave and presented, of the males, some to the Pope, some to the cardinals and to the Emperor Frederick and to the King of France and to counts and barons and to friends of his own. And the female captives he gave to the Lady Queen of France, his daughter, and to countesses and to other noble ladies, so that he left none for himself, but rather distributed and gave them all away; of which the Holy Father and the cardinals and other powers of the Christian world were very joyous and content, and made processions in honour of Our Lord the true God, Who had given this victory to the Lord Infante.

XIV

How the Infante En Pedro returned from the Kingdom of Murcia and of the feasts the Lord King En Jaime made for him; and how he decided to go to Aragon and to leave the Lord Infante En Pedro as procurator and vicar-general for the whole of the Kingdom of Valencia.

And then the Lord Infante, with all the following which had gone with him, came to the city of Valencia and he found there the Lord King En Jaime, his father, who made great feasts and rejoicings for them. And when the feast for his arrival was over, the said Lord King took the Lord Infante into a chamber and asked him about all he had done and all that had happened to him since they had parted; and the Lord Infante related everything to him. Yet he took good care not to tell him of any feats of arms that he had performed himself, but would have punished all who had told anything about them. And so the Lord King had great pleasure and great joy of what the Lord Infante had recounted of what had happened to him; and, above all, had he great pleasure when he saw and heard the good sense and the good understanding of the said Lord Infante. And after this discourse, the Lord King asked the Lord Infante what he advised him to do

in the matter of the conquest, and if it did not seem to him time to begin it, and required him to tell him his opinion. And the Lord Infante answered: "Father and Lord, my advice is not important enough to give to you and your wisdom; but nevertheless, Lord, I will tell you my opinion and afterwards you will do what seems best to you, and God, in His Goodness, will guide you. My advice, Father and Lord, would be this: that you, in due time, go and visit Aragon and Catalonia and Montpellier and all your other territories and leave me on the frontier; and I will wage a fierce war in such manner that the Saracens will be unable to sow, or if they sow, unable to reap. And a year hence you, my Lord, will be back in Valencia with your forces at a favourable time, in the month of April, when they should begin their harvest; for, in April, they begin already to reap the wheat in those countries which produce early harvests. And then, my Lord, you will enter the country and will advance until you come to the city of Murcia and there you will lay your siege. And whilst you are at the siege, I shall harry the whole country and hold the passes, so that no help from the King of Granada can come; and thus you will destroy the city and all the kingdom, big as it is." And the Lord King said "I consider your advice good and I wish that the matter be arranged as you have ordained and planned." And he at once sent his letters throughout all the Kingdom of Valencia, as well for the richs homens as to the prelates and other men and knights and townsmen, to bid them all be in the city of Valencia by a fixed day. And it was done as he ordered.

And on that day, when they were all together in the cloister of Our Lady Saint Mary of the Cathedral of Valencia, the Lord King made a great sermon and spoke many words appropriate to the times and commended the Lord Infante En Pedro to all, as chief and head, and commanded them to look upon him and obey him as they would himself, as having full power; and that he left him in all respects as his vicar and procurator, for all the Kingdom of Valencia. And all, unanimously, accepted the said Lord Infante, with great joy and content, as having all power the Lord King his father gave him. And the said Lord Infante likewise received this power very joyously. He had special content in that he knew that he was to remain in a place in which he would have to perform feats of arms daily.

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But he dissembled as well as he could, in order that the Lord King, his father, should not know his eagerness; assuredly, if the Lord King, his father, had known the tenth part of the perils he would encounter in those two kingdoms, he would not have let him go there, for he would have feared greatly to lose him. But so secret did he keep the dangers he would run in feats of arms, that the Lord King knew nothing of them; rather he thought that the said Lord Infante would conduct the war with great prudence and understanding. And thus, certainly, it was as he thought, but besides this, when the time came there was no bridge nor outwork that would keep back the Lord Infante; for, where he knew there was the hardest fighting, or he knew there would be, there he always was. Wherefore the fights had all the better issue, for certainly, where a man sees his natural Lord, he thinks of nought but of defending his person and his honour. Do not imagine that on such occasion anyone remembers his wife, or his son, or his daughter, or anything in the world, but only how to help his Lord to leave the battlefield with honour and victory and safe in person. And this the Catalans and Aragonese and all the subjects of the said Lord King of Aragon have more at heart than any other people in the world, for they are full of true love for their sovereigns.

XV

How the Lord King En Jaime entered Aragon, and went to visit Montpellier; and the reason why Montpellier, belonging to the house of Aragon, put itself under the overlordship of the House of France; and how the Infante En Pedro made war upon the Saracen King of Murcia.

And so the court separated in great joy and concord, and the said Lord King entered Aragon and afterwards Catalonia and Roussillon, and went to Montpellier, for it is natural that every man and every creature should love the country and place in which he was born. Wherefore the Lord King, as he was born at Montpellier, always loved that place much, and all the lords who are his descendants should love it likewise, because of the miracle God manifested there in the said Lord King's birth. And so I would

have you know that the Lord King of Aragon had, and still has, no vassals who can love the descendants of the said Lord King En Jaime as do the good people who are natives of Montpellier. But, from that day to this, because of its good government, there have come to it from Cahors and from Figeac and from San Antonio and from many other places, men who do not belong to Montpellier by birth and who were pleased that the House of France should establish itself there.²⁰ But you may be sure that this did not please and never will please those who are natives of Montpellier. Wherefore, certainly, the inhabitants of all the territories of the descendants of the said Lord King should wish and endeavour to love and honour the men of Montpellier; for that city should not be despoiled because of thirty or forty houses that the aforementioned strangers have come to inhabit. Rather, I request and pray the lords and richs homens and knights and citizens and merchants and masters of ships and mariners and almugavars and footsoldiers of the dominions of the Lord King of Aragon and of Mallorca and of Sicily, that they love and honour all those of Montpellier who fall into their power. And if they do this, by the grace of God and of Our Lady Saint Mary of Valencia and of the Tables of Montpellier, and by the favour of the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon who was born there, they will have deserved well in this world and in the next, and at the same time they will act courteously towards the said Lord King and will thus preserve, if it be God's pleasure, the righteous love which should exist, now and ever, between us and them.

And when the Lord King had left Valencia, the Lord Infante governed the said kingdom with great strictness, so that there was no Saracen or any other man who moved without cause whom he did not at once punish. And so likewise he conducted the war against the Saracen King of Murcia with much vigour and severity, so that the Saracens did not know what to

²⁰According to the *Histoire Générale du Languedoc* (Devic and Vaisete), Jaime II of Mallorca acknowledged in a public act on the 18th August 1283 that the town of Montpellier, the Castle of Lates and the other castles and villages of the surrounding country, which William, Lord of Montpellier had possessed, belonged to the House of France. See Chapter xxxix of Muntaner's Chronicle.

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do; for when they thought that the Lord Infante was a ten days' march off and they therefore rose, they saw all their places overrun and all they possessed taken and destroyed. Thus he put the fear of him in their bellies, for he pursued this course of life all that year whilst the Lord King was going about, disporting, in his dominions. And he spent nights in the open, and suffered cold and heat and hunger and distress in pursuit of the Saracens; for he was persuaded that he ought not to have a day's rest, but rather on great festival days, when the Saracens might think that he was at the feast, on that day he would fall upon them, routing them, taking them captive and destroying their property. As you may be sure, there never was born a king's son of as high courage, nor more bold or valiant, nor of a more handsome person, nor more wise, nor more dexterous. For of him can be said what is said of one full of all graces, which is, that he is neither an angel nor a devil, but a perfect man. Certainly, this saying can be applied to the Lord Infante, for he is truly a man endowed with all graces.

And so, during that time, the said Lord King, his father, went to visit his territories and places with much cheer and pleasure.

XVI

How the Lord King En Jaime returned to Valencia on the day ordained with a great force and laid siege to the city of Murcia; and how he took it by treaty and in what year.

At the time appointed the Lord King came into the Kingdom of Valencia with a great part of his forces. His intention was to enter Valencia so well armed and equipped by land and by sea that no king could ever say that he marched against another king better armed and equipped than he.

And he entered the Kingdom of Murcia very joyously by land and by sea, and he held the sea in order that his hosts should be well provided with victuals, and so it was arranged. And he took the castle and town of Alicante and of Elche and all the other places I have named to you already, which are in the kingdoms of Valencia and Murcia, and he laid siege to the

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city of Murcia which is a very noble and important city and very strong and has perhaps the strongest walls of any city of the world. And as soon as he arrived before the said city, he so ordained the siege that, from no side could any man enter. Should I tell you much about it? The siege lasted so long that the city became his by a treaty with the Saracens, who surrendered it, namely half the city; and the other half they kept for their needs under his overlordship.²¹ A street runs through the middle of the city, one of the most beautiful streets there are in any city of the world; it is long and wide and begins at the market-place, which is in front of the Dominican Church, and goes as far as the cathedral of Our Lady Saint Mary. And in this street are the furriers and the exchanges and the clothiers and many other establishments. However, after the city was thus divided, the Lord King peopled it with his followers and, a few days later, the Saracens saw that there could be no good fellowship between them and the Christians in that city. And so they begged and entreated the Lord King, that it might please him to take their part of the city and people it with whom he thought right and to give them a district which they could enclose with walls and in which they could live in security. And the Lord King was glad to comply with their words and entreaties and gave them a district outside the city which they enclosed with a wall, and it is called La Rexaca; and to that place they transferred themselves. And so the said city of Murcia was taken by the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon in the year men count 1238.²²

²¹"On occupying a city, it was usual to divide it into 'barrios,' or districts, each of which was granted by way of fief to some one of the ricos hombres, from which he was to derive his revenue. What proportion of the conquered territory was reserved for the royal demesne does not appear." Prescott, Ferdinand and Isabella. (Introduction. section ii.)

²²Muntaner's account of the conquest of Valencia and of Murcia is very inaccurate; he confounds the taking of Valencia and the much later re-conquest of rebellious Murcia. Jaime I assisted the Infante Alfonso (afterwards Alfonso X) of Castile in his war against the Moors. Valencia surrendered to him in 1238 and Murcia in 1241. In 1261 the Moors of Murcia rebelled against Alfonso, who had succeeded his father in 1252, and defeated him. He again invoked the help of Jaime, who, after settling serious differences with his

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XVII

How Murcia was peopled with Catalans and how the Lord King En Jaime delivered up all his share to the King of Castile his son-in-law; and on his return to Valencia convoked Cortes and appointed the Infante En Pedro procurator and vicar-general of the Kingdoms of Aragon and Valencia, and the Infante En Jaime procurator of Mallorca.

And when he had taken the said city he peopled it wholly with Catalans, and so he did Orihuela and Elche and Guardamar and Alicante and Cartagena and the other places. You may be sure that all who inhabit the city of Murcia and the aforesaid places are true Catalans and speak the most beautiful Catalan of the world, and are all good men of arms and expert in all matters. And it may well be said that that kingdom is one of the most fertile in the world. I tell you truly that in all the world not I, nor any other man, could know two provinces that are better and more fertile in all things than the Kingdom of Valencia and the Kingdom of Murcia.

And when the Lord King had taken the city of Murcia, and peopled it and the other places, he delivered up all his share to the King of Castile, his son-in-law, in order that he should protect himself in all and that they should assist each other. To his son-in-law, the Infante Don Manuel, he delivered up specially Elche and the Vale of Elda and of Novelda and Aspe and Petrel. And the Lord King Don Alfonso of Castile in the same way, made the said Lord Infante Don Manuel chief of all his part, and so these territories helped and defended each other against the Moors. However, the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon gave his share of the Kingdom of Murcia to his son-in-law, King Don Alfonso of Castile, and to his son-in-law the Infante Don Manuel, with the condition that, if at any time he wished to take it back, they should return it, and this they promised and made out a

richs homens, came to the aid of the Castilians. The town of Murcia surrendered to him in 1266 and he, with unusual generosity, gave it up to Alfonso, together with twenty castles he had taken in the course of the campaign. Cf. Lafuente, *Historia do España*, vol. iv., ed. of 1889.

proper document. By this condition the House of Aragon has recovered the said places, and how they were recovered I shall tell you in due time and place.

And when the Lord King of Aragon had ordained and peopled and garrisoned and handed over all the aforesaid places to his sons-in-law, he returned to the Kingdom of Valencia and he ordered his Cortes to assemble in the city of Valencia, and a great number of people assembled. And his sons were at the said Cortes, who rejoiced to be with the Lord King, their father, and with all the richs homens, barons and prelates and knights and citizens and townsmen; and the feast which everyone made in the said city was very great. And it was no wonder, for the favours God had shown to them all were so many that the Lord King and the Lords Infantes must have rejoiced greatly before God.

And in these Cortes the Lord King ordained that the Lord Infante En Pedro should be procurator and vicar-general of the Kingdom of Aragon and of the Kingdom of Valencia and of all Catalonia, as far as the Pass of Panisars. And so likewise he made the Infante En Jaime vicar and procurator-general of the Kingdom of Mallorca and of Minorca and of Ibiza and of the county of Roussillon and of Conflans, and of Cerdagne, and Montpellier; in order that both the Infantes should live like lords with the Queens their wives, and with their Infantes and Infantas, and that these territories should be the better ruled and governed, and that he, himself, should see and witness the good understanding and the good capacity and good government of each. As you may be sure that no man can know another, of whatever condition he be, until power has been given him; and as soon as power is given to a person, whether to a man or a woman, so soon will you know his capacity. Wherefore the said lord wished to ordain and accomplish this also, that so he might have rest, going and visiting all his kingdoms and other territories.

And so, these ordinances made, with which everyone was very well pleased, the Cortes separated and everyone went about his affairs. And the Lord King went visiting all his territories very joyously and cheerfully; and where he knew the Queens, his daughters-in-law, were and his

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grandchildren, there he went visiting them and giving them presents, and he made great feasts with them.

XVIII

How the Lord Infante En Pedro made the nobles En Roger de Luria and En Conrado Lansa knights; and how he gave the sister of En Conrado Lansa in marriage to En Roger de Luria.

And the Lord Infante En Pedro had in his house two sons of knights who had come with my Lady Queen Costanza, his wife. And one was called En Roger de Luria and was of noble descent, from banner lords, and his mother, who was called my Lady Bella, had brought up the said Queen Costanza and had come with her to Catalonia; and she was a very discreet lady and very good, and virtuous, and never parted from my Lady the Queen as long as she lived. And so likewise her son, Roger de Luria, was not parted from her, rather was he brought up at court, for he was but a small boy when he came to Catalonia. And his barony was in Calabria, and consisted of twenty-four castles in one district and the principal castle is called Loria. And the said Roger de Luria at the time I speak of, was already grown up and was big, tall, and very much loved by the Lord Infante and by my Lady the Queen and by everyone of the court. And, likewise, there came with my Lady the Queen another high-born boy, who was the son of a count and related to my Lady the Queen, and who was called En Conrado Lansa,²³ and a little sister of his, quite young, who had been brought up with my Lady the Queen. And this En Conrado Lansa came to be one of the handsomest men in the world and one of the wisest and one of the best speakers. Indeed, at that time, it was said that the most beautiful Catalan was that spoken by him and by the said En Roger de Luria. And it is no wonder for, as I have told you already, they came very

²³Conrado Lansa may have been a descendant of Count Galvano Lancia, famous during the last years of King Manfred as a strenuous defender of the House of Hohenstaufen.

young to Catalonia and, in every place in Catalonia and in the Kingdom of Valencia they acquired what was best and most beautiful in the language. And so they became perfect Catalans and spoke the most beautiful Catalan.

And the Lord Infante En Pedro made them both knights and gave the damsel, sister of En Conrado Lansa, to wife to the said En Roger de Luria; and she proved a very worthy lady and wise and modest and of a virtuous life. And by the said lady there survived him and her a son called Roger, who would have been a very accomplished man if he had lived long, but he died young, at the age of twenty-two. However, I shall speak of him further on, because it will be fit to do so, for, during the time he lived, he did such deeds that it is right I should speak of him in due time and place. And there also were born three daughters, who were all virtuous ladies. The eldest became the wife of the noble Don Jaime de Ejérica, nephew of the Lord King En Pedro, who was one of the best barons and one of the most honourable of Spain, as well through his father as through his mother, and he was a very virtuous man. And the other daughter became the wife of the noble En Oton de Moncada; and the other was the wife of the count of San Severino which is in the Principality. And that lady, sister of En Conrado Lansa, when she had borne the said children, died, which was a great loss because of her worth, and because of her children who were all still very young. And afterwards the said noble, En Roger de Luria, took to wife the daughter of En Berenguer de Entenza, who is of one of the most honourable houses of richs homens in Aragon and Catalonia. And by that lady he had two sons and a daughter who survived him.

And so I must cease to speak to you of the said noble En Roger de Luria, as I shall speak of him further on, for he was a man whose deeds were such that it is right that I should speak of him. For it can be said that there never was a man, who was not a king's son, to whom God showed greater favour, or who accomplished all things entrusted to him with greater honour to his lord.

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XIX

How after having entreated and obtained the attention of the readers for speaking out of proper order, the author recounts the great battle of the noble En Conrado Lansa with four galleys against ten galleys of the King of Morocco.

I will turn to speak a little of his brother-in-law, En Conrado Lansa, and tell of a fine thing which, by the favour of God and of the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon, happened to him. It is the truth that the Lord King En Pedro should come first, but I wish to tell and recount it to you now, for it may as well be done at once than later, and I will do it now, whilst I remember the affairs concerning those two richs homens; and it is better to speak now of that deed performed by the said noble En Conrado Lansa than further on. For a man, when he speaks the truth, can relate any deed in any part of the book. And perhaps I should have to speak of it in a place where it would disturb my narrative; and, besides, it is not a long story. And so I pray all to forgive me if in this place or in another they find I tell them things before their proper time. Nevertheless, if they ask me for reasons, I shall give them such as will make them excuse me; but, whatever the reasons I give you, be sure that everything you will find written is the truth, and of this have no doubt whatever. So then I wish to tell you the favour God did to that rich hom En Conrado Lansa.

The Lord King of Aragon has of old a right to a tribute from the King of Granada and from the King of Tlemcen and from the King of Tunis. And because, for a long time, this tribute had not been sent to the Lord King of Aragon, he had four galleys equipped at Valencia and he made the said noble En Conrado commander of them. He went to the port of Tunis and to Bougie and all along the coast, sacking and destroying all the ports. He came to the sea of the King of Tlemcen, to an island called Habibas and he went there to get water. And as he came to that place to get water, ten armed Saracen galleys of the King of Morocco also came to that place to get water. And these ten Saracen galleys were the best equipped, and manned by better Saracens of any that ever were equipped and they had already

done much injury to lenys²⁴ which they had captured from Christians and they had many captives in their galleys, which was a great sin.

And when the galleys of En Conrado Lansa saw the ten galleys coming, they left the place. And the Saracens, who saw them and had had news of them already, shouted in their Saracen language, "Aur, Aur"²⁵ and they came towards the galleys of En Conrado Lansa with great vigour. And the galleys of En Conrado Lansa formed in a circle, and all four collected together and held council. And En Conrado Lansa said to them: "You, my Lords, know that the favour of God is with the Lord King of Aragon and with all his subjects; and you know how many victories he has had over Saracens. You may well consider that the Lord King of Aragon is present with us in these galleys, for you see here his standard, which represents his person, and as he is with you, so is the favour of God and He will help us and give us victory. And it would be a great disgrace for the said Lord and for the city of Valencia to which we all belong, if, because of those dogs, we faced about, a thing no man of the Lord King of Aragon has ever done.

²⁴" . . . e entre brices e galeases E axi foren cl lenys capdals, menys de les barques menudes" (Chronicle of Jaime I, translated by Forster and Gayangos). Gayangos appends the following note: "'Brices' pl. of 'brica,' are said to be flat-bottomed vessels destined for the transport of horses and engines of war. But then what are 'tarides' or 'terides'? The meaning of 'lenys,' elsewhere called 'fustes' is, literally speaking 'woods.' About this time 'leño ' and fusta ' served in Castile and in the rest of Spain to designate any kind of vessel." On p. 112 (note 1) Gayangos says: "'Tarides,' tartans, large open vessels used specially for carrying horses. Some such craft appear in the Bayeux tapestry." 'Leny' was evidently used in Aragon and Catalonia much as 'boat' is used vaguely nowadays, applied in ordinary parlance to a steamer, a rowboat, a sailing boat, &c.

²⁵'Aur' might be supposed to be derived from the Spanish word 'ahur' (or 'agur'), but the latter was shouted in retreat, not as 'aur' on this and other occasions, in an attack. Whether Muntaner in saying "in their Saracen language," means that they were shouting a translation of the word, or whether he means that it is a Saracen word, is not clear. In Chapter lxvii, the Aragonese are reported as shouting 'aur,' 'aur,' in their excitement on embarking for the conquest of Sicily. They had then been three months in Saracen territory and may have caught up a Saracen word. Bofarull suggests that it may be derived from 'augurium,' and that it may have been a technical naval term.

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Therefore I pray you all that you remember the power of God and of Our Lady Saint Mary, and the Holy Catholic Faith, and the honour of the Lord King and of the city of Valencia and of all the Kingdom; and that, roped together as we are, we attack resolutely, and that, on this day, we do so much that we be spoken of for ever. And, assuredly, we shall defeat them and be, prosperous for ever. However, you can all see that we have so much the advantage of them that we can retire if we like, and that they cannot force us to fight, if we do not wish to. And so, let everyone say what seems best to him, but as for me I have told you my opinion already. Again, I tell you and pray you and require you, in the name of the Lord King of Aragon and of the city of Valencia, to attack them."

And all began to shout: "Let us attack them! let us attack them! they will all be ours!" And with that they armed themselves well and the Saracens did the same. And when both sides were armed, En Conrado with great strokes of the rowers, advanced towards the Saracens. Some of these told their commander that the galleys were coming towards them in order to surrender, and a great many Saracens were of this opinion, because there was a very accomplished knight amongst them and they did not think the Christians would be so mad as to wish to fight with them. But the Saracen admiral was a wise seaman and had been in many feats of arms and had had proof of what the Catalans are, and he shook his head and said: "Barons, your opinion is foolish; you do not know the people of the King of Aragon as I know them. Now be sure that they are preparing well and wisely to fight with us; and they come so ready to die that woe is to the mother's son who is awaiting them. Wherefore as they come prepared to vanquish or die, so put the same resolution into your hearts; for this will be the day in which, if we make not great endeavours, you will all die or be taken captive. Would to God I were a hundred miles away from them; but as things are as they are, I commend myself to God and Mahomet."

And with that he ordered trumpets and nakers to be sounded, and with great shouts they began a vehement attack. And the four galleys, most beautifully, and without shouts and words or any clamour, went to the attack in the midst of the ten galleys and there the battle was most grievous and hard, and it lasted from the morning until the hour of vespers, and no

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one dared to eat or drink. But. Our Lord the true God and His blessed Mother, from Whom come all favours, and the good luck of the Lord King of Aragon, gave the victory to our men, in such manner that all the galleys were defeated and the men killed or taken. Blessed be the Lord Who made it come to pass. And when they had won the battle and defeated and taken all the galleys, they delivered the Christian captives whom they found in them and gave to each of them as good a share of what God had enabled them to take as that of every man who had been in the battle. And so, with great honour and in great triumph, they returned to Valencia with the galleys which they brought there, and with many Saracen captives who had hidden below deck, of whom they had much profit.

XX

Recounts the great gifts the Lord King gave to the wives of the Christians who had died in the aforementioned battle; and how good lords make good vassals; and of how it is of much greater advantage to be subjects of the House of Aragon than of any other Lord.

And the Lord King granted the favour that all the booty should be theirs, and he would have neither the Fifth²⁶ nor any part; and he wished that the wives and daughters of those Christians who had died in the battle should have as good a share of the booty as those who escaped alive, at which all were very joyous and content, and they thought this so rightly done that every man had twice the mind to do well. And this they showed hereafter, in the great fights and battles of which you shall hear later on; for you may be sure that good masters help much to make good vassals. Above all other lords those of the House of Aragon have this quality. I would not say to you of them that they are the lords of their vassals, but rather their companions. He who considers well the other kings of the

²⁶The fifth of all booty taken in raids or on the battlefield belonged to the king, and he only renounced his right to it when the raid was "royal," that is when he gave up his right in favour of his soldiers, to increase their zeal.

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world, how hard and rough they are to their vassals, and considers the lords of the House of Aragon, and what privileges they grant to their subjects, should kiss the ground which these lords tread. And if they ask me: "En Muntaner, what are the privileges you know the lords of the House of Aragon grant to their subjects more than other lords?" I will tell you. The first privilege is, that they rule richs homens, prelates, knights and citizens and townsmen and landholders with greater truth and justice than any other lords of the world; again, that every man can become a greater noble than he was, without fear that, against reason and justice, anything will be demanded or taken from him; and this is not so with the other lords in the world. Wherefore the people of Catalonia and Aragon live in better spirit, as they see themselves living as they like. No man can be accomplished in arms who has not a proud spirit. And then again, there is that advantage with them, that any man can speak to them of anything he wishes and they will listen to him graciously as many hours as he likes and graciously answer him. And besides, if a rich hom, or a knight, or a distinguished townsman is marrying his daughter and requests them to honour him by their presence, they will go and do so, in the church or wherever he wishes. And they do the same if anyone dies or wishes to celebrate an anniversary; they go as they would to their equals, and you must not expect this from any other lords of the world. Also, besides this, at the great feasts, they give a banquet for all people of distinction, and they eat in the presence of all and where all they have invited are eating also, a thing no other lords of the world do. And besides, if a rich hom, knight, prelate, citizen or townsman, farmer or other countryman sends them fruit, or wine or other things, there is no doubt that they eat them; again, they accept invitations to their castles, towns, or villages, or farmhouses, and they eat all that has been apparelled for them, and sleep in the chambers prepared for them. And besides, they ride every day in the cities, or towns, or villages, and show themselves to their people; and if a poor man or woman calls to them, they draw rein and listen to them, and at once relieve their poverty. What shall I tell you? They are so good and gracious to all their subjects that it would take long to write; and therefore all their subjects are full of love towards them and fear not death, if it

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serves to exalt their honour and dominion, but rather are kept back by no bridge nor rampart, and fear not heat, nor cold, nor any peril. Wherefore God increases and advances their people in all their actions, and gives them victory now and will henceforth, if it be His pleasure, over all their enemies.

Now I shall cease to speak of this matter and will speak again of the Lord King of Aragon and his gracious sons.

XXI

How King En Jaime of Aragon received a letter from the Pope inviting him to go to the Council which was to be held at Lyons on the Rhône; and how King En Alfonso of Castile, his son-in-law, sent to tell him that he wished to go to the Council and to pass through his territory.

When the Lord King En Jaime had thus sojourned a long time in his lands, and the Lord Infante En Pedro, and likewise the Lord Infante En Jaime, there came messengers to the Lord King of Aragon [1272], saying that the Holy Father²⁷ would hold a general Council at Lyons on the Rhône, and that he prayed and requested all Christian Kings of the world to be present, they or their representatives. Therefore the Lord King prepared to go, and as he was preparing to go as splendidly as he could, messengers came to him from the Lord King En Alfonso of Castile, his son-in-law, saying that he wished to go to the Council and wished to pass through his territory, with the Queen and many of his children, and that for two reasons especially did he wish to pass through his territory. The first was that he and the Queen and his sons had a great desire to see him and the Infantes; and the other that, as he was going to the said Council on such important business, that he wished to have his advice upon it, as a father, and that of the Lord Infante En Pedro and of the Lord En Jaime as brothers. And the said Lord King and the said Lords Infantes had great pleasure at

²⁷Gregory X.

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this and, at once, with the messengers of the King of Castile they sent others of great importance, and sent to tell him that they were very glad at their coming, and that he should consider their country at his service as if it were his own. And that he should let these messengers know for certain what part of the country he wished to enter by, and on what day he would come.

XXII

How King En Alfonso of Castile sent to tell the Lord King En Jaime that he wished to come by Valencia and at what time.

And so the messengers of the King of Castile returned, and the Lord King and the Lords Infantes gave many presents to the said messengers who had brought them this news; so that they returned to Castile very joyous and content, together with the messengers of the Lord King of Aragon, whom he and the Lords Infantes were sending. And so the messengers were well received by the King of Castile, and by the Queen, and by the Infante En Fernando and by the Infante En Sancho and by all the others, and especially when they heard the result of their mission and the good account their messengers gave of it. And so they, likewise, gave many rich presents to the messengers of the Lord King of Aragon, and sent thanks to the Lord King of Aragon and to the Infantes for their offer and sent to say that they wished to come through the Kingdom of Valencia, and they told them the time.

And the Lord King of Aragon and the Infantes had great pleasure in this and ordained that, from where the King of Castile would enter the Kingdom as far as Montpellier, provision should be made of victuals and of all else that would be wanted. In such manner was it arranged that never was lord so well provided for than he and his retinue; from the day he entered the country until he was beyond Montpellier he spent nothing of his own, nor did anyone who was with him. And all was provided this time with as much abundance as you have heard before was done last time he was in the Kingdom of Valencia. The King of Castile and also those who

were with him, and the Queen and the Infantes marvelled that Catalonia could furnish the means and bear so much expense; they did not imagine at all how fertile and productive the country of the Lord King of Aragon was, as you shall hear further on.

XXIII

How the Lord King En Jaime prepared to go to the Council and of the entertainment he prepared for the King of Castile when he came to his territory on his way to the Council.

Now I shall leave this, to which I know well how to return, and shall speak of the Lord King of Aragon.

When the Lord King of Aragon and the Infantes had ordained all these things, he considered the most splendid fashion in which he could go to the Council, and especially as some cardinals and others, who were amongst the Pope's advisers, had sent word that the Council had been summoned by the Holy Father partly on account of the great wish he had to see the Lord King of Aragon and of the great delight he would have in seeing him with two such royal sons-in-law as the King of France and the King of Castile, and with his daughters the Queens, and his grandsons; and how the Pope would rejoice in seeing that great work God did in the birth of the King of Aragon; and he wished to see the good intention with which he came and, likewise, to have his advice, as he believed him to be the wisest lord in the world and the most accomplished in feats of arms and all other feats; and so he could ordain with all Christendom an expedition against the Infidels.

And when the King had settled his march, he went to meet the King of Castile, and he came to the Kingdom of Valencia and wished to know how the victuals had been arranged for. And so everything was shown to him and all was so well ordained and done that there was no need of improvement. And so the Lord King and the Lords Infantes approached the place by which the King of Castile was to enter the Kingdom. And when the King of Castile and the Queen and their children knew that the

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said Lord King and the Infantes were ready to receive them with great honour, they hastened to come. And as they came to the territory of the Lord King of Aragon, the said Lord King and the Infantes were there and received them with great courtesy and with great rejoicing and, in every place they came to, the people of the Lord King of Aragon arranged great processions and games for them. And from the time they entered the territory of the Lord King of Aragon twelve days passed before they came to the city of Valencia; and when they were in that city, no man could describe the decoration of the houses and the games and diversions, the round tables and joined platforms for jousts between wild knights,²⁸ tourneys, knightly exercises, galleys and armed lenys which seamen dragged along the rambla in carts, and battles of oranges.²⁹ So numerous were the games they had to witness that, after they had been to the church of St. Vincent, where they dismounted to do reverence on their arrival, it was night before they came to the Real,³⁰ where the Lord King had commanded that the King of Castile should be lodged. And the Queen and the Infantes were all given good lodgings. What shall I tell you? Fifteen

²⁸"Arramire bellum seu duellum, est promittere in iudicio rem, de quo agitur, duello se probaturum Curia generalis Catalanniae in villa Cervariae an. 1359. Insuper ordinavimus, quod dehinch ab. I mensis madii, et ab inde ad duos annos proxime venturas, aliquis baro, miles, homo de paratico, vel homo villae honoratus, nequat aliquem guarrejare, aut arremire, vel juntas de relono facere." (Ducange, who also quotes de Wild Count of the Rhine, and other names accompanied by the same adjective.) The wild knights might be compared to the Italian condottieri. They are referred to in some interesting letters of Alfonso IV seen and quoted by Bofarull. In one of them the king grants some appointment to a wild knight on the ground that he has grown old and had exercised "viriliter officium juntandi" and that his soul would be endangered if he continued in his profession. In another letter much the same reason is given; the king considers the knight should return to his home after having wandered "per diversas mundi partes, exercendo suum officium."

²⁹The French, Italian and German translators say "bullfights." This, according to Bofarull, is a mistake due to their having taken the four first letters only of the Catalan word "toronjes."

³⁰The royal palace.

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whole days the feast in Valencia lasted, and no artisan nor other workman did any work, but rather, every day, the games and dances and balls were renewed. And the rations the Lord King of Aragon ordered to be given to the retinue of the King of Castile would be marvellous to hear. What shall I tell you? If I wanted to recount it all, it would lengthen my matter and I should be late in reaching my design. But, lastly, I tell you that, on leaving Valencia, they all went to Our Lady Saint Mary del Puig of Murviedro and from Murviedro to Burriana, and then to Castellon, then to Cabanes and from Cabanes to Les Coves and from Les Coves to San Mateo, and then to Ulledecona, and then to the city of Tortosa; and there a feast was made for them just as in the city of Valencia, and they tarried there six days and then went from Tortosa to the Pass of Balaguer and passed through San Jorge (for at that time the Pobla at the spring of the Perallo did not exist yet).³¹ And then from the Pass of Balaguer to Cambrils and then to the city of Tarragona. And it would also be endless to relate the honour that was done them there. The archbishop of Tarragona and ten bishops of his province, who are all under the overlordship of the Lord King of Aragon, with many abbots and priors and with a great number of religious and other priests, singing and praising God in a procession, received them, and they remained in the city of Tarragona eight days. And after Tarragona they went to El Arbós, then to Villafranca, which is a good and noble town, where as much honour was done them as could be done in any city; and they remained there two days. And then, from Villafranca, they went to San Climent; then, from San Climent, to Barcelona. And I need not write it, for you can imagine how they were received there; it would be much labour to recount it. But as Barcelona is the noblest city and the finest that the Lord King of Aragon has, you can imagine the feast made there, which surpassed those of all the other cities; and there they stopped ten days. And from Barcelona they went to Granollers and from Granollers to

³¹"la Pobla de la font del Perallo." All the place names in Spain beginning with "Pobla," "Puebla," "Pola," &c., indicate the settlement of Christians in a village or town abandoned by the Moors. (Chronicle of Jaime I translated by Forster and Gayangos, footnote p. 621.)

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Hostalrich and from Hostalrich to the city of Gerona. And I need not speak of the feasts made for them there, for the citizens of Gerona alone, without the knights, of whom there are many in that district, did so much, that everyone at Gerona marvelled. And they remained there four days. And afterwards, leaving Gerona, they went to Basquera and to Pontons; and then the King and Queen together, with all their retinue, came to lodge at Peralada. And this I know for I was then a youth and the said Lord King of Castile and the Queen lay, that night, in the chamber of my father's house in which, as I have already told you, the said Lord King En Jaime of Aragon had lodged. As the King of Castile and the Queen spent that night together, seven openings were made in the house of Bernardo Rosinyoll which adjoined my father's, and through these the King passed to the chamber of the Queen. And so, from having seen it, and not otherwise, I can tell you this for certain. And they remained in Peralada two days, for En Dalmau de Rocaberti, lord of Peralada, had entreated the Lord King of Aragon that he might be pleased to allow him to invite him one day at Peralada, and the Lord King at his entreaty, because he loved him much, told him that he would not fail to satisfy the people of Peralada one day and, the other, by special favour, he would give him. For this En Dalmau gave him great thanks; and so he should, for this was a satisfaction that the Lord King would not grant to any rich hom or prelate in Catalonia, except to him. Therefore it was a thing for which En Dalmau was very grateful to him. And after they had been two days at Peralada, with great joy and cheerfulness, they went to La Junquera, and from La Junquera to Boulou and from Boulou to Mas, which is a beautiful village belonging to the Templars; and from Mas they entered Perpignan; and do not ask me about the great feast which was made there and lasted eight days. And then, afterwards, they went to Salces, and from Salces to Villafranca, and from Villafranca to Narbonne. And Don Almarich³² of Narbonne entertained them with great honours and rejoicings, because he and the Lord Infante En Jaime of Aragon had two sisters to wives, daughters of the count of

³²Alamaric II, Viscount of Narbonne, son of Aymeric V.

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Foix. They stopped two days at Narbonne. And then they went to Beziers, and from Beziers to Sentiberi, and from Sentiberi to Lopia, and from Lopia to Montpellier. The games and rejoicings at Montpellier surpassed all other doings. And there they remained fifteen days and thence sent their messengers to the Pope and there received his answer. And when they had received his answer and had settled their road by which to enter the territory of the King of France, they departed from Montpellier.

And from now onwards I shall speak of the matter about which this book is being written; namely, the honour and favour God has granted and grants to the House of Aragon. And as I consider that this affair was such as redounded greatly to the honour of the House of Aragon, and of their people, I will mention it to you; do not imagine that it was but a little this journey cost the King of Aragon and his sons; rather, I assure you, that it amounted to so much that all Castile could not pay for it in four years. Wherefore, you who shall hear this book and who do not know the power of the Lord King of Aragon, can you imagine what it is? In truth, it would be a difficult thing even for the King of France to pay for it. And if his treasure sufficed, his heart would fail him, for he would fear to be undone. But the Lord King of Aragon rejoiced over it more and more, as long as what he spent was a gift and service to the Pope and others. And so God assists a stout heart, wherefore he gave him full measure of honour in all the events of his life.

Now I shall leave the King of Castile, who has gone to the Council, and shall speak of the Lord King of Aragon.

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XXIV

How the Lord King En Jaime went to the Council and what reception was given him by all those who had assembled at the said Council; and how he received more honour from the Pope and the the cardinals and kings than any other king who had come to the Council.

Fifteen days after the King of Castile had departed from Montpellier the Lord King of Aragon went [1274] to the said Council,³³ and his reception on entering the city of Lyons on the Rhône was a mighty affair, for there was no king nor count, nor baron, nor cardinal, archbishop, bishop, or abbot, or prior, who did not issue forth to receive him; and the King of Castile and his sons went out to meet him a day before all the others. And when they came to the Pope, he came out of his chamber and kissed him three times on the mouth, and said to him: "Son, and mighty protector and defender of Holy Church, I bless you and welcome you." And the King wanted to kiss his hand, but the Pope would not suffer it. And at once he invited him and his followers for the next day, a thing he had not done to any other king who had come to the Council. The said Lord King received more honour and gifts and favours from the Pope and from the cardinals and from the kings present than any other King who had come to the Council.

And so the said Council began when the Lord King of Aragon had arrived. But of what was discussed and done, I do not wish to speak, for it does not belong to the matter of this book; save that the said Lord King of Aragon obtained and settled all that he asked for merely by word of mouth, in such manner that he was joyous and content, and very cheerfully returned to his territory in good health and with great satisfaction. But the King of Castile, of whom I can tell you that he went to the Council expecting to be Emperor of Spain, could not obtain anything, but had to return to his dominions. And on his return to Castile, the Lord King of

³³The second oecumenical Council of Lyons, May to July, 1274. Jaime arrived on the 1st May and left at the end of May.

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Aragon provided for him all the time he was passing through his territory much better and with greater abundance than he had done at his coming. But he did not return by the same way he had come, but by Lérida and Aragon. And so it would take very long to describe the entertainments made for him; and he with the Queen and with his Infantes returned to Castile where his subjects had great pleasure and great joy at recovering them.

And from now onwards I shall leave the King of Castile, who is in his country with the Queen and his Infantes, and I shall return to the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon.

XXV

How, after having returned from the Council and visited his territories, he wished to see in what manner his sons had governed, and was much pleased with it; and how he caused the oath to be taken to the Infante En Pedro as King of Aragon and Valencia, and to the Infante En Jaime as King of Mallorca and Minorca.

When the Lord King En Jaime had accompanied the King of Castile until he was outside his kingdom, and the said King of Castile and his Infantes had rendered thanks to the Lord King of Aragon and the Queen of Castile had done so likewise, and he had given them his blessing as a father, he went to visit all his dominions and territories, in order to say farewell to them, because he wished to dedicate the end of his life to the honour of God and the exaltation of the Holy Catholic Faith, as he had done in his youth. And with that wish and intention he went to the Kingdom of Valencia, in order to march against the Kingdom of Granada in such manner that the name of God and of Our Lady Saint Mary should be praised and blessed there.

And when he had visited all his territories, he enquired into and saw the good way of government his sons had followed and were following, with which he was pleased and content, and he praised and blessed God for having given him such good sons. And he commanded Cortes to be

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held in Aragon, at Saragossa, and there were assembled barons, and the king's retinue, and prelates and knights and citizens and townsmen. And when the Cortes were assembled the Lord King preached to them and spoke many good words and arguments, and he wished them to take the oath to the Lord Infante En Pedro, as King of Aragon and as their lord, and to the Lady Queen Costanza, his wife (of whom I have already spoken to you) as Queen. And as he commanded so they all did with great joy and content. And I need not tell you whether there were diversions and entertainments at the said Cortes, for each of you can imagine them. And when the oaths had been taken to the Lord Infante En Pedro and to my Lady the Queen, they all came to Valencia, and there, likewise, were Cortes held, and the oath taken in the same way to the Lord Infante as King of Valencia and to the Queen as well. And then they went to Barcelona. And there also the King convened Cortes and had the Lord King En Pedro sworn count of Barcelona, and lord of all Catalonia, and so likewise the Queen as countess. And all this done, he decreed and made the Lord Infante En Jaime, his son, King of Mallorca and of Minorca and Ibiza, and count of Roussillon, and of Conflans and of Cerdagne, and lord of Montpellier.

And when he had done and accomplished all this by the grace of God, they returned to Valencia, with the intention of which I have already told you: that he wished to spend the remainder of his life in increasing and spreading the Holy Catholic Faith and in casting down and overthrowing the faith of Mahomet.

XXVI

How the Lord King En Jaime fell ill with fever in Játiva; and how the Saracens killed En García Ortiz, deputy procurator and vicar-general of the Lord Infante En Pedro in the Kingdom of Valencia; whereat the said Lord King was greatly displeased.

And when he was in the city of Valencia, the Lord King was disporting and making merry likewise, and he went hunting, and to other diversions;

and thus hunting, he visited all his castles and towns in the Kingdom. And when he was at Játiva, as it happened to please God, he fell ill of a fever, and he was very ill, so ill that he could not get up; and all the physicians thought badly of his case, and especially as he was more than eighty years old.³⁴ And you know that when a person is old he cannot behave like a young man. Not that he was not always in his right mind and preserved his good memory.

And as he was thus ill, the Saracens of Granada, who were at war with him, came to know of it, and more than a thousand men on horseback, and many men afoot entered the Kingdom as far as beyond Alcoy. And in this invasion they met En Garcia Ortiz, who was the deputy procurator in the Kingdom of Valencia. And they fought with him, and with a good company the said En Garcia had with him of about two hundred men on horseback and five hundred footmen. And it pleased God that in this encounter the said En Garcia Ortiz and a great number of his companions were killed. When the Lord King, being in his bed, knew this he cried at once: "Bring me my horse and prepare my arms; I will go out against the traitorous Saracens who imagine that I am dead. Do not let them imagine it, for rather will I destroy them all." And his anger against them was so great that, in his wrath, he tried to sit up in his bed, but he could not.

XXVII

How the Lord King En Jaime, being disabled by illness had himself carried in a litter with his banner to go forth and fight against the Saracens and how, before the King reached them, the Infante En Pedro attacked them so vigorously that he defeated them.

And then he raised his hands to God and said: "Lord, why does it please Thee that, at such a juncture, I should be thus disabled?" But at once he added: "As I cannot get up, let my banner go out and let me be carried

³⁴Jaime I was born in 1208 and was, therefore, in his sixty-ninth year when he died.

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in a litter, until I reach the insolent Moors, for I think that when I am there, and they see the litter in which I am being carried, we shall at once defeat them, and so we shall have them all, dead or prisoners."

And, as he commanded, so it was done; but, before he reached them, the Lord Infante En Pedro, his son, had hastened and attacked them, and the battle was very hard and cruel, and no wonder, for to each Christian present there were four Saracens. But nevertheless the Lord En Pedro attacked so vigorously amongst them that he defeated them; yet he lost two horses, and twice two of his knights dismounted and gave him their horses and he mounted and they remained on foot. And so all the Saracens, that day, were killed or taken prisoners. And when the Christians set up the banner of the Lord King En Jaime on the battlefield, he was seen in the litter in which he was being carried, and King En Pedro was greatly displeased at this, for he feared that this toil would be harmful to the Lord King, his father. And he started and went towards him and dismounted and had the litter and the banner set down on the ground, and he kissed his father's feet and hands, weeping, and said to him: "Lord and Father, what is this you have done? Did you not remember that I was here in your place and that you would not be missed?" "Son," said the King, do not speak thus; but what of the insolent Saracens?" "Lord and Father," said King En Pedro, "through God and our good luck they have all been killed and defeated or taken prisoners." "Son," said he, "is that the truth you speak?" "Lord and Father, yes." And then he raised his hands towards Heaven, and gave great thanks to Our Lord and kissed his son three times on the mouth and gave him his blessing many times.

XXVIII

Of how the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon, after having confessed and received the Precious Body of Jesus Christ, passed from this life; and of the custom kept up by the people of Mallorca from that day to this.

And when the Lord King En Jaime knew all this and had given great thanks to God, he returned to Játiva, and King En Pedro with him. And

when they were at Játiva you might have seen on the one hand great rejoicings at the victory God had given them, and on the other a great disquiet at seeing the King in so parlous a state. However, it was agreed between the Lord King En Pedro, his son, and the barons and prelates of Catalonia and the knights and citizens and notables of the town of Játiva and the other towns, that, whilst the Lord King had still the comfort and cheer of the battle which his son had won, they would carry him to the city of Valencia, and so it was agreed and accomplished. And when they came to the city of Valencia all the city issued forth to meet him; and they carried him to the Real. And there he confessed many times and received the Sacrament, and then they administered Extreme Unction, and he received the aforesaid Sacraments with great piety. And when he had done this with the great joy he felt within himself at the good end God had granted him, he summoned the kings, his sons, and his grandsons, and gave them all his blessing and instructed them and preached to them with his good understanding and his good memory, commending them all to God. Crossing his hands on his breast, he said the prayer Our Lord said on the Cross and, when he had said it, his soul left his body and went to Paradise with great joy and content.

And the said Lord King En Jaime departed this life six days before the exit of July of the year 1276. He ordered in his will that his body should be taken to the Order of Poblet, which is a monastery of White Monks in the centre of Catalonia. And great weeping and crying and lamenting began throughout the city, and there remained behind no rich hom nor retainer nor knight, nor citizen, nor lady, nor damsel; all followed, weeping and wailing, behind his banner and shield, and there followed also ten horses whose tails had been cut off.³⁵ And this mourning lasted four days in the city, and then all people of importance accompanied the corpse; and in

³⁵This mutilation of horses as a sign of mourning was a custom amongst the Turks. "The Turks were overcome with grief and lamentation at his [one of their admiral's] fall, so that they cut off their horses' tails and, had they been permitted, would have carried off the corpse of their chief." (Geoffrey de Vinsauf: *Itinerary of Richard I and Others to the Holy Land*, Chapter xiv.)

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every castle, town, or village they came to, as formerly they used to receive him with great balls and great entertainments, so they now received him with much weeping and crying and lamentations. With such grief as you have heard the corpse was brought to the Order of Poblet. And when they came there, archbishops, bishops, abbots and priors, abbesses, prioresses, men in military orders, counts, barons, retainers, knights, citizens, townsmen and men of every condition from all his territories had already arrived, so that there was not room for them all in the roads and in the villages for a distance of six leagues. And here were the Kings his sons, and the Queens and his grandsons born in his time. What shall I tell you? So great was the congregation of people, they were innumerable, so that it was found that never had there been so many assembled together for the burial of any other lord. And in the presence of all, with great processions and many orisons and much weeping and lamenting and great cries, he was buried. God in His mercy keep his Soul. Amen. And this is my belief, that he is with the saints in Paradise, and all should believe this. And when this was done each King went to his territories. and each count and baron and others also. And we can well say for our consolation for the loss of this lord that he was good when he was born, that he persevered in goodness during his life, and in his end was best.

And what the inhabitants of Mallorca ordained pleases me: that every year, on the day of Saint Sylvester and Saint Coloma, on which day Mallorca was taken by the said Lord King, there should be a general procession in the city with the banner of the Lord King. And on that day all pray for his soul and all the masses that are said on that day in the city and in all the island are said for the repose of his soul and that God may save and guard his descendants and give them victory over their enemies. Wherefore I would entreat our lord, the King of Aragon, that he do us the favour and grace to order the notables of the city of Valencia to make a general procession in Valencia every year on Saint Michael's day, for the repose of the soul of the Lord King and to pray to God to give increase and prosperity always to his descendants and victory and triumph over all their enemies; and that, as the said city was taken on the eve of Saint Michael by the Lord King En Jaime, all priests and men in orders of the

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said city should, on that day, say masses for the repose of the soul of the said Lord King En Jaime. And again, for the same reason, that the said Lord King and the notables of the city of Valencia ordain for all time that there should be, on the following day, a general almsgiving. And all will do well who exert themselves the best they can, and they will be pleasing to God and have honour in this world, and especially as there is no charity whatever established in the city of Valencia, as in all the other cities in the world, whom God rewards by increasing and multiplying their riches.

And from now onwards I will cease to speak of the Lord King En Jaime, and shall speak of the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon and Valencia, and count of Barcelona, his eldest son; and of his other descendants, each in his time and place.³⁶

XXIX

How after King En Jaime had died the two brothers were crowned, namely the Infante En Pedro King of Aragon, Valencia and Catalonia, and the Infante En Jaime King of Mallorca, Minorca and Cerdagne; and how Catalonia is larger than any other province.

And when the Lord King En Jaime had passed away, the Lord Infante En Pedro and the Lord Infante En Jaime, his sons, were both crowned King; namely, the Lord King and Infante En Pedro went to Saragossa, and there assembled his Cortes, and they placed the crown of the Kingdom of Aragon on his head, with great ceremony and great rejoicing and a great feast. If I wished to tell you all the great presents and favours that were granted, long would the recounting take. And when his coronation was over in Aragon, he came to the city of Valencia and there, also, were great Cortes held, and there came a multitude of people of Castile and all parts, who received from him great gifts and great favours. And he received the

³⁶For the life of Jaime I see "The Life and Times of James I the Conqueror," F. Darwin Swift, and "The Chronicle of Jaime I," translated by Forster & Gayangos.

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crown of the Kingdom of Valencia. And afterwards he went to the city of Barcelona, where he also held great Cortes, and where numbers of people came; and he received with great splendour and rejoicing the coronet by which he was created count of Barcelona and lord of all Catalonia.

And let no one imagine that Catalonia is a small province; rather do I wish everyone to know that Catalonia has, in general, a richer population than I know of or have seen in any other province, though most people in the world imagine it to be poor. It is true that Catalonia has not those large fortunes in money made by certain particular men, as there are in other countries; but the commonality is more prosperous than any other of the world, and they live better in Catalonia and in a more orderly manner in their houses with their wives and their sons, than any other people there is in the world. Besides, you will wonder at a thing I will tell you, though, if you examine it well, you will find it is so, namely, that of people of the same language there are none so numerous as the Catalans. If you speak of Castilians, the true Castile is of small extent and importance; for Castile has many provinces, each with its own language, as different from each other as Catalan from Aragonese. For though Catalans, and Aragonese are under one lord, their languages are very different. And so likewise will you find it in France and in England and in Germany and in all Romania, as the Greeks, who are subjects of the Emperor of Constantinople form many provinces, such as the Morea and the Kingdoms of Arta and of Vlachia, and in the Kingdom of Salonika, and in Macedonia, and in Anatolia and many other provinces, amongst which there is as much difference in the language as there is between Catalan and Aragonese. And so it is also in the other provinces of the world: thus it is said that the Tartars are numerous, yet they are not, but only seem so, and they subdue many nations of the world, because you will never find that Tartars work with their hands, but they wage war always in hordes with their wives and children. And so you may imagine that, if the Catalans did the same, they would be much more numerous than the Tartars. I say that they would be twice as many, for you know things I have told you of the Catalans which are absolute truth. There are many who will wonder and will take these things for fables, but, whatever may be said, they are true.

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After the Lord King En Pedro had received the crowns, and, by the grace of God, had been crowned King, he went about visiting his territories. And, assuredly, it may well be said of him that there never was a lord in the world who, with so few judicial executions, was so much dreaded and feared by his followers; and thus he brought such peace to all his dominions that merchants could travel with bags of florins and doubloons and every man go about the country in safety and security.

And so also the Lord Infante En Jaime went to Mallorca and was crowned King of Mallorca, amidst great rejoicing, and with a great feast his people made. And then he went to Roussillon and to Perpignan, and he took the coronet of three counties, namely of Roussillon, of Conflans and of Cerdagne. And on that occasion he held general Cortes, and there came a great number of the barons of Catalonia and of Aragon and of Gascony and of Languedoc; and at these Cortes many rich presents were given. And then he went to Montpellier and there also took and entered into possession of the lordship of Montpellier and of the barony. And when all this was done each governed his kingdom with great truth and uprightness and true justice, to the satisfaction of God and of their peoples.

XXX

How the Lord King En Pedro deposed Miraboaps, King of Tunis, because he refused to send him his tribute, and how he put in his place Mirabusac, his brother; in which enterprise En Conrado Lansa was commander of ten galleys.

Now I will return to the Lord King En Pedro who went to visit his dominions and all his territories. It happened that when he was at Barcelona, he bethought himself that he should receive the tribute of the house of Tlemcen, and since Mostanzar³⁷ had died, who was the best

³⁷Almostansir, contemporary of Jaime I, must be meant, but Muntaner's praise is not borne out by Lafuente. "The defeat at Las Navas had scattered the mussulmans of Africa and Spain, and marks the period of decadence of the dominion of the

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Saracen of the world after the Miramamolín³⁸ of Morocco and after Saladin, Sultan of Babylon,³⁹ it was altogether not right to forego the said tribute. And he called a council of a great number of his advisers, and especially the noble En Conrado Lansa, and before them all he said to him: "En Conrado, you know that, last year, you went to Tunis to claim the tribute when Mostanzar had died, who was a great friend of Our Father; and you know that they have not sent Us the said tribute; rather, it seems that they want to keep it. And so it is necessary that We should make them rue this and show them Our power. We have decided to depose him who is there now, and put in his place Mirabusac, his brother, as Lord and King. And in this We shall be doing justice and it will always redound to the great honour of the House of Aragon, as everyone will be able to say that We have set up a king in Tunis. Therefore it must be done." "Lord," said Conrado Lansa, "tell us then what moves you to this enterprise; why you will have it undertaken and brought to an issue, so that we all know the reason fully. And when you have told us, each one of us can tell you his mind, which will be for your honour." And the Lord King said: "You say well; I wish you to know that Mostanzar, as I have told you already, was a great friend of the Lord King Our Father and sent him every year his tribute and many jewels. Now, it is the truth, that he is dead and that he has left no son; but there remain two brothers of his: the elder is called Mirabusac and the younger Miraboaps. And Mostanzar had sent Mirabusac, the elder brother, towards the Levant with a great host of

Almohaden. After the death of Mohammed Yussuf Alnasir the title of emir descended to his son Almostansir, a boy of eleven, who spent his life in pleasures unworthy of a king, whose sole care was the breeding of herds and whose sole intercourse was with slaves and shepherds. His death was in keeping with his life for he died (1224) of a wound from the horn of a cow, at the age of twenty-one, leaving no heir." Lafuente, *Historia general de España*, Chapter xiv.

³⁸"Miramamolín is a corruption of Amira-l-mumenim, or 'Prince of the True Believers,' the title assumed by the Khalifs of Cordoba of the House of Umeyya from Abde-r-rhaman downwards and, after them, by the Almowahedin or Almohades." (*Chronicle of Jaime 1*, translated by Forster and Gayangos, p. 151, note.)

³⁹Cairo.

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Christians and Saracens, to make all those countries pay taxes, and Miraboaps had remained in Tunis. And when Mostanzar had died and left the Kingdom to Mirabusac, En Miraboaps, who was in Tunis, without waiting for his brother, made himself King of Tunis, and so he is still, falsely and wickedly. And when Mirabusac knew the King, his brother, was dead, he came towards Tunis, and when Miraboaps knew his brother was coming he sent to tell him that, if he valued his life, he should not come any nearer, for he must know that, if he did, he would cut off his head. And so Mirabusac returned to Gabes and there he stayed and is still, and he does not know what to do. Therefore we shall perform a good deed and assist the righteous cause, and especially the carrying out of Mostanzar's intention. And so We will have ten galleys equipped and We wish you, En Conrado Lansa, to be the commander and chief. And you will go with them direct to Gabes and carry Our letters to Mirabusac and to Benmargan and to Benatia and to En Barquet; and these three are the chief barons in Miquia,⁴⁰ and the most powerful; and they are men who have great obligations to us, as well for themselves as for their fathers, as the Lord King Our Father had great presents sent to Mostanzar, King of Tunis, who is dead. Therefore they will do all We command them and all you shall tell them in Our name. And arrange with them that they go with Mirabusac and all their power to Tunis by land, and you will go first, with the galleys, to the port of Tunis, and you will sweep the port and take all the ships and lenys you will find there, of Christians and Saracens, and you will also take all those that will come there. And thus you will destroy the city, for no meat or other victuals will reach it by sea. And you will also secretly deliver the letters that We are sending to Lomafer, father of the Moabs.⁴¹ And when they of the city see the great distress they are suffering for lack of victuals, they will rebel against Boaps, and especially as you will send to tell them that ten or more galleys of Ours will not leave the port until they have accepted for their Lord and King, Mirabusac, who should

⁴⁰? Mequinez.

⁴¹Moabs, Muntaner's name for the Almowahedin or Almohades.

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be their Lord and King. And as I have planned, so it shall be done, with the help of God.”

En Conrado Lansa and all the others of the Council said it was very well said and planned. And as the Lord King wished, so it was done.

XXXI

How the Lord King En Pedro had ten galleys equipped and gave the articles of the covenant which En Conrado de Lansa was to make with Mirabusac, and how all was accomplished as the Lord King had planned.

And, at once, the Lord King had five galleys equipped in the city of Barcelona, and five others in the city of Valencia. And it may well be said that they were so well equipped that they could give a good account of twenty galleys of anyone else. And when the said galleys were equipped, En Conrado wished to embark and to go and take leave of the Lord King, who was in the city of Lérida. And the Lord King gave him the letters he was to carry, and the articles, in proper order, of all he was commanding him to do. And among the other things that were in the articles were these: that as soon as he had had an interview with Mirabusac and with Benmargan and with Benatia and with Barquet, and with the Moabs who were in Gabes, and had arranged the invasion of Tunis, he should make Mirabusac promise on his oath, confirmed by the others with oath and homage, that, as soon as he should be King of Tunis, he would pay to him the whole of the tribute due until that day; and that from thenceforth and for ever the House of Tunis was bound to pay the said tribute to whoever was King of Aragon and count of Barcelona; and all the Moabs were to confirm this. And besides, that the chief alcaide put over the Christians in Tunis should always be a rich hom or knight of the Lord King of Aragon, and that the Lord King of Aragon should appoint him and could always dismiss or change him as he wished, and that wherever they made war they should carry a banner with the device of the said Lord King of Aragon; whether they made war together with the king, or on their own account; that all should be bound to guard this banner as they would that

of the King of Tunis. And again, that the collector of the wine excise, whose office is important, should be a Catalan, and that the Lord King of Aragon should appoint him, because half the dues of the said excise should go to the Lord King of Aragon. And, besides that the Lord King of Aragon should have the right to appoint a consul in Tunis, who shall give formal hearing and judgment to all Catalan merchants, masters of ships, and mariners who came to Tunis or all the dominion, and that likewise there be one in Bougie. And all these things and many other privileges, all set down in documents, the said Mirabusac promised and granted then to the Lord King of Aragon and his followers and confirmed them, and maintained them when he was in Tunis and was King.

And so the said En Conrado Lansa, with the letters and articles, parted from the Lord King and went to embark at Valencia with five galleys and then went to Barcelona, where he found the five other galleys, and having thus embarked by the favour of God at this time and in this place, he accomplished all the Lord King En Pedro had commanded and even much more. What shall I tell you? He set up Mirabusac in Tunis as Lord and King, in the manner that the Lord King En Pedro had planned, and he did still more, for, when he entered Tunis with the banner of the King of Aragon, he would not carry it through the gate, but planted it on the tower over the gate. And then, when he had all the said articles confirmed, all as I have told you already, and had received the whole tribute and many rich and splendid jewels, which the King of Tunis was sending to the Lord King of Aragon besides the tribute, he returned, scouring the coast as far as Ceuta, and he took many Saracen ships and lenys, and terides, so that no man ever did his work better. And with this booty he returned to Catalonia and found the Lord King in the city of Valencia, where the said Lord King received him with a kind countenance and goodwill; and of the goods he brought and the jewels, the Lord King gave him a good share, to him and to all the men of the galleys, so that they all gained so much in the expedition, that, with what the King gave them they all became rich and prosperous.

And thus you see what a good beginning God granted the Lord King after he was crowned. Now I shall cease to speak of him, for I shall know

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well how to return to him in due time and place, and I shall speak of the Emperor Frederick and of his sons, because it suits our matter.

XXXII

How the Emperor Frederick was at war with the Church and how, afterwards, peace was concluded with a covenant that he would pass beyond sea to conquer the Holy Land; and how the Count of Anjou undertook the conquest of the Kingdom of Sicily and what was the cause and reason of this undertaking.

It is the truth that the Emperor Frederick⁴² was the greatest man in the world by his descent, and the wisest and most accomplished in all things. And he was elected Emperor in Germany by the consent and desire of the Holy Apostolic Father. And he was elected in the place in which the election should be held and afterwards it was confirmed at Milan and at Rome by the Holy Father and by all whose right it was to confirm it; and he was put in full and legitimate possession of all pertaining to the Empire. But as it pleases God that, in this world, no man can enjoy complete content and happiness, by the work of the devil, discord arose between the Emperor and the Pope: from what side came the wrong, it is not for me to tell you, wherefore I shall tell you nothing about it, but the trouble and the war multiplied and grew between Holy Church and the Emperor, and this lasted a long time. Then, presently, peace was made between Holy Church and him, with a covenant that he would proceed beyond sea to conquer the Holy Land, and that he would be Head of the Christians who are beyond sea or who shall go there, and that the whole Empire would remain under his sovereignty and rule. And, this peace concluded, he passed beyond sea with a great force, and did much good and captured cities and villages which he took from the Saracens. And when he had been there a long time,

⁴²Frederick II (1209-1250) inherited his claim to Sicily from his mother, Constance, grand-daughter and heiress of Roger II of Sicily.

he was obliged to return. By whose fault or for what reason, I will not tell you either, but you will find those who will, if you search for them well. And so, after his return, war with Holy Church began again. And I tell you once more that you will not learn from me whose fault that war was, through whom it began; for it is not for me to speak of it. What shall I tell you? The war lasted as long as the Emperor lived. And when he died he left three sons, the wisest and best ever left behind by any lord (except those of the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon), of whom I will tell you later on. And of these three sons he made one, who was called Conradin,⁴³ heir of all his patrimony in Germany, and the other he made King and heir of Sicily and of the Principality and of the Terra di Labor and of Calabria, and of Apulia and of the Abruzzi, as I have already recounted; and he was called King Manfred. And the other was King of Sardinia and Corsica, and he was called Enzo. And so all of these three lords held their lands with great rectitude and trust in God. Nevertheless the priests tried to dispossess them of all they had, through the sentence the Pope had issued against their father the Emperor. And they urged all the Christian kings of the world to undertake their defeat, and they found none who would do it, and, especially, because the Holy King Louis of France, who reigned in those days, had lived in alliance and in great friendship with the Emperor Frederick; and so likewise had King Edward of England and also the King of Castile and also King En Pedro of Aragon, who had to wife the daughter of the aforesaid King Manfred. And so likewise there was no baron in Germany who was not a kinsman of theirs. And the priests spent much time in their negotiation and found no one who would undertake this enterprise. And it is the truth that, at that time, King Louis of France had a brother, called Charles, who was count of Anjou, and the two brothers had, as their wives, two sisters who were the daughters of the count of Provence, who was first cousin of King En Pedro of Aragon. And during the lifetime of the said count of Provence, King Louis of France took his

⁴³Muntaner all along confuses Conrad and his son Conradin, nor is his account of Frederick's will correct.

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eldest daughter to wife.⁴⁴ And when the count of Provence died he left another daughter and the King of France arranged that the count of Anjou, his brother, should have her in marriage, with the whole county of Provence. And when this marriage was made, the Queen of France had a great desire to see the countess, her sister; and the countess, likewise, had a great desire to see the Queen. So that, at last, the Queen sent to beg the count and countess, that when he came to France, to the county of Anjou, he would bring the countess with him, in order that she should see her; and they granted her this, so that not much time passed before he brought the countess to Paris, where the Queen was. And the King and Queen, for joy at this, assembled a great court and summoned counts and barons, each with his wife. And when the court was full of counts and barons and countesses and baronesses, a seat was placed for the Queen, for her only, and at her feet, another seat for the countess her sister and for the other countesses. The countess of Provence was so grieved that the Queen, her sister, did not make her sit next to her, that she almost burst into tears. And when she had contained herself a little while, she said she felt sick and that she wished to go to her lodging, and neither the Queen nor anyone else could detain her. And when she came to her lodging, she threw herself on her bed, and cried and sighed and showed great grief. And the count, who heard that the countess had gone away without waiting for dinner, was greatly displeased, for he loved her more than any other lord or any other man could love his wife; and he went to the side of her bed and found her crying; and he was all burning with rage, for he thought that some man or some woman had said something to her which displeased her. And he kissed her and said: "Sweetheart, tell me what is the matter, and whether anyone has said something to displease you; for, if it is so, assuredly I will avenge you at once, whoever it may be." And the countess, who knew that he loved her more than anything in the world, and in order that he should

⁴⁴Raymon Berenguer of Provence had four daughters. Margaret, who married Louis IX of France; Eleanor, married Henry III of England; Sancha, married Richard of Cornwall, Emperor of Germany; Beatrice, to whom her father left the County of Provence, married Charles of Anjou after her father's death.

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not go on thinking this, said: "Lord, as you ask me, I must tell you, for I would hide nothing from you. What lady in the world could be as unhappy as I am? I have suffered to-day the greatest insult that a gentlewoman has ever suffered. You know, and certain it is, that you are the brother of the King of France through your father and your mother and I, likewise, am the sister, through my father and my mother, of the Queen, and to-day, in full court, the Queen was seated in her seat and I, with the other countesses, sat at her feet. By this I consider myself much aggrieved and insulted. I pray you that to-morrow we return at once to our own country, for on no account will I tarry here." And to this the count answered and said: "Ah, countess, do not take this in bad part, for such is the custom; no one should or may sit with the Queen, who is not a Queen also. But be comforted, for I swear to you by the Sacrament of the Holy Church and by the great love I have for you that, if I live, before a year has passed, you shall wear a crown on your head and be a Queen and able to sit on the seat of your sister. And this I swear to you, with a kiss on your mouth."

And with this the countess was comforted, yet not so well that grief left her bowels; rather, within four days, they took leave of the King and the Queen and returned to the county of Provence. And the King was greatly displeased that they returned so soon. And as soon as the count was back in Provence with the countess, he had five galleys equipped and he went to Rome [1266], to the Pope.⁴⁵ And when he came to Rome, the Pope and the cardinals wondered on hearing that he had come thus, for they had known nothing of his coming; but, notwithstanding, they received him with great honour and made a great feast. And, on the following day, he sent to tell the Pope to assemble his College, for he wished to tell them why he had come; and the Pope did so. And when the Pope and the cardinals were assembled, they sent to tell him to come. And he came amongst them, and they rose and assigned him his seat, a handsome and honourable seat, as

⁴⁵Clement IV.

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was due to him. And when all were seated he began to tell his purpose and spoke thus:

XXXIII

How the Count of Anjou went to the Pope and asked leave to conquer the Kingdom of Sicily and how the Pope gave him leave and gave him the crown of the said Kingdom; and how, from that day onwards, he was called King Charles; and how it is manifest that the seed of great damage to Christendom was sown on that day.

“Holy father, I have heard that you have proposed to all Christian Kings and sons of Kings the conquest of the country of King Manfred, and they have all said no to you. Wherefore I, for your glory and that of the Holy Roman Church and of the Holy Catholic Faith, take upon me the said conquest, in the manner in which you offered it to the Kings. And for this I have come here and have not asked advice of my brother, the King of France, nor of anyone else, nor does any man know why I have come. And so I, if you provide me with the treasure of Holy Church, am prepared to ordain immediately the said conquest. But otherwise, that is, Holy Father, if you do not provide me with enough money, I can do nothing, for neither my power nor my riches are so great that they could suffice. Especially as you know that King Manfred is one of the great lords of the world and lives with great magnificence with much chivalry. Therefore it will be necessary that I begin the enterprise with a great force.”

And the Pope rose and went to kiss him on the mouth and said to him: “Son of Holy Church, thou art welcome. In the name of God and the power given to me through Saint Peter and Saint Paul I give thee great thanks for the offer thou hast made to me, and I now put the crown of Sicily and of all King Manfred possesses on thy head and make thee King and Lord, thee and thy descendants; and I promise to provide thee with all the money thou needest from the treasure of Saint Peter, until thou hast accomplished the said conquest.”

And thus was it granted to him on that day, an accursed day for Christians, for, chiefly by this grant, was all the land beyond sea lost, and

all the Kingdom of Anatolia, belonging to the Turks; rather have they taken since many countries from the Emperor of Constantinople and there have been, are, and will be yet great massacres of Christians. Wherefore it may be said that that day was one for weeping and grief.

And so the count left that Consistory with the crown on his head and another crown in his hand, which the Pope gave him, in order that he should put it on the head of the countess, his wife, when he was back in his country, and crown her Queen as soon as he was at Marseilles. And henceforth he was called King Charles. And the Pope assigned him a cardinal, who was his legate, who, in the name of the Pope, together with the said King Charles, should put the crown on her head and crown her Queen of Sicily. And so it was done.

And when this was done and he had taken leave of the Pope and of the cardinals, he returned to Marseilles, where he found the countess, who was very joyous and content, especially when she was crowned Queen. And when all this was done King Charles and the Queen, his wife, entered France and came to Paris, and the two Queens always sat together in one seat, at which they were both much pleased. But if they were pleased, the King of France was displeased with what King Charles had done, and if he could have undone it he would have done so willingly. However, he could not fail his brother, but rather gave him all the succour and aid he could. And so also, all the barons of France helped him, some with gold, some with men, in such manner that he collected a great force and marched against King Manfred and entered his territory.

XXXIV

How King Charles entered the Kingdom of Sicily and defeated and killed King Manfred in battle in consequence of King Manfred's followers going over to him; and how he took all the country of the said King Manfred of Sicily.

And when King Manfred knew that King Charles was marching against him, as he was one of the bravest kings of the world he got ready and went

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to meet him with all his forces at the entrance of his Kingdom and they both engaged in battle very eagerly. And assuredly King Manfred would have won the battle if it had not been for the count of Caserta and the count de la Serra and other barons of his who were in command of the van, and who, at the first attack, passed over to King Charles and fought against their lord, King Manfred, so that the followers of King Manfred were thrown into great confusion. But, for all that, nothing could daunt King Manfred, but rather he attacked valiantly where he saw the banner of King Charles in the battle. And at the spot in which the two Kings were, the battle was most cruel and furious, and it lasted from morning until night. And it pleased Our Lord that King Manfred should there be killed; and his followers, who saw night approach and could not find King Manfred, like discomfited men, fled, each to his country. And this battle was fought in the year 1266 on the 27th day of February. And so King Charles took the Kingdom. And, of this, I do not wish to tell any more, nor how it was, for what I know by hearsay does not touch or belong to my matter. But this only I tell you, that King Charles was lord, after this battle, of Sicily and of all the country over which King Manfred had reigned.

XXXV

How King Conradin came from Germany with a great following to avenge the death of his two brothers; and how King Charles took him prisoner and cut off his head at Naples and without opposition remained Lord of Sicily.

And it was not long before King Conradin came from Germany with many followers against King Charles to avenge King Manfred and King Enzo who had been killed in the battle. And so he also fought, on a day agreed upon, with King Charles and, as it pleased God, defeat fell upon King Conradin and his followers. And King Charles was victorious and collected the booty, and took King Conradin alive and cut off his head at Naples, to his own lasting injury, for all the princes of the world and all

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other men blamed him greatly.⁴⁶ However, he did so; and after that he did not meet with opposition in his country from anyone, and no man sought to take revenge, until King En Pedro of Aragon, for the honour of the Queen, his wife, and of his sons resolved to avenge these deaths. And of this I shall now cease to speak, for we can well return to it in due place and time; but I will now turn to speak again of the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon.

XXXVI

How the Lord King En Pedro went about putting in order and settling his Kingdom and how he had great pleasure in the good conduct of En Conrado Lansa; and of the good order in which the King of Aragon should keep his galleys.

The said Lord King of Aragon went about to put his Kingdom in order and had great satisfaction in what the noble, En Conrado Lansa, had done and accomplished, according to what he had commanded; and he had set up a King in Tunis, as you have heard. And after that the king set in order all his dockyards, as well in Valencia as in Tortosa and in Barcelona, in order that the galleys should be in safety; and he built dockyards in every place in which he thought he ought to have galleys. And I should be greatly pleased if the Lord King of Aragon decided to do what I will say to him, namely, that he order four dockyards to be built on his sea-coast, which would be well-known dockyards; and that two should be for the regular service and the other two in case of need. The two in case of need to be one at Barcelona and the other at Valencia, for these are the two cities of any of his cities in which there is the greatest number of seamen. Of the

⁴⁶Villani says that the execution of Conradin excited so much indignation that even Count Robert of Flanders, son-in-law of King Charles and an adherent to his cause, could not restrain himself on seeing Conradin going to his execution, and in the presence of the King, pierced with his sword and killed the judge who had condemned the prince.

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two others, for the regular service, one should be at Tortosa, which is a noble and fair city and is on the frontier of Catalonia and Aragon, and twenty-five galleys could be equipped there without anyone noticing it until they were out of the river. And, similarly, at Cullera, where men from the Kingdoms of Murcia and Aragon and Castile would come in great numbers, and no one would know it; and when the galleys are fitted out and equipped, they could, thus ready, put out to sea. Indeed I know of no prince or king of the world who has two such fine and such secret dockyards as would be those of Tortosa and of Cullera. Why, Lord King of Aragon, do you not ask your seamen what they think of what I am saying? I am certain those who are judicious will tell you that I speak the truth; how, to the dockyard of Tortosa, all the men of Catalonia and of Aragon would come, and to the dockyard of Cullera, all the men of Valencia and of the Kingdom of Murcia and of the frontiers and places in the direction of Castile. In each of these places you could build a dockyard for five thousand libras, and in each of these dockyards you could have twenty-five galleys, and at Valencia, in the dockyard on the sea, another twenty-five, and then at Barcelona another twenty-five. And thus you would have a hundred galleys ready whenever you want them against your enemies. But the twenty-five of Tortosa and the twenty-five of Cullera you could equip without the enemy knowing anything until they are outside the rivers. Wherefore, Lord, do what a good administrator does; there are, in your country, richs homens or knights who, with a small fortune, do more than others with a much greater. And why is this? Through care and good management. Wherefore, Lord King of Aragon, see that you have good care and good management, and thus you will accomplish all you set your mind to do, always remembering, however, God and His might, and then, when you need it, the dockyard of Barcelona and that of Valencia will assist you to accomplish your purpose. And if you order this, consider that with the help of God, you will subdue Saracens, and also Christians who wish to contest your royal sovereignty and that of your descendants. And if they do, you will be able to punish them at once. Your power is much greater than is thought in the world. And you can see this in the book of the conquests the Lord King, your father, made without the help of money

or crusades, for the Church gave none. More than twenty thousand masses are said to-day and every day in the countries the Lord King En Jaime conquered without assistance or crusade of the Church. He conquered the Kingdom of Mallorca, and the Kingdom of Valencia, and the Kingdom of Murcia, without a crusade or aid of the Church, from which, to-day, she gets so much that it would be difficult to say that she has as many tithes and first-fruits from five other kingdoms as from these three. Wherefore the Holy Church of Rome, or those who govern it, should consider the increase they get from the House of Aragon and they should make their acknowledgement to the descendants of the House of Aragon. But, however, I comfort myself with this, that if the Pope and the cardinals do not acknowledge it, the King of Kings, Our Lord the true God remembers it, and helps them in their necessities and leads them on from good to better.

XXXVII

How the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon considered and resolved that he would avenge the Kings Manfred and Conradin and Enzo, their brother; and how he went to France to see the Queen, his sister; and of the great love between him and the King of France.

And so the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon, when he had heard of the great battles and victories that King Charles had won in the conquest he had undertaken, was greatly displeased, and angry, because of his great love for the Queen, his wife, and because of his sons, whom he loved much. Wherefore he decided that he could never be happy until he had taken revenge. He settled in his mind what any wise lord should settle concerning great deeds he undertakes: he considered the beginning and the middle and then the end, for a man will accomplish nothing unless he considers these three things. And the said Lord King, being the wisest lord in the world, thought of these three things. Of the first I shall say to you that it was the one most necessary for him to consider: before he began anything, he should know who was to help him and of whom he should

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beware. The other was that he should have sufficient money. The third, that he should act so secretly, that no man would know what was in his mind, but only he himself, for he thought that his intention was such as no man would approve, because it was to undertake a war against the Church, which means the whole power of Christians, and also against the House of France, which is the oldest Royal House in Christendom. It was against both these powers that he made up his mind to declare war. And if he had consulted anyone there was no man on earth who would have approved; but he, trusting in God and in the just cause he wished to maintain, thought that, with his understanding and knowledge and with the help of God, he would succeed in avenging the father and the uncles of my Lady the Queen, his wife, and the grandfather and great-uncles of his sons. Anyone can imagine in what affliction my Lady the Queen, his wife, lived when she knew that her father and her uncles had been killed. And the Lord King En Pedro loved my Lady the Queen more than anything on earth, wherefore anyone can bear in mind what Monteyagol⁴⁷ says: "War is close to him who has it in the centre of his territories, but closer to him who has it in his mind." And when the Lord King heard the Queen sigh, it pierced his heart, wherefore he considered in his mind all the dangers and decided that revenge should be taken by him. And his mind was made up that he must arrange for the said revenge; a decision he would tell and discover to none, but would first consider how to accomplish the three things I have told you of already, namely: that no one should be able to attack his Kingdom; secondly, that no man should know what he intended to do; thirdly, to collect sufficient money. And so first he thought much about the House of France.

It is the truth that, when he was still Infante and his father was alive, he went one day to France to see the King of France⁴⁸ and the Queen, his sister. And he thought that, if he went that year, he would not lose any time, nor

⁴⁷"No doubt G . Muntagnagol, a Provençal troubadour who flourished in the time of Jaime I of Aragon, and Alfonso X of Castile, the learned, and who dedicated some of his poems to the latter." – Bofarull.

⁴⁸Philip III. le Hardi.

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be missed on the Saracen frontier, as the Saracens cannot make war in winter, so badly are they equipped and clothed, and they fear cold more than any people in the world. And therefore he entered France in January. And when he was in France he was received with great honour, and the King of France was very joyous and cheerful at his coming, and he remained there full two months with great disport and diversions. And he took part in tourneys, and throwing of spears, and engaged in knightly exercises with knights and sons of knights who had come with him and with many counts and barons of France who tried their skill against his, for love of him. What shall I tell you? So much love sprung up between the said Lord Infante and the King of France that they shared a consecrated wafer in Holy Communion, and did oath and homage to each other, and swore that they would at no time, nor for anyone in the world, fight against each other, but rather would help and protect each other against all men. The love between them was as great as it can be between two brothers. And I, myself, have seen the King of France, when he was riding, carry the device of the Lord King of Aragon, quartered on his saddlecloth for love of the Infante, and in the other quarter his own device of the flowers. And so, likewise, did the Infante. And then the said Lord Infante returned, very pleased with the King of France and with the Queen, his sister. And this I have recounted to you because, later on, it will be fit that I should speak of this compact and it will be to our purpose.

XXXVIII

How the Lord King En Pedro thought himself sure of the King of France, and how the King of Mallorca complained to the said Lord King En Pedro of certain wrongs the King of France had done him at Montpellier; and how thereupon the three Kings and the Prince of Taranto met at Toulouse and made a covenant.

Now I shall cease to speak of this matter and shall turn again to speak of the affairs which occupied the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon, who remembered the covenant and agreement between himself and the King of

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France; wherefore it seemed to him he was sure of the House of France and that no harm could come from that side to anything of his, because of the said agreement and oath, and so, likewise, because of the near relationship there was between them, and especially because the King of France had sons who were already grown up and who were his nephews. And so, you see, he thought himself sure of the House of France. And whilst he was of that opinion, the Lord King of Mallorca had an interview with him, and complained much to him of many wrongs and alterations the King of France was working at Montpellier and in the barony. About these wrongs and injuries they, together, sent their messengers to the King of France. And the King of France, having a great special wish to see King En Pedro of Aragon, sent to tell them that he would come to Toulouse, and that they should get ready for an interview there; yet, if they wished him to go to Perpignan or Barcelona, that, for the love he bore them, he would do so willingly. And the Kings, the two brothers, were much pleased with this offer, and sent to tell him that the interview should be at Toulouse. And both prepared to go to the said interview.

And King Charles, who was to be at this interview, sent his son (who was Prince of Taranto at that time, and afterwards was King, after the death of his father, King Charles) to the King of France and begged leave for him to go with him to the said interview. And this he did because there was nobody in the world whom he doubted so much as the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon. And he sent to beg the King of France, who was his nephew, to arrange the interview in such wise that he need fear nothing from the said Lord King of Aragon. And this King Charles did chiefly because he intended to pass into Romania against the Emperor Paleologus,⁴⁹ who had the Empire of Constantinople against all right; for, surely, the Empire should belong to the sons of the Emperor Baldwin, who were nephews of King Charles. And so he feared that, when he had left his kingdom, the Lord King of Aragon would take it from him. What shall I tell you? All three Kings and the said prince came to the interview [Sept.

⁴⁹Michael Palaeologus, 1261-1282.

1280], and if there ever was great cheer and content amongst kings and lords, there was amongst these three Kings. But by no means could the Prince find a cheerful countenance nor any comfort in the said Lord King En Pedro; rather was the King very harsh and angry towards him. The King of France and the King of Mallorca took the Lord King of Aragon into a chamber one day and asked him how it was that he did not speak with the Prince; that he knew full well that he was his near blood-relation, as he was the son of his cousin, the daughter of the count of Provence and besides, that his wife also, the daughter of the King of Hungary,⁵⁰ was his blood-relation. But though there were many ties between them, they could obtain nothing from him in the end. And the Prince invited the King of France and King En Pedro of Aragon and the King of Mallorca to a banquet, but King En Pedro would not accept it, wherefore the banquet had to be given up. But the King of Mallorca showed great civility to the Prince and the Prince to him. And so, on their departure from the interview, the Prince left with the King of Mallorca and I saw them both enter Perpignan, and a great feast was made for them, and the King of Mallorca detained the Prince eight days. Now I shall leave the Prince and return to the interview. When the feast, which lasted full a fortnight, was over, they attended to their affairs. And in the end the King of France promised to the King of Aragon and to the King of Mallorca and swore to them, that he never, neither by exchange nor for any reason, would interpose to make an exchange with the bishop of Maguelonne, nor would meddle with any affairs concerning Montpellier. And so, likewise, the King of France confirmed the good friendship existing between himself and the Lord King of Aragon, which he had signed as aforesaid, at the time the Lord King was an Infante and went to France. And all this done, and many other good agreements made between them, they parted, and the King of France returned to France by Cahors and Figeac, and the Lord King En Pedro returned to Catalonia, and the Lord King of Mallorca, as I have told you before, together with the Prince, went to Montpellier.

⁵⁰Maria, daughter of Stephen V, King of Hungary.

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XXXIX

How the King of Mallorca, under cover of a firm and clear compact, was deceived by the King of France who made an exchange with the Bishop of Maguelonne and took possession of Montpellier to the grief of the notables.

And, with these compacts which the King of Mallorca had with the King of France, he slept in fancied security about the affairs of Montpellier, so that under cover of this compact he was deceived by the King of France, who made an exchange with the Bishop of Maguelonne for what the latter possessed in Montpellier. And when the exchange was made, the King of France entered Montpellier to take possession of what belonged to the said Bishop; but the notables of Montpellier would on no account consent to it, rather would they let themselves be cut to pieces than that their lord, the King of Mallorca, should suffer such a wrong at the hands of the King of France. And the King of France summoned his hosts against Montpellier and so many people collected, on horseback and on foot, their number was infinite. And the notables of Montpellier prepared themselves very well for the defence. But the Lord King of Mallorca, who knew this, resolved to let the King of France take possession, for, in his heart, he believed that, as soon as they met, he would leave the city to him, in accordance with the covenant between them and for the great love and the obligations between them. And so he sent orders to the notables of Montpellier not to oppose the King of France; and this he commanded under the penalty for treason, for he would have no enmity with the King of France. And he told them to be of good cheer; that he would enter France, and that they should know that he had such ties and agreements with the King of France that he would at once receive the city from him.

And so the notables of Montpellier, however grieved they were, had to obey the orders of their Lord the King of Mallorca and especially because of the good hope he held out to them. And thus you see how the King of France deceived the King of Mallorca. The King of Mallorca entered France and saw the King that time and often; and every time he made some

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excuse, that, at that season, he could not give up the city, but that he might be sure he would do so shortly. And with such fine words he put him off as long as he lived, and so likewise have all the Kings of France done from that day to this. And they were not content to hold and to have the part which had belonged to the bishop, rather have they taken all, which is the greatest spoliation ever made in all the world. Wherefore be sure that, in time, from this wrong will come a great war and great evils, for neither the King of Aragon nor the King of Mallorca can suffer it; wherefore I believe it will cost the House of France dear. Let God in His mercy judge according to the right and reason He has established and establishes.

Now I shall let this be, for I must leave it to the justice and truth of God, from whom all revenge has to come by right, and I shall speak of the King of Aragon, En Pedro, who thought himself safe on the side of the King of France, and who also, in the end, found he had been mistaken, like the King of Mallorca, and even much more, as the deception was greater. But, however, the deception the King of Aragon suffered from the King of France God avenged before it had quite succeeded, as you shall hear further on.

XL

How the Lord King En Pedro wished to make sure of the House of Castile and how, hearing of the death of his nephew King En Fernando of Castile, he went there and took the two sons of the said King and brought them away and put them in the castle of Játiva; and how shortly afterwards King En Sancho of Castile came to an interview with King En Pedro when the two Kings negotiated and signed covenants.

And so the Lord King En Pedro was, as he thought, very sure of the House of France when he departed from the interview at Toulouse and thought he would also secure the House of Castile. And he came into Aragon. And it is the truth that King En Alfonso of Castile had by his wife,

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the sister of the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon, amongst others, two sons; the elder, as aforesaid, was called the Infante En Fernando,⁵¹ and the other the Infante En Sancho. And, to the eldest, he gave to wife the daughter of King Louis of France, sister of King Philip, who had to wife the daughter of the Lord King of Aragon. And as King En Alfonso of Castile and King Philip of France were brothers-in-law (whose wives were the daughters of the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon) they arranged the marriage of the eldest son of the King of Castile with King Philip's sister, who was called Doña Blanca; and they gave her to him with the understanding that, after the death of the Lord King En Alfonso, as he was the eldest son, he should be King of Castile. And the said Infante En Fernando had by my Lady Blanca two sons, one called King En Alfonso and the other Infante En Fernando. And when he had had these two sons, the said Infante En Fernando, as it pleased God, fell ill and passed from this life [1275], which was a great loss, for he was a very worthy, upright young man.

And when the Lord King of Aragon knew the death of his nephew he was much displeased, for he loved him as if he had been his son. And he had good cause, for there was no one on earth the Infante Fernando loved as much as he did his uncle, the Lord King of Aragon. A short time afterwards the said Lord King of Aragon entered Castile with a small retinue and he made, in three days and four nights, an eight days' march, so that he arrived where the two sons of the Infante En Fernando were; and he took them and carried them into the Kingdom of Valencia and put them into the castle of Játiva, where he had them brought up in a way suitable to the sons of a king. And this he did for two reasons especially: firstly, because of the great love he had had for their father, that no one should harm their persons; and secondly, in order that, if the Infante En Sancho, his nephew, failed in anything towards them, he himself should have these Infantes and could make one of them King of Castile; and thus he would hold the House of Castile subject and tied closely to his will. When the

⁵¹Nicknamed de la Cerda from a tuft of hair on his chest with which he was born. The nickname became the surname of his descendants.

King of Castile knew this, he was very pleased, but I believe that the Infante En Sancho was not. And it was not long before the King of Castile made many of the richs homens of his Kingdom take the oath to the Infante En Sancho, to be king after him [1276]. And when this was done, the Infante En Sancho had an interview with his uncle, the King of Aragon [1279], for he also loved him much, and said to him: "Lord and Father, you know already that the King, my father, has made many of his richs homens take the oath to me; but it is true that there are some who refused. They would not take the oath to me, because they had sworn that the Infante En Fernando, my brother, should be King after the death of our father. Now, Lord and Father, it should please you better that I should be king, than any of my nephews. I see that this is in your hands, wherefore I pray and entreat you to support me. And if you do not wish to help me, grant me the favour not to oppose me; for if you are not against me, I fear not, under God, that any man could take the Kingdom from me."

And when the King of Aragon had heard what his nephew, whom he loved as if he were his son, had said to him, he answered: "Nephew, I have heard well what you have said and I reply to you if you will behave towards Us as you should and as I expect, be sure that I will not go against you, on condition that you do what I wish, and do oath and homage upon it." And he said: "It is well, Lord and Father. Command what you wish that I should do; for, all you command I am ready, now and always, to do, and nothing else. And of this I make oath and homage, as a King's son." Then said the Lord King: "I will tell you what you are to do. The first thing you must promise me is that you will always help me, with all your power, against all men in the world and that, for no reason whatever, nor for any person whatever, you, nor anyone for you, will ever come against me. And the other thing you must promise me is that, when your nephews are grown up and have attained an age of reason, you let them have part of the Kingdom in such wise that they be well endowed." "Lord," said he, "you have named things I promise you, which are reasonable and fair and to my honour; wherefore I am ready to conclude this in the manner you command." And upon this these covenants were confirmed, as aforesaid, with oath and homage and also with public documents. And this compact

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made between them, the Infante En Sancho returned to Castile, joyous and content, and told everything to his father, who had great pleasure and joy thereat, and confirmed to the Lord King of Aragon all his son had promised. Now I shall let them be and shall speak of the Lord King En Pedro who was very joyous and content with what he had arranged, for he thought himself safe on the side of Castile.⁵²

XLI

How the Lord King En Pedro returned to Valencia where he found messengers from the King of Granada who were asking for a truce, which he accorded to them for five years; and how he proceeded to collect money throughout his country.

And as soon as he came to the Kingdom of Valencia, he found messengers from the King of Granada, who came to him with great jewels and great presents and asked him for a truce, in the name of the King of Granada. And the Lord King En Pedro, thinking his project was having a good beginning, accorded them a truce for five years. And, assuredly, that is a thing he would not have done for anything in the world, if it were not that he was determined to avenge King Manfred, King Conradin and King Enzo; but that made him grant the said truce. And when this was done he saw that his just object was accomplished, that is, he thought himself safe, that no hurt could come to his country from any side; rather, he could begin the journey on which he had set his heart. And he proposed to

⁵²Pedro's action in befriending Fernando de la Cerda's two sons, was no doubt inspired by a more selfish motive than concern for their safety. He could always threaten to set up one of them as a rival to Sancho, should the latter show any hostility towards him. The Spanish historians do not mention Pedro's kidnapping raid and their account of the childhood of the two Infantes is very different from Muntaner's. Lafuente says they were being brought up under the loving care of their grandmother, Queen Violante. Afraid that there might be a plot against their lives, she invoked the help of her brother, King Pedro, and succeeded in 1277 in secretly taking the children and their mother, Doña Blanca, to Aragon. At the instance of her son, Don Sancho, Queen Violante returned to Castile, leaving the children under the tutelage of King Pedro who, shortly afterwards, had the interview with Sancho mentioned above.

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accomplish his second object namely, to collect money. And, throughout all his territories, he requested his vassals to help him with money, for he intended making a journey which would be much to the aggrandisement of himself and of all his subjects. And his people, knowing his high courage and his worth, knew well that he was not intending a vain enterprise. And everyone granted him all he asked for, so that he imposed excises and other assistance throughout all his kingdoms and territories, which amounted to countless sums; and his subjects were content with all.

Now I shall let be this assistance which is gathered from all his dominions and I shall turn to speak of King Charles.

XLII

How the Prince of Taranto returned to King Charles, his father, from the interview of Toulouse and recounted to him the bad reception he had had from the Lord King En Pedro; and how King Charles, relying only on his own power, resolved to have no fear of the said Lord King En Pedro.

It is the truth that when the Prince of Taranto returned from the interview of Toulouse, he went so long on his journeys that he came to King Charles, his father, who asked him for news of the interview. And he told him all that had happened to him; how the King of France and the King of Mallorca had done him much honour, but the King of Aragon would not at all be his friend but, instead, was harsh and angry with him; whereat King Charles was greatly displeased and knew that King Pedro had that thorn in his heart which he had thought and feared he had. Nevertheless he trusted so much in his own expertness and in his numerous forces that he decided he need not fear the King of Aragon. And, assuredly, he might decide so, for he had four advantages that no other king on earth had. The first, that he was held to be the wisest prince and most accomplished in arms in the world, since the death of the good King En Jaime of Aragon. The other, that he was the most powerful King in the world, for he was at that time king and lord of all King Manfred used to have; and besides, he was count of Provence and Anjou, and, also, he was a

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Roman senator, and vicar-general of all the Guelph part of Tuscany and Lombardy and of the Marches. Besides, he was Vicar-General of all the Land beyond Sea and chief of all the Christians there, as well as of the Templars and of the Hospitallers and of the Germans,⁵³ as also of all cities, castles and towns, and of other Christian nations there now, or who would go there thereafter. And, besides, he had in his hand the Holy Apostolic Father and all the Holy Roman Church, who considered him their great patron and guide. Besides, he had with him the House of France, as King Louis of France was his brother and, when he died, left King Philip as King and warmly recommended his brother, King Charles, to him. And so King Charles counted on him, as if his brother, King Louis were still alive. Therefore, assuredly, considering all his power, little need he fear King En Pedro. And so he pondered this power in his heart and considered not the might of God. Wherefore whoever trusts more in his own power than in the power of God may reckon upon it that God will prove His might to him, giving everyone to know and understand, that His power is the only one, and all others are nothing. And of this matter, of the might of God, I have already spoken so much, that I now need speak of it no more. And so King Charles lived in his trust in the strength of his own power.

XLIII

Relates for what reason the Island of Sicily rebelled against King Charles and how the said King besieged the City of Messina; and how Boaps rose against his brother Mirabusac and had himself crowned King of Bougie.

And being of this proud mind, he appointed officers throughout the island of Sicily who did and said nothing but what was evil and insolent; and it seemed to them that there was no God in the world but King Charles. They took no account of God or man, and acted so that it was a wonder that the Sicilians did not cut the Frenchmen's throats rather than

⁵³Knights of the Teutonic Order.

bear with their treatment of them. And amongst other misdeeds this happened at Easter-time: There is a church in Palermo, in the direction of the Admiral's bridge, to which, at Easter, all the city goes to gain indulgences, and especially the ladies of Palermo all go there. And on that day [1282], amongst others, some gentlewomen who were very beautiful went there; and the French sergeants⁵⁴ had gone out and met these ladies, who were accompanied by some youths of good birth who were kinsmen of theirs. And in order to have a pretext for laying their hands on the ladies where they wished, the Frenchmen searched the young men for arms, and when they saw that they carried none, they said they had entrusted them to the ladies, and under this pretext they thrust their hands into their bosoms and pinched them.⁵⁵ Then, other men who were walking with ladies and saw this, and saw also that they were beating, with ox-whips, men and ladies who were trying to get away, exclaimed: "Ah God, Our Father, who can bear so much arrogance?" And then this clamour rose to God in such wise that He willed that these insults and many others which had been inflicted, should be avenged and He inflamed with anger the hearts of those who, in this place, saw the outrage. And they cried: "Kill them, kill them!" As this cry was raised, they stoned all these sergeants to death. And when they had killed them they went about the city of Palermo, men and women, shouting: "Death to the French!" And at once they seized arms and killed all the French they found in Palermo. And they immediately elected Micer Aleynep, one of the respected and wealthy men

⁵⁴This is the only occasion on which Muntaner uses the word "sarjants"; it seems a mistake therefore to identify it, as Ducange does, with "servents," "sirvientes," members of the king's household retainers, young men not yet knighted.

⁵⁵The following three accounts confirm the truth of Muntaner's narrative:

...Manu intrepidus pectus infra vestes et ubera tangit illicite, simulans quod eam propenderet ipsa partere. B. de Neocastro.

...quidam plus alliis furore vitiosae libinis forsitan excaecatus in unam ex mulieribus illis temerarias manus iniecit atque assereus eam pugionem viri sui sub vestibus abscondisse, temerarias manus illam in utero titillavit. N. Specialis.

...d' undi unu franciscu si prist una fimmina tucandola eu li manu disonestamente, comu ia eranu usati de fari... – Crónica Siciliana.

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of Sicily, their commander and chief. And when this was done, they formed a host and went where they knew there were Frenchmen; and their cry went through every place in Sicily, and wherever their cry was raised, there they killed all the French. What shall I tell you? All Sicily rebelled against King Charles and they killed all the Frenchmen they could find, so that not one who was in Sicily escaped.⁵⁶ And this happened by the mercy of God. Our Lord the true God suffers the sinner, but, when He sees that he will not amend his evil ways, He sends down upon him the sword of justice. And thus He sent it down upon these wicked, insolent men who were devouring the country and the people of Sicily, a people good and virtuous in all their duty towards God and towards their lord. And so they are to this day, for there is not in the world to-day a more loyal people than they have been and are and will be, if it be God's pleasure, to the lords they have had afterwards, as you shall hear further on. And when this was done, and King Charles knew this damage he had received, he was moved by a great anger and collected great hosts and came to besiege the city of Messina by land and by sea. And he came with a great power, with fifteen thousand horsemen and with countless men afoot and with a hundred galleys against the city which was not then walled and which, it seemed, he would take at once. But all this power was nothing compared with the power of God Who, in His justice, guarded and defended the Sicilians.

And so I must let King Charles be, who is besieging Messina, and I must speak to you again of the city of Tunis and of what happened to it. It is the truth that when King Mirabusac was made King in Tunis by the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon, as you have heard already, his brother Boaps went to Bougie and to Constantine and, with those two cities, rose against Mirabusac and was crowned King of Bougie. And each of these two brothers was in his own Kingdom, and, later on, Boaps, King of Bougie and Constantine, died and left as King of Bougie, Mirabosecri, his son, and as lord of Constantine, Bugron, his second son.

⁵⁶One Frenchman escaped; he had earned by his conduct the love and esteem of the Sicilians. His name was Porcelet.

XLIV

How Bugron, son of Boaps and King of Constantine, sent his messengers to the King of Aragon to let him know that he wished to become a Christian and his vassal and to give him Constantine and all his territory; and of the wonderful preparations the Lord King En Pedro made to proceed to Collo.

And when this was done, the said Mirabosecri wanted to disinherit and take the said Bugron, if he could. And he, who knew this, thought he would not be able to defend himself, unless it were by the hand of the Lord King of Aragon, and that he would let him know he wished to turn Christian through him, and that the said Lord King should come to Collo, which is the port of the said place, Constantine; and that he would surrender to him the city of Constantine; and that, when he was at Collo, he should go on to Constantine, which is the strongest city in the world; and that he would become a Christian and would give him all the land he possessed and would become his man and his godson and vassal; and that he requested him, in the name of Jesus Christ, to accept this, and, if he failed in this, may God visit it upon him, upon his body and his soul.

And the King, when he heard this message which came to him from Bugron, lord of Constantine, lifted his hands to Heaven and said: "Lord, the true God, I give Thee praise and thanks for so much grace and mercy Thou showest me. May it please Thee, if this should be to Thy glory and the good of my dominions, that it may come to a good issue." And the messengers were two Saracen knights, very wise men who pretended they came about the release of some captives. And so they delivered this message so secretly, that no man on earth knew anything about it, except the Lord King. And the said Lord chose two merchants who were very wise and who were notables, and he made them load a ship with merchandise and they went to the port of Collo with the said ship. And the two Saracens went with them, with ten Saracen captives they had bought in order to pretend that they were from those districts. And the Lord King arranged with these two merchants that, when they were at Collo, they,

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with part of the said merchandise, should go up to Constantine and have an interview with En Bugron, to find out whether what those messengers said was true. And thus the Lord King would find out all, for the said merchants were notables and his born subjects. And he commanded that they should not reveal this to anyone, under penalty of losing their liberty and all their property. And, as he commanded, so it was done.

And when they came to Constantine they spoke to En Bugron about the whole affair in such manner that the Lord King thought the whole business concluded, as did En Bugron also. And the Lord King proceeded at once to have ships built and lenys and galleys and terides to carry horses. And so, all along the coast, he had great vessels built and great preparations made for all that is required for a lord's voyage. All people of his dominion wondered at the great preparations that were being made: that, firstly, at Colliure the smiths made nothing else but anchors, and all the shipwrights of Roussillon had come to Colliure, where they made ships, lenys, terides and galleys; and the same at Rosas, and at Torruella and at Pálamos and at San Feliú and at San Pol de Maresma. And of Barcelona I need not speak to you, the work done there was infinite; then also at Tarragona and at Tortosa and at Peñíscola and at Valencia and all along the sea-coast. And in the inland cities were made cross-bows and quarells and crocks and lances and darts and breastplates, casques, greaves, cuisses and shields, and pavesses and mangonels; and in the coast towns catapults were made and in the quarries and other places the stones were prepared for the engines. So that, so great was the work, the fame of it spread throughout the world.

XLV

How the King of Mallorca and the Infante En Sancho begged the Lord King En Pedro to tell them what he intended to do; and how the Lord King En Pedro would not tell his intentions, except that he commended all his country to the Infante En Sancho.

And the Lord King of Mallorca came to the Lord King of Aragon and prayed him to tell him what he intended to do and said that, if it pleased

him, he would go with him anywhere with all his forces. And he answered: "Brother, I do not wish you to come with me, but that you remain and undertake to guard and take care of Our country. And I also pray you, do not let it weigh on you that I do not tell you what I intend to do; for assuredly, Brother, if I discovered my heart to any person in the world I would discover it to you, but I do not intend to do it concerning this journey. And so I again pray you that you be not grieved that I also do not wish for help and succour from any man in the world, but only from God and from my vassals and subjects." And upon this the Lord King of Mallorca, though grieved, did not press him any more. And likewise the King of Castile and his nephew, the Infante En Sancho, acted in the same way; the Infante En Sancho came to Aragon solely with the object of seeing the Lord King; and he offered, on the part of his father and his own, to follow him in person with all his forces, and he said he would have thirty or forty galleys from Seville and from other places on his sea-coast, well armed and equipped. What shall I tell you? The King made him the same answer he had made to his brother, the King of Mallorca, except that he said to him that he commended all his country to him, as to one he looked upon as a son. And the said Lord Infante answered that he willingly accepted this charge, and that the King should command to all whom he left behind as procurators that, if they needed him for anything, they should summon him at once, and that he would leave everything and be with them, immediately, in person, with all his forces. And with this the King of Aragon was much pleased, and embraced him more than ten times; and so they took leave of each other. And the said Lord Infante returned to Castile, and recounted to the King, his father, all that had passed between them. "Ah, God," said the Lord King En Alfonso of Castile, "what lord is there in the world whose spirit could be compared to that of yonder lord?" And hardly any time went by before King Alfonso of Castile died [1284] and the Lord Infante En Sancho became King of Castile. And so from now onwards I shall leave King En Sancho of Castile and shall return to the Lord King of Aragon.

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XLVI

How the Infante En Sancho having departed the Lord King En Pedro set out to visit his sea-coast and ordered biscuits to be made and very good provision and sent letters to the men of his country who were to go with him.

And when the said Infante En Sancho had departed from Aragon and the Lord King, and had returned to Castile, the said Lord King went along the coasts, inspecting all the work, and he ordered biscuits to be made in Saragossa and at Tortosa and at Barcelona and at Valencia. And he had a great quantity of oats and of wheat brought to Tortosa. Indeed, he had so much brought that there was no room for it in the city of Tortosa and huts and wooden houses were made, in which to put it. And he also sent his letters to all those richs homens of his country whom he wished to go with him, telling them to get ready for the journey, with so many knights and so many cross-bowmen and so many foot soldiers. And to each he ordered to be given, on their lands, or where they wished, as much money as they needed. And he commanded that nobody should provide himself with victuals, nor wine, nor oats, for he would provide fully everything that would be necessary for the journey. And this the Lord King did in order that they need not provide anything, except only their personal equipment, and so all should come well arrayed. And so it was done and, until that day, there had never been a voyage made in which the men and horses and cross-bowmen and foot soldiers and seamen had been so well arrayed as they were on that journey. And he also ordained that there should be twenty thousand almugavars, all from the frontier, and full eight thousand cross-bowmen from the mountains; and he ordained that a thousand knights, all of noble descent, should go with him, and many cross-bowmen of Tortosa and of Aragon and of Catalonia, and the King's retainers. What shall I tell you? So great were the preparations that all the kings and the lords of the world, Christians as well as Saracens, who had any territory on the sea-coast, were watching and were full of doubt, each one in his

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territory, because there was no man alive who knew what the King intended to do.

XLVII

How the Pope and the Kings of France and of England and other Christian Princes sent their messengers to the Lord King of Aragon to beg him to tell them where he intended to go and how all received the same answer.

The Pope sent to say that he begged him to tell him what he intended to do and that, if he sent to tell him, he might go so far as to help him with money and with indulgences. And the Lord King sent to tell him that he was very grateful to him for his offer, but he begged him not to be displeased if, at this time, he did not wish to tell him his intentions; but that he would shortly do so and that, then, the help and the indulgences would be very welcome. But that, now, he may be pleased to resign himself. And so the messengers returned to the Pope with this answer and when the Pope had heard it, he said: "Assuredly, my belief is that this man will be a second Alexander."

And afterwards there likewise came messengers from the King of France, his brother-in-law, who sent a similar message to that of the Pope and they returned with the same answer.⁵⁷ And afterwards came

⁵⁷"Ce soit remembrance de ce que li missatge le Roy de France ond dit a le Roy Darago de part de le Roy de France mesire Alexandres de Loayse et mesire John de Carroaix.

"Sire. Le Roys notre sires qui a vos nos a envoyes o ses letres que nos vos avons bailees nos a encharge de nos vos dioms de part de luy que il ha entendu que vos aves fet gran apparell de gens darmes et de navira et que li ond dit que vos devez aler sor mescreans e li autre dient autrement et quand nos partimes de li ill navet ei ancora nuylle certenite de vostre entencion quel part vos devez torner. Si vos fet savoir par nos que si vos tornes vostra empresa sor les enemis de la fe christiana et nostre sires cuy besoyna vos faries en ce faisant vos done victorie o autre avancement il end sera lies et joyans et plus chier vos end hauret. E si vos aves autre entencion il veut que vos saches que qui quonques feret guerra ho autre enuyement le Roy de Secile son oncle o le prince de Salerna son cousin illi deplaret forment. E tot ce qui an contra ens serait fet il tenroit

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messengers from the King of England and from other princes of the world, and all returned with one answer, the same for the Pope as for kings and counts. But of the Saracens I need not speak; each Saracen king feared that it was against him that the King of Aragon was going to march. So that it was the greatest marvel of the world to see all the lighthouses and watch-towers that were erected all over Barbary. The men of the King of Granada said to him: "Lord, how is it that you do not guard Vera and Almeria and Servenya and Monecha and Malaga? Assuredly, the King of Aragon will fall upon you." But the King of Granada answered them: "Foolish men, what are you saying? Know you not that the King of Aragon has concluded a truce with Us for five years, and do you fear that he will break his promise? Have no fear, but be sure that he is of so lofty a mind and heart that, for nothing in the world, would he fail in anything he has promised. And would to God he wished me to go with him with all my forces, whether it be against Christians or against Saracens. Indeed I would follow him willingly at my own cost and providing for myself. And so dismiss this suspicion. I do not wish any man in my dominion to increase his vigilance for this reason. The House of Aragon is the House of God, in faith and in truth."

What shall I tell you? All the world was in suspense, waiting to see what this lord would do; but, whoever else may have felt sad or afraid, En Bugron rejoiced. Now I shall leave this matter and shall return to the Lord King of Aragon and to his expedition.

a fet a soy mesmes. Quod fui factum pud Portum fangos XIII kalendas junii anno Domini M.CC.LXXX secundo."

"Aço es memorial de la resposta quel senyor Rey Darago feu a les paraules que Sire Alexandre de la Loese e sire Jonh de Carreus li dixeren de part del Senyor Rey de França.

"E diu que sa voluntat et son proposit fo e es tota via quel fet que ell ha fet aya fet a entendiment de Deu a servir. Aço fo fet a Portfangos XIII kalendas junii anno Domini M.CC.LXXX secundo." Archives of the Crown of Aragon (Barcelona), Reg. 7, Petri II, No. 47, f. 118 vo.

XLVIII

How, his inspections finished, the Lord King En Pedro convoked Cortes in Barcelona in which he ordained the affairs of his dominion and made his son, En Jaime Pedro, admiral; and to whom he would entrust the care of the affairs of Catalonia and of the galleys; and how on the appointed day all were at Port Fangós.

The said Lord King went about unceasingly, visiting and hastening on all the work that was being done for him; and all was so hurried on by him that more was done in eight days than would have been done in a month if he had not gone to inspect. And when he saw that the work was nearly finished, he convoked Cortes in Barcelona, and at these Cortes he ordained all his dominion and everything for his voyage, and made admiral a natural son of his, called En Jaime Pedro, who was very gifted, and accomplished in all matters. And the said En Jaime Pedro took the admiral's baton, and he made a knight of Catalonia vice-admiral; a man of good and honourable birth, called En Cortada, who was very expert in feats of arms and in all matters pertaining to a knight, and was a man of sense. And when this was done the King appointed a day, the 1st of May, on which every man who was to go on the journey should be at Port Fangós, ready and equipped for embarking. And he ordained that En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol should hasten the affairs of Catalonia, as well the galleys as the terides and the ships. And then, likewise, he appointed, in each place, good seamen who hastened the preparations for the voyage in their villages. And at Valencia, the said Lord En Jaime Pedro, who had property in the Kingdom of Valencia, ordained the dispatching of the fleet, as well as of the knights, the almugavars, and the cross-bowmen from the mountains. What shall I tell you about it? In all places, as well on the sea-coast as inland, the Lord King ordered the hastening on of all works and of the companies, in such manner that, on the day he had appointed, they had all come, by sea as well as by land, some to Tortosa, some to Port Fangós. What more shall I tell you about it?

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All came so willingly that those who were to bring a hundred cross-bowmen brought two hundred; and the same with the retainers who followed their masters against their masters' wish, and asked for no pay whatever. And again, there came also all the chiefs there were in Aragon and Catalonia and in the Kingdom of Valencia, and syndics of all the cities. And so the Lord King came and pitched his tents at Port Fangós where all the shipping was; all were provided already with all they wanted, so that there was nothing more to do, but that the Lord King and the counts, barons, knights, almugavars and retainers should embark.

XLIX

How the Lord King En Pedro issued a proclamation that he wished to embark at Port Fangós and say farewell; and how the count de Pallars in the name of all prayed the said Lord King to tell him his intention, which he never would disclose; and of the artifice he used to disclose it to the shipmasters and to the sailors.

And when the Lord King had ascertained that all was ready, the ships as well as the galleys and other vessels, he was very joyous and content, and had all the people assembled by sound of trumpets, without distinction of class, in order that everyone should hear what he wished to say; for he wished to take leave of them and to embark after having spoken. And on hearing this proclamation, everyone came to where the King would speak, prelates and richs homens and knights and all other people. And when all were assembled, the Lord King mounted on a platform of wood he had had made, so high that all could see and hear him well. And when he stood there, be sure he was well listened to. And he began to speak and said many good words, appropriate for those who were to go with him and for those who were to remain behind. And when he had finished his speech the noble A. Roger, count de Pallars, who was to go with him on his journey, rose in the name of all present and said: "Lord, all your people, as well we who are going with you as those who remain behind, have great pleasure in the good words you have spoken to us and

we all beseech you humbly to tell and discover to us where it is your intention to go." And he gave as a reason, that his telling them his intention could cause no delay or injury, as their embarkation was so near, and that all would derive comfort from it, as well those who were going as those who remained; again, that merchants and other worthy people would provide themselves with victuals and all refreshments to carry to the army; and again, that his cities and towns would send, all the time, help and succour of all things. And the Lord King answered and said: "Count, I wish you, and all others here present, and also those who are not here present, to be sure that if We knew that Our left hand knows what Our right hand intends to do, that We ourselves would cut it off. Therefore speak no more of this matter, but begin to embark, all those of you who are to go with Us." And when the count and the others heard these strong words the Lord King had spoken, they wished to say no more, but contained themselves and said: "Lord, give your orders and we will carry them out, and may it please Our Lord the true God and Our Lady Saint Mary and all the Heavenly Court to fulfil your intention to Their glory, and to the increase of your honour and that of your subjects and to give us grace that we may serve you in such manner that God and you be satisfied." And upon this the count of Ampurias, viscount Rocaberti and other richs homens who were not to go on the journey, rose and said "Lord, may it please you to order that we embark with you, and on no account leave us behind; for we are as well appavelled to embark as those who have notice to go on the journey."

And the Lord King answered the count and the viscount and the others, and said: "We are very grateful to you for your offer of goodwill, which you make, but we reply to you that you who remain will serve us as well as those who are going." And when he had said this, he blessed them all and made the sign of the Cross over them and commended them to God. And if ever there was great weeping and great cries it was here at the leave-taking; so that the Lord King, who was the lord of stoutest heart ever born, could not refrain altogether from weeping. And he got up and went to take leave of my Lady the Queen and the Infantes; and he caressed them and blessed them and gave them his blessing. And an armed leny had been

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prepared for him and he embarked amidst all the benedictions and love amidst which any lord could embark. And when he was on board everyone began to embark also, so that within two days all were on board, and by the grace of Our Lord the true God and Our Lady Saint Mary and all His Blessed Saints, they sailed from Port Fangós to go on their great journey, in the month of May of the year of the Incarnation of Our Lord the true God Jesus Christ 1282. And when they sailed they were more than a hundred and fifty sails, one with the other. And when they were about twenty miles out at sea, the Admiral, En Jaime Pedro, went in an armed leny to each ship and leny, galley, teride and barge, and to each master he gave a letter, closed, and fastened with the seal of the Lord King; and he ordered each master to set his course for the port of Mahon, which is in the island of Minorca, and all to enter the said port and refresh themselves there. And when they had left the port of Mahon and were ten miles out at sea, each should open the letter, but not before, under penalty of death. And when they had opened it, they should set their course as the Lord King commanded in the said letter. And it was done as the admiral commanded.

L

How the fleet of the Lord King En Pedro entered Mahon, the Port of Minorca, and of the wicked crime the almojarife of Minorca committed against the said Lord King En Pedro, which was the cause of the head of En Bugron being cut off.

And all entered the port of Mahon and there refreshed themselves. The almojarife⁵⁸ of Minorca came to the Lord King and said to him: "Lord, what do you wish, and command that I should do? For if you come to take the

⁵⁸Almojarife, originally 'tax-collector,' was the title of the official in charge of finances. It was in use, in Aragon and Castile, amongst the Christians as well as amongst the Moors. In time the Moorish title became offensive to the Christians and, at their petition, was changed to 'chancellor.'

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island, I am ready to do what you command." And the Lord King answered the almojarife: "Be not afraid; for We have not come to cause you nor the island annoyance or grief; of that you may be sure." And the almojarife rose and kissed his foot and gave him many thanks and immediately sent so much refreshment to the Lord King and to the whole fleet, that it would be hard to reckon it up. He sent such abundance of refreshment of a kinds that it sufficed them for more than eight days. Nevertheless he committed a great crime, for, that night, he had a barque manned with Saracens. and sent them to Bougie and all along the coast and let it be known that the Lord King, with all his fleet, was in the port of Mahon and that, he believed, he was going to Bougie, and that they should be on the watch, And when, amongst others, En Bugron, Lord of Constantine, knew this, he was more joyous than any man could ever be and instead of dissembling, in his great joy, he disclosed his hopes to some intimates and kinsmen of his, whom he trusted in all things. And this he did to prepare to fulfil his promise to the Lord King. And one of those to whom he had disclosed his intentions let it be known to all in the city and to the Saracen knights of the city who were with him. What shall I tell you? Upon this rumour all rose and took En Bugron and cut off his head, his and those of twelve others who had agreed to his plot. And they sent a message to the King of Bougie to come and seize the city and all the territory. And so it was done.

Now I shall cease to speak of them, and shall speak again of the Lord King of Aragon.

LI

How the Lord King En Pedro landed at the Port of Collo and how he heard of the death of En Bugron whereat he was much displeased; and of the great number of Moabs who assembled whilst he erected fortifications; and of the great feats of arms that were done with the good help of Catalonia.

When the Lord King had refreshed his people, he departed from Mahon [June 1282] and, when they were ten miles out at sea, each master

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opened his letter and all found within the order to set their course for the port of Collo: and when they came to the town of Collo they landed. But the inhabitants of Collo had fled, so that they only found a few. However, they landed the horses there and all descended on shore. And when all had landed, the Lord King asked the Saracens he had taken prisoners at Collo for news of En Bugron. And they recounted to him what had happened to him, whereat the Lord King was much displeased. However, as he had come, he resolved that the expedition should be completed to the satisfaction of God and of the Holy Catholic Faith, and began at once to make a wall of stakes, with ropes passed through rings, and this wall surrounded all the host and the town. And he had the tapiadores⁵⁹ brought from the ships in which he had brought them, and they made barricades, and paths of tapia⁶⁰ by which the hosts were to come out from behind that wall of stakes. And whilst he was fortifying the host, thirty thousand Saracen horsemen collected around, and so many men afoot that you might have seen the country and the mountains covered with them. What shall I tell you about it? The accursed Moabits went about preaching and stirring up all Barbary and gave indulgences to their wicked race. And, before a month had passed, there had come more than a hundred thousand horsemen, and men afoot without number. And the count of Pallars, who saw this great gathering of people, erected a fort, partly of tapia, partly of wood, on a hill which is near the town of Collo. And from that place the said count of Pallars, with many other men, attacked the Saracens every day, so that they gave their fortified hill the name of Hill of Pica Baralla.⁶¹ And on that hill so many great feats of arms were done every day that it would be impossible to count them. What shall I tell you? If you wished to behold daring and lordly valour you might see them in this place, for when the hand-to-hand fight was at its height and the Lord King knew that the Christians were getting the worst of it, he charged into the thickest of the

⁵⁹Builders of mud walls.

⁶⁰Mud and straw.

⁶¹'Pica' point or extremity, 'Baralla' strife or affray.

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press and attacked in the midst of the enemy. But do not think that either Alexander, or Roland, or Oliver, or any other man could do what the Lord King was doing every day and, after him, all the others, the richs homens and knights, and almugavars and seamen who were there. And any man can well imagine that the Lord King and his people must needs act thus, as they were in a place where there was no fortification whatever, rather they were in a great plain without a ditch or wall, except the palisade I have told you of already. And opposed to them were Saracen kings and sons of kings and barons, and Moabs who are the flower of all the Saracens in the world; they were there for no other purpose but to confound the Christians. Wherefore, if the Christians were to go to sleep on guard, you may imagine that they would get a bad awakening. Therefore they could on no account be careless. And, assuredly, whenever the greatest deeds and the most perilous were done, then the Lord King was most cheerful and his people likewise. No host was ever better provided with all goods than this one, and every day the abundance increased. When it was known in Catalonia that the Lord King was at Collo, everyone, as eager as if it were in order to gain an indulgence, began to load ships and lenys with people and victuals and arms and everything that could be of assistance, and all went to Collo, so that there were days when twenty or thirty sails entered, laden with all sorts of goods, and there was a better market there than anywhere in Catalonia.

And when the Lord King had reconnoitred all that country and had seen the forces of the Moors and of the Saracens, he considered that he could easily conquer Barbary, if the Pope would help him with money and indulgences; for the Christians had never been in such favourable circumstances. Never had any Christian king who had come to this country had so much land in Barbary as he then held, neither the King of France nor the King of England, nor King Charles who came to Tunis in a Crusade and with the help of the treasure of the Church. From Jijelli to the city of Bona no Saracen dared show himself; rather, all along that coast, the Christians went about carrying wood to the army. And again, they kept their beasts there, for no Saracen dared appear, and there even were Christians who went on three or four days' raids and brought back great

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prizes of captured men and beasts, so that the Saracens dared not leave their hosts, for they feared they would be captured as soon as they did so. And so it was: every day plenty were captured. For a month you might have seen daily auctions of captives at Collo. And so the Lord King of Aragon thought himself and all the host thoroughly secure; it was marvellous. And sometimes he made a sudden attack with five hundred knights and left the others at the barricades. And when he thus attacked, he scattered the Saracens, so that not two remained together, and so many were massacred that it would be horrible to relate; and so many were captured that a Saracen could be bought for one dobla. So that all the Christians were rich and joyful, and above all the Lord King.

Now I shall cease speaking to you of the feats of arms that were done every day and will speak of what the Lord King had planned.

LII

How the Lord King En Pedro, being at Collo, sent the noble En G. de Castellnou to the Pope, with the object of asking him to help him with money and a crusade to conquer Barbary.

When the Lord King saw these feats, so glorious and advantageous to Christianity, he arranged to send, as a messenger to the Holy Father,⁶² the noble En G. de Castellnou, who was an important chief of Catalonia and a kinsman of his. And he sent him to Rome, to the Pope, with two galleys. And the order was this: he commanded the said noble to embark at once and to go up to the see of Rome and not to tarry in any place until he was with the Pope. And when he was with him, to greet him and all the cardinals in his name and when he had greeted him to beg him, in his name, to assemble his Consistory, as he wished to say a few words to him before them all, on the part of the said Lord King. And when this was done and they were all assembled, he should again greet the Holy Father and all

⁶²Martin IV.

his College from him and speak thus: "Holy Father, my Lord, King En Pedro of Aragon, lets you know that he is in Barbary, in a place called Collo, and he finds that, from that place, all Barbary can be taken. If you, Holy Father, will help him with money and indulgences, the greater part of the enterprise will be accomplished before long. And I tell you that, before three months are over, you will find that he will have taken the city of Bona, of which St. Augustine was bishop, and after that the city of Jijelli, and when he has captured these two cities, which are on the sea-coast near Collo, one to the east, and the other to the west, you may count on it that he will take all the other coast towns within a short time. And Barbary is such that he who has the coast will also have the whole of Barbary. And they are people who, as soon as they see the great distress they will be in, will, for the greater part, become Christians. Wherefore, Holy Father, the said Lord King requests you in the name of God that you render him these services only, and shortly, if it pleases God, the income of Holy Church will be so much increased by it that it will amount to much more than what you will have advanced. You know already how the Lord King, his father, increased the income of Holy Church without any help from her whatever. Wherefore, Holy Father, this I ask and request of you, and that you be pleased not to delay." And if peradventure he should answer you: "Why did you not say this to Our messengers, whom We sent to Catalonia?" you shall answer: "Because it was not the time for him to reveal his intention to you, Holy Father, nor to any other, for he had promised and sworn to Bugron, that he would not reveal it to anyone in the world. Wherefore, Holy Father, you should not be aggrieved." And if, peradventure, he will grant us no help whatever, you will protest in Our name and, in the protest, you will say to him that if he does not send the succour We are asking of him, that, by his fault, we shall have to return to Our country; that he and all the world know well that we have not so much money that we could tarry here long; and that God demands this help of him, and he knows well that if he sends Us the help We ask for, we will employ all Our days in the increase of the Holy Catholic Faith, and especially in those parts to which we have now come. Indeed, I command you to urge this cause as pressingly as you can."

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“Lord,” answered the noble En G. de Castellnou, “I have heard well what you have commanded me to say and to do and, with the help of God, I shall fulfil your command in such manner that you will be satisfied. And give me your blessing and leave and I commend you to Our Lord; may He defend you and guard you from all evil and give you victory over all your enemies. Nevertheless, Lord, may it please you, you have other richs homens, better endowed than I am, whom you could send; and I should be much more grateful to God and to you if, in the situation in which you are, I were not separated from you. For, every day, I see you put yourself in places in which it would grieve me to the heart not to be with you.” And the Lord King laughed and said: “Assuredly, En G., I am certain that you would have greater pleasure in remaining than in going; and as to the boldness you charge Us with in the matter of feats of arms We can count on you for them as on a man from Catalonia and from Our dominions. But do not be annoyed, for, when you come back, you will still find so much to do that you may well lose the wish for more. And We trust you so well that We think that you will bring this mission and all other affairs of greatest importance to better issue than any other of Our barons. And so, prepare to go, and Jesus Christ guard you and bring you back to Us, safe and sound.”

And, upon this, the said noble inclined himself to the ground and wanted to kiss his feet; but the Lord King did not allow it, but rather did be raise him up and give him his hand and, when he had given him his hand, he kissed him on the mouth. And two galleys were got ready at once and well fitted out and he went on board and prepared to go. God guide him to safety.

Now I shall let him be and shall turn to speak of the Lord King of Aragon and of the great feats of arms done every day at Collo.

LIII

How the Saracens, in battle array, wished to attack the Christians and destroy the fort of the count of Pallars; and how their intention was betrayed by a Saracen of the Kingdom of Valencia.

It happened one day that the Saracens agreed that they would go, in battle array, to the fort of the count of Pallars, and that they would take it or all die. And whilst they were planning this, a Saracen who had belonged to the Kingdom of Valencia, came in the night to tell the Lord King. And the Lord King said to him: "What day is it they intend doing this?" "Lord," said he, "to-day is Thursday, and on Sunday morning, which will be a feast day with you, they think that you will be at mass with many of your barons, and then they intend to make this assault." "Now," said the Lord King, "go and good luck to thee. We thank thee much for what thou hast told us, and We promise thee to give thee a piece of land in the place of thy birth, amongst thy friends. And Our pleasure is that thou remainest amongst these people and let Us know all they are doing; and on Saturday night be with us, to tell us all they have decided." "Lord," said he, "be sure that I shall be with you." And the Lord King had twenty gold doblas given to him and he went away. And the Lord King gave orders to the sentinels and guards what to do in the night: that any night, at any hour the Saracen came, and said "Alfandech" (because he was a native of the valley of Alfandech), they should let him pass safely. And upon this he went away, and the Lord King assembled his council and told them what the Saracen had said. And upon this he commanded every one of his vassals and subjects to hold themselves in readiness, for he wished to attack the Saracens. And if ever there was joy and cheerfulness in a host there was amongst them. A day seemed a year to them.

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LIV

How messengers from Sicily, with great mourning, weeping and sorrow came to the Lord King En Pedro, he being at Collo; and of the good answer he gave them; and of how Frenchmen are cruel people where they have power.

And whilst they were still at this council, they saw two armed barques, all sails set, and with black pendants, come from the east, and they went direct to the fort and were beached. And if you ask me what they were and of what nation, I will tell you: they were Sicilians, of Palermo, and there came in them four knights and four citizens on a mission from the whole community of Sicily, and they were very wise men. And when they had landed they came before the Lord King and threw themselves at his feet, weeping and kissing the ground three times before they approached him. And they went to the feet of the Lord King on their knees and embraced them, and, all eight together crying: "Lord, mercy!" kissed them, and no one could make them get up. Just as the Magdalen washed the feet of Jesus Christ with her tears, so they, with theirs, and weeping, washed the Lord King's feet. And their cries and laments and weeping were piteous. And they were all dressed in black. What shall I tell you? The Lord King drew back and said: "What do you want? Who are you? And whence do you come?" "Lord," said they, "we come from the orphaned land of Sicily, abandoned by God and by our lords and bereft of every worldly prosperity, wretched captives, all at the point of death to-day, men, women, and children, if you, Lord, do not help us. Therefore, Lord, we have come to your Royal Majesty in the name of that orphaned people to entreat your mercy that, out of your grace and charity, by the Holy Passion God suffered on the Cross for the human race, you have pity on them and hasten to succour them and deliver them from the affliction and captivity in which they are. And again, Lord, you should do this for three reasons; one, because you are the most virtuous and upright King in the world; the other reason is that the island of Sicily and all the Kingdom do and should

belong to my Lady the Queen, your wife, and after her to the Infantes, your sons, because they are of the sacred lineage of the virtuous Emperor Frederick and of the virtuous King Manfred, who were our legitimate lords; and so, according to the law of God, my Lady Queen Costanza, your wife, should be our lady and, after her, your sons and hers should be our kings and lords. And the other reason is that every virtuous king is bound to succour orphans, wards and widows. And as the island of Sicily is widowed, having lost so good a lord as the virtuous King Manfred, you can count her as a widow; and the people are all orphans, who have neither father nor mother, nor anyone to help them, if God and you and yours do not succour them. And the innocent creatures in the said island who expect death, one may count as wards of tender age who cannot help themselves in their need. Therefore, virtuous Lord, have mercy on us, and may it please thee to go and take that Kingdom which is thine and thy children's and deliver the people out of the hand of Pharaoh. For, as God delivered the people of Israel out of the hands of Pharaoh, so, Lord, canst thou deliver that Kingdom out of the hand of the most cruel people on earth. For there is no more cruel people in the world than the French, where they have power."

And the Lord King, moved by pity, made them arise and said to them: "Barons, you are welcome; it is the truth indeed that that Kingdom should belong to the Queen, Our wife, and after her to Our children, and We have great displeasure in your tribulation. And so We have heard your message. and all We can do for your good We will do." And they answered: "Lord, God give you life and inspire you to have mercy on us poor wretches. See here letters from every city of Sicily, and letters from the richs homens and knights and from towns and from castles, all ready to obey you as their Lord and King, and then all that shall come after you." And the Lord King took the letters, of which there were more than a hundred, and ordered good quarters and rations to be given to the messengers of everything they and their companions needed.

Chronicle

LV

How the Saracen from Valencia returned on the day before the battle and bid the Lord King En Pedro get ready; and how the battle was ordered and won; and how the Sicilians had great joy in seeing the great worth of the followers of the Lord King En Pedro.

Now I shall let them be and shall turn to the Saracens, who were preparing to assault the fort of the count de Pallars on the following Sunday in battle array. And on the Saturday, at the hour of vespers, the Saracen returned to the Lord King and said to him: "Lord, be ready at dawn with all your followers, and prepare your battle in camp." Said the Lord, King: "Of that we are very glad." And at once he commanded that the horses should have armour put on at dawn and everyone, as well retainers as almugavars and seamen, should be ready and should all be at the barricades, and that, when the trumpets and nakers of the Lord King sounded, and the standard was unfurled all men should cry: "St. George and Aragon," and everyone attack. And so the Lord King commanded that everyone should go and sleep, but all were so full of joy that hardly anyone could sleep that night.

And when it was dawn every man was ready, horse and foot, where the Lord King was, outside the barriers. And the van was commanded by the count de Pallars and the noble En Pedro Ferrandez de Ixar and other richs homens. And when it was day the Saracens, very well arrayed, came in battle order towards the fort of the hill of Pica Baralla. And when they saw the Christians so well prepared, they were astonished, and held themselves all for dead men. Willingly would they have turned back, had they dared. What shall I tell you? When the Lord King saw that they hesitated and held back cautiously, he ordered the van to attack. The standard was unfurled, the trumpets and nakers sounded, and the van went to the attack. The Saracens resisted valiantly so that the Christians could not break their ranks, so numerous were they. And the Lord King charged with his banner and attacked in the midst of them; and the Moors were defeated in such manner that none of the Saracen van escaped, and countless were the

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Saracens who died there. Then the Lord King wished to pass over a mountain there was in front of him, but the count de Pallars and the other richs homens cried: "Ah, Lord, for God's sake, do not pass on! If you do so, reckon Collo and the tents lost, for no man is left there, only the sick and women and children. And if we lose the tents we shall have no victuals. And so for God's sake, think of yourself, Lord, for we prize your person above all the world." The Lord King was so enraged against the Saracens that he did not remember any of these things; but when he heard what they said, he considered and thought that it was the truth. He stopped at the foot of the mountain and had a trumpet sounded, and all collected round him, and, at their ease and most cheerfully, returned to Collo and collected the booty. And on that day his people gained so much that they had plenty during all the expedition. And the Saracens were so terrified that they retired more than a league beyond where they used to be; yet so many joined them every day that it would be impossible to count them. However, they were not so bold as to dare to think that they could return again to where they had been. Rather the Lord King had the bodies of the Saracens burnt in order that the district should not become unhealthy.

Now I shall let the Lord King and the hosts of the Christians and of the Saracens be and I shall speak of the noble En G. de Castellnou. However, first I wish to tell you how the Sicilians marvelled at what they had seen the Lord King and his followers had done and were doing every day. So that they said amongst themselves: "If it pleases God that this Lord should go to Sicily you can reckon that the French will be all killed and vanquished, and we shall be delivered from all peril. It is wonderful that these people go into battle cheerfully and joyfully, while all others only go when they are forced and in great fear." In truth they never ceased marvelling.

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LVI

How the noble En G. de Castellnou returned from the mission to the Pope and how the answer was that the Pope would give no help whatever to the Lord King En Pedro.

And when the noble En G. de Castellnou had departed from Collo, he went until he came to the city of Rome with his galleys, and he went to where the Pope was. And when he was before the Pope and the Consistory, he did all the Lord King had commanded, and told the Pope all the Lord King had ordered him to say. And the Pope, when he had heard it, answered as the Lord King had expected and said: "Why did the King of Aragon not send to tell us his intentions when he was in Catalonia as he is doing now?" And the noble answered as the Lord King had commanded him. What shall I tell you? The Pope answered thus: "That the Lord King had hidden his purpose from him and that he would give him now no assistance, neither money nor a crusade nor anything." And the said noble protested in the manner that the Lord King had commanded. And immediately after took his leave of the Pope, angry and indignant, and said to him more than what the Lord King had commanded, thus: "Holy Father, I am going away with the cruel answer you have made; and may it please Our Lord the true God that if, through your answer, evil befall Christendom, it may be upon your soul and upon that of all those who have counselled and are counselling this answer." And with this he embarked and went to Collo. And when the Lord King saw him, he went to receive him with much joy, especially as he loved him much and esteemed him in matters of arms and in all things. And he assembled his council and wished to know what answer he had brought. And he told him. And when the Lord King heard the great cruelty of the Pope, he lifted his hands to Heaven and said: "Lord and true God, Who art the Head and Supreme Chief of all, may it please Thee to assist me in my purpose. Thou knowest well that my intention was to come here and die in Thy service; but Thou also knowest well that I cannot persist in this. Wherefore may it

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be Thy favour and mercy to send to me and my people Thy counsel and help." And then he told and prayed all those of his council, to reflect upon what they would advise him to do and that he likewise would consider it. And upon this they all left and each went to his lodging.

LVII

How other messengers as well from Messina as from Palermo came to the Lord King En Pedro at Collo, with much greater mourning and weeping than at first; and how all the people with one voice implored the Lord King En Pedro to succour the Sicilian .

And four days had not gone by when two more armed barques came from Sicily with a similar message to that with which the first had come; but in a much more piteous manner, for one of the barques, with two knights and two citizens, was from Messina which was besieged by King Charles, as you have heard already, and the inhabitants were on the point of being all killed or taken. And the other barque was from Palermo and brought two knights and two citizens who came with full power from all Sicily. And they, likewise, came dressed in black and with black sails and black pendants. And, for one lamentation the first messengers had made, these made four. Every man was full of pity; and all cried together: "Lord, let us go to Sicily! Lord, let us go to Sicily! For the love of God do not let this miserable people perish, who should be the people of your children."

And when the richs homens heard the wish of all the men of the host, they went to the Lord King all together and said to him: "Lord, how is it with you? For the love of God have pity upon this wretched people which is thus imploring you. There is no lord on earth, be he Christian or Saracen, has such a cruel heart that he would not have pity. Therefore, as they so urgently beseech you, you must have much more pity on them, for many reasons, which these worthy men have told you already, and which are all true. And all the more as you have seen the cruel answer the Pope has made you. Wherefore believe that all this comes truly from God; for if it had pleased Him that your intention should be fulfilled by your being in

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this place, it would have pleased Him that the Pope should have granted you help. But it did not please Him that he should grant it to you, because you should go and help this wretched people. And again, Lord, you can see that this pleases God, for you know well that the people's voice is God's voice, and you see this your people of this host all cry: 'To Sicily.' Then, Lord, what are you waiting for? We all offer, for ourselves and for all the host, to follow you and are ready to accept death, and will deal death for the honour of Our Lord the true God and for yours and for the restoration of the people of Sicily. And we are all prepared to follow you without pay."

LVIII

How the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon agreed to pass into Sicily with all his company to succour the island; and how within three days they had embarked.

And when the Lord King heard this wonderful thing and the readiness of his people, then he raised his eyes to Heaven and said: "Lord, in Thy service and for Thy honour I undertake this expedition and into Thy hands I commend myself and my followers." And he said: "As it pleases God and you, I have resolved to go, with the grace of God and in His keeping and that of Our Lady Saint Mary and all the true Heavenly Court. Let us go to Sicily." And at once all cried "Aur, Aur." And all knelt down and sang in a loud voice: "Salve Regina." And, that night, they dispatched the two barques of Sicily, which went to Palermo with the good news. And, the next day the Lord King had everything put on board in good order, the horses and everything they had on land, and the last to embark was the Lord King. And when they had embarked, which was done within three days, the two other armed barques of Sicily left, to tell that they had seen the King of Aragon set sail. And may God give us as great joy as there was throughout Sicily on knowing this.

Now I shall leave the Lord King, who is going on a good journey to Sicily and shall speak of the Saracens of Collo.

LIX

How the Saracens remained four days not daring to approach Collo and of the great rejoicings they made when they heard the Christians had departed.

When the Saracens saw the sails on the sea, they feared that it was another fleet coming in aid of the Lord King of Aragon; and they remained four days, not daring to approach Collo, fearing a snare; but, at last, they approached little by little. And when they saw that the Christians had gone, they made a great feast and were full of joy. And every man returned to his land with so much weeping and Lamentations for the friends and relations they had lost that it will always be spoken of in Barbary. They fear the House of Aragon more than the House of any king in the world. Now I shall let them be and shall turn to the Lord King of Aragon.

LX

How the Lord King En Pedro passed into Sicily and put into the harbour of Trapani; and of the great feasts they made for him; and how they accepted him as their lord and crowned him King.

The Lord King of Aragon had as fine weather as could be wished, so that within a few days he landed at Trapani, that is three days before the end of August of the year 1282. And so you can know how long the Lord King was at Collo; for he arrived there at the end of May, and landed at Trapani three days before the end of August. I do not believe there is a Christian king in the world who could have remained there so long with only his own forces. And when he had landed at Trapani great illuminations were made in all Sicily; it was wonderful. And the notables of Trapani sent runners to all parts and it was marvellous the joy everyone showed. And they had good cause, for God had sent them the virtuous King of Aragon to deliver them out of the hands of their enemies and to be

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their guide, as God sent Moses to the people of Israel, and gave him His rod. And so, at the signal made by the Lord King of Aragon, He delivered the people of Sicily. Wherefore all may know that this was the work of God Himself. And I need not tell the joy and pleasure all showed when the Lord King and his followers had landed at Trapani. The ladies and damsels came dancing to meet the Lord King, and cried: "Virtuous Lord, God give thee life and victory to deliver us from the hands of the wicked French." And all went about singing and, for joy, no man did any business or work. What shall I tell you? As soon as they heard the news at Palermo they sent the greater number of the richs homens of Palermo to the Lord King with much treasure and money, for him to give to his followers. But the Lord King would take nothing, for he said that, until he needed it, he wished for nothing; that he had brought sufficient treasure and money; but that they might be sure that he came to receive them as vassals and to defend them against everyone in the world. And so he went to Palermo, and all the people came out full four leagues to meet him. And he who has ever seen great joy and a great feast can well say that this was the finest and the greatest rejoicing ever made. And here, amidst great processions and games and rejoicings of women and children, they received the Lord King and conducted him to the Imperial Palace. And then they gave good lodging to all who were with him. And so, likewise, whilst the Lord King came by land, all the fleet came by sea. And when all were safe, the notables of Palermo sent messengers to all the cities, towns and castles and to the syndics of all the territories to tell them to bring the keys and the charters of every place, and deliver the keys to the Lord King, in token of his overlordship, and to take the oath and homage to him, and crown him King and Lord. And so it was done.

LXI

How the Lord King En Pedro sent his messengers to King Charles to bid him leave his territory and kingdom; and how King Charles answered that neither for him or for any man on earth would he leave it.

Meanwhile the Lord King chose four richs homens whom he sent as messengers to King Charles, who was before Messina, as you have heard already; and sent to tell him that he commanded and said to him to leave his Kingdom; that he knew well that this Kingdom was not his, but was and should be that of the Queen, his wife, and of his children; and so that he should get out of it at once; and that if he refused he defied him, and that he must defend himself against him, for he might be sure he would cast him out of it. What shall I tell you? The said messengers went to King Charles and said to him what they had been ordered to say. And when King Charles heard it he said to himself: "Now the time has come for that which thou hast always feared, and the proverb is true which says, that a man will die of that evil which he fears. Wherefore, from this day onwards, as long as thou livest, thou canst not live in peace, for thou hast to do with the most accomplished knight and the most valiant in the world. Now, come what may, for thus it has to be." And after a long while he answered the messengers that they should leave; that he had no intention of forsaking his Kingdom for the King of Aragon, nor for anyone else in the world; and that the King of Aragon was to understand that he had undertaken a thing of which he would make him repent. And so the messengers returned to Palermo, to the Lord King. And when the Lord King had heard the answer of King Charles he proceeded to prepare at once to go to Messina by sea and by land. And the Sicilians, who saw his preparations, said to him "Lord, what do you intend to do?" He said: "I wish to march against King Charles." And the Sicilians said: "Lord, God forbid that you should go without us."

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LXII

How the Lord King En Pedro commanded that every man over fifteen years old and under sixty should be at Palermo with arms and provisions and how he sent a company to the assistance of Messina.

And, at once, they summoned the hosts throughout Sicily, warning all over fifteen years old and under sixty to be at Palermo within fifteen days with their arms and with bread for a month, and thus the command of the Lord King of Aragon went forth everywhere. And meanwhile the Lord King of Aragon sent two thousand almugavars to Messina, to enter the city by night. And they went, each with his knapsack on his shoulder, for do not think they were taking any pack-mules with them; rather, each carried his bread in his knapsack, as the almugavars are accustomed and brought up to do; for, when they go on a raid, each man carries one loaf for each day and no more; and with this bread and some water and herbs they spend as much time as suits them. And so they went with good guides who were of the country and knew the mountains and the paths. What shall I tell you? Though it is a six days' march to Palermo, they reached the city in three. And they entered the city by night, by a place called Caperina, where the ladies of Messina were building a wall⁶³ which is still there; and they entered so secretly that they were not heard by the host.

Now I shall cease to speak of them who are at Messina and will turn to speak again of the Lord King of Aragon.

⁶³Villani quotes a song of the time about this patriotic work of the ladies of Messina: —

Deh! come gli e gran pietate
Delle donne di Messina,
Veghendole scapigliate
Portare pietra e calcina.

LXIII

How the Lord King En Pedro was crowned King of Sicily at Palermo and how he left Palermo to go and succour Messina.

And when the hosts came to Palermo, as the Lord King had commanded, all begged him to be pleased to receive the crown of the kingdom. And he granted their wish and with great solemnity and great rejoicing the Lord King of Aragon was crowned King of Sicily at Palermo by the grace of Our Lord the true God. And as soon as he was crowned King of Sicily, he and all the hosts immediately departed from Palermo by sea and by land to go to Messina.

Now I shall cease to speak of the Lord King who is going to Messina and shall turn to speak again of the almugavars who had entered Messina.

LXIV

How the people of Messina were greatly displeased with the almugavars when they saw them so badly clad and how on hearing this the almugavars sallied out and killed over two thousand men in the camp of King Charles whereby the Messinians were greatly comforted.

And when the almugavars had entered Messina, which they did by night, do not ask me about the joy and comfort there was in the city. However, next morning at dawn, they prepared themselves for an attack on the host. But the people of Messina, who saw them so badly clad and with antiparas⁶⁴ on their legs and coarse leather soles on their feet, and nets on their heads, said: "Ah, God, how we have wasted our joy! and what people are these who go naked and stripped, who wear nothing but a shirt and carry neither adarga⁶⁵ nor buckler? We cannot reckon on much succour

⁶⁴Coverings for the front of the leg.

⁶⁵Oval leather shield used more especially by the Moors.

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if all the King of Aragon's followers are like these." And the almugavars, who heard this murmuring, said: "This very day we shall show you what we are." And they made them open a gate and attacked the host in such manner that, before they of the host had gathered themselves together, they made such carnage that it was marvellous and that King Charles and his host doubted the Lord King of Aragon was present in person. What shall I tell you? Before they of the host had had time to gather themselves together, as I have told you, the almugavars had killed more than two thousand. And then they brought all the rich booty they found into the city and all entered the city, safe and sound, and in security. And when the people of Messina saw the great marvels that these men had performed that day they reckoned each of the almugavars to be worth more than two knights, and showed them great honour and made entertainments for them; and men and women were so comforted that, the same night, they made such illuminations and such a feast that all the host was amazed and full of fear and grief.

LXV

How King Charles received news that the King of Aragon was coming to Messina with all his forces; and how he embarked to go to Reggio and how the amulgavars burned the galleys which King Charles had had made in order to pass into Romania; whereat the Lord King En Pedro was much displeased.

And, that night, there came a message to King Charles that the Lord King of Aragon was coming with all his forces and all the forces of Sicily, by sea and by land, and that he was not forty leagues away. And King Charles who heard this and who was a very wise lord, as well in feats of arms as in all other matters, thought that, if the King of Aragon was coming, it was certain that he could not come without some of his own best knowing it, and that, as they had betrayed King Manfred, so they might betray him. And, besides this, he feared that Calabria would rebel against him, and therefore he decided to embark that night and go across to

Reggio. And at dawn, whilst they were still embarking, the people of Messina saw that they were going; but there were many left yet, and the almugavars fell upon them and all who had remained on land, horse and foot, were killed. And then the almugavars raided the tents and took so much booty that Messina was enriched for ever after and so were the almugavars it is needless to say. They handled florins as men handle small change. And again, they also went to the dockyard of San Salvador where there were, on the stocks, more than a hundred and fifty galleys and terides, which King Charles was having made for the passage to Romania, as I have told you before; and they set them all on fire. And the fire was so great that it seemed that all the world was burning; whereat King Charles was very grieved, for he saw it all from Catona, where he was. What shall I tell you? The messengers went to the King of Aragon and Sicily and found him with all his host, thirty miles distant from Messina, and told him all the event, as it had happened. And he was greatly displeased; for he wished above all things to fight with King Charles and for that satisfaction he was coming, he and his followers. But, nevertheless, he thought that all was for the best and that all was the work of God. God knew what was best.

And so he came to Messina. And if a feast had been made for him at Palermo, a much greater still was made at Messina, and it lasted more than fifteen days. Yet, whoever might be engaged in making a feast, the Lord King was thinking of his affairs. And on the third day of his arrival in Messina, twenty-two of his armed galleys came in.

Now I shall turn to speak to you again of King Charles and shall cease to speak of the Lord King of Aragon.

Chronicle

LXVI

How King Charles had himself set on shore at Catona the better to collect his people; and how the almugavars killed all who had remained; and why King Charles would not await the battle with the Lord King En Pedro.

When King Charles had raised the siege of Messina, which was at midnight, he had himself set on shore at Catona, as it was the nearest land, for from Catona to Messina is not more than six miles. And this he did in order that galleys and barges should make many journeys during the night. However, they did not make so many journeys that, at dawn, many people, horse and foot, were not still left, who all died by the hands of the two thousand almugavars who were in Messina. And, likewise, they were unable to carry away any tents, or wine, or victuals, or anything the host had had. Whilst the almugavars were disposing of the followers of King Charles who had remained on land, the Messinians thought of collecting the booty from the tents. However, the almugavars so hastened to kill all the followers of King Charles that they also had part in the goods from the tents, although they had taken as well so much from those they had killed that it was infinite. For everyone can know or imagine that a man who flees or wants to embark does not leave his gold or silver behind, but rather takes it with him. And so those who killed them took all that and thus had infinite gain.

Nevertheless you can understand what the power of King Charles was, which he had at Messina. He had full a hundred and twenty galleys and countless armed lenys and ferry boats, which ferried six horses each, at once, yet they were unable to carry the people across in the course of the night, though it was the month of September, when the night is as long as the day, and the passage is so short – six miles – as I have told you already. However, as some will hear this who do not know what six miles are, I want them to know, that the distance is so short from San Rayner in Messina to the fort of Catona that, from one side to the other, you might see a man on horseback and would know whether he was going East or West. So you see how near it is and how many people there must have been, that

so many vessels could not carry them over in one night. Wherefore everyone in the world blames King Charles for not having awaited the battle with the Lord King of Aragon. But those who know say that no lord on earth had ever acted more wisely than did King Charles, for the reasons I have told you already. He feared treachery on the part of his followers; besides he knew the valour of the Lord King En Pedro, who was the most accomplished knight of the world and who was bringing with him more expert knights from his dominion than ever King Arthur had at the Round Table, and of men afoot more than forty thousand from his country, each of whom was worth as much as a knight. And so, considering these things, he did very wisely in taking the safest course; for he knew that, so great was the King of Aragon's power that, in a short time he could take all. What shall I tell you? Assuredly he chose the best way; if he had remained he would have been killed or defeated. God was guarding the Lord King of Aragon and his people, whom He had brought to this place.

LXVII

How King Charles commanded all his galleys to return to their country and how the Lord King of Aragon sent his after them, vanquished and defeated them and acquired Nicotera.

And when the Lord King Charles was at Catona and all his followers had landed who could be carried across during the night, he ordained that the count of Alençon, his nephew, and brother of King Philip of France, should remain at Catona with a great number of the chivalry; and he went to the city of Reggio and gave the word to his galleys all to return to their country. And they, with great joy, went on their way to their country. And, of the hundred and twenty galleys that were there, thirty were from Apulia, who set their course for Brindisi, and the eighty others went all together towards Naples. And the Lord King saw all this from Messina and called his son, Jaime Pedro, and said to him: "Admiral, I wish you to put in your place in these twenty-two galleys, the noble En Pedro de Queralt and your Vice-Admiral En Cortada, and that they go after that fleet and attack

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it, for they are people fleeing and have completely lost courage and they are of many nations and are never of one mind. And you may be sure that the noble En Pedro and your Vice-Admiral will defeat them, for they will not act together." And En Jaime Pedro answered: "Lord, may it be your pleasure that I put no one in my place in this matter, but that I go in person; all you say, Lord, is true, that they will all be killed or taken, and so may it please you that I have the honour of it." And the Lord King answered the Admiral: "We do not wish you to go, for you will have to direct all our other vessels." The noble En Jaime Pedro, though greatly displeased, remained and ordained the galleys as the Lord King had commanded.

All embarked at once very joyously and all shouted "Aur, Aur." And the people of Messina and those of Sicily who were in Messina wondered at what the Lord King was doing in sending twenty-two galleys against ninety and full fifty vessels more, what between barges and armed lenys and ferry boats. And they all went to the Lord King and said: "Lord, what is this you want to do? Do you wish to send twenty-two galleys against a hundred and fifty sails, for that is the number going away?" And the Lord King laughed and said: "Barons, this very day you will see how the might of God works in this matter. And let Us be; We do not wish anyone to oppose Our will, We trust so much in the might of God and in the good right We uphold that, if they were twice as many than they are, you would see them all, this very day, killed and routed. And all answered: "Lord, your will be fulfilled." And, at once, the King rode to the sea-shore and had the trumpet sounded and all embarked very joyously.

And when they were embarked, the Lord King of Aragon and the admiral ascended the galleys and the Lord King preached to them and ordained what they were to do. And the noble En Pedro de Queralt and En Cortada said: "Lord, may it please you to let us go; to-day we shall do a deed which will be for the glory of the House of Aragon and yours and the admiral's for all time, and all that are in Sicily will be joyous and pleased thereat." All the crews of the galleys shouted: "Lord, make the sign of the Cross over us and bless us and command us to go; they are all ours already." And the Lord King raised his eyes to Heaven and said: "Lord and

Father, be praised for having given Us dominion over so brave a people. May it please Thee to defend them and keep them from evil, and give them victory." And he made the sign of the Cross over them and blessed them and commended them to God. And, at once, he and the admiral, his son, left the galleys by the ladders they all had facing the Fuente de Oro of Messina.

And as soon as the Lord King was on shore, the galleys began to row, and at the moment they began to row, the fleet of King Charles had not yet passed Coda-di-Volpe; so the twenty-two galleys endeavoured to overtake them and hoisted sails, the wind being on the quarter, and with oar and sail they went towards the fleet of King Charles. And they, seeing them come, steered for Nicotera. And when they were in the Gulf of Nicotera they all assembled and said: "You see there the twenty-two galleys of the Lord King of Aragon which were at Messina. What shall we do?" The Neapolitans, who, as well as the Genoese and Pisans, were greatly afraid that the Provençals would forsake them, answered that all should prepare for battle.

And if you ask me how many galleys there were from each place I will tell you. Firstly, there were twenty Provençal galleys, well fitted-out and calked, and besides, fifteen galleys of Genoese, and ten of Pisans and forty-five from Naples and from the coast of the Principality; the barges and armed lenys were all of the Principality of Calabria. What shall I tell you? As soon as the fleet of King Charles was before Nicotera, all began to unship their masts and put themselves in order of battle. And the twenty-two galleys were within a cross-bow shot and they also unshipped their masts and cleared the decks for action and hoisted the standard in the admiral's galley, and all armed themselves and lashed every galley to the next, so that all the twenty-two galleys, thus lashed together and hauling the wind, began to row towards the fleet of King Charles, ready for battle. And they of the fleet did not think at all that they intended to fight, but that they made a show of it; but when they saw they were in earnest, the ten galleys of the Pisans left the line and hoisted their masts and, hauling the wind which was fresh, put out to sea and fled. And when the Pisans had done this, the Genoese did likewise and also the men of Provence, as all

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these had light and well-armed galleys. And when the forty-five galleys, armed lenys and barges of the Principality saw this, they thought they were dead men and ran for the beach of Nicotera, but the twenty-two went and attacked them. What shall I tell you? They killed so many, the numbers were countless, and they took more than six thousand men alive and captured all the forty-five galleys and armed lenys and barges. And that was not enough; rather they went and attacked Nicotera and took it, and took more than two hundred French horsemen who had gone there from the host; and from Nicotera to Messina is not more than thirty miles. And when they had done this it was vesper-time and they retired for the night.

LXVIII

How the galleys of the Lord King En Pedro returned with the galleys of King Charles which they had captured and how they of Messina feared it was the fleet of King Charles.

And when it was passed midnight, with the land breeze which had sprung up in the bay, they set sail and they were so many that they bid the sea from sight; for, do not think that there were only the forty-five galleys and the lenys. and the barges which came with them, but they found also at Nicotera, what with trading vessels and terides and barges laden with victuals for King Charles's host, over a hundred and thirty sail; and they brought them all to Messina and had all the goods and arms of Nicotera put on board. So they went so fast with the land breeze that night that, at dawn, they were at Boca del Faro, in front of the small tower of the lighthouse of Messina. And when it was daylight and they had passed the small tower, the people of Messina looked, and seeing so many sails they all cried: "Ali God, Our Father and Lord, what is this? Look, the fleet of King Charles has taken the galleys of the Lord King of Aragon and is coming back upon us."

The Lord King who was up, for he always rose at dawn, winter and summer, heard the noise and said "What is this? What is this shouting in the city? "Lord," said they, "they say that the fleet of King Charles is

returning with much greater forces than have gone from here, and that they have taken our galleys." And the Lord King asked for a horse and mounted at once, and there were not ten men with the Lord King when he issued from the palace. And, on the shore, he went where he saw a great lamenting of men and women and children, and he comforted them and said: "Good people, be not afraid; these are our galleys which bring captive the whole of King Charles's fleet." And as he rode along the shore he told people this. And the people said: "Virtuous Lord, may it please God that it is so." What shall I tell you? All the people followed him, men and women and children of Messina, and all the hosts of Sicily which were in Messina. And when the Lord King came to Fuente de Oro, and saw the marvel of so many sails coming with the wind behind them, he considered within himself and when he had considered he said to himself: "May that Lord Who has brought me here, in His mercy not forsake me and this miserable people."

And whilst he was thinking thus, an armed leny, all dressed with flags with the arms of the Lord King of Aragon, and in which En Cortada was, came to where he saw the Lord King, who was at the Fuente de Oro with banner unfurled and with his chivalry. And you need not ask me if all the people were joyous who were with the Lord King and who saw this leny come with his flags and pendants. And he approached the sea, and En Cortada landed and said: "Lord, see here your galleys which are bringing you all these others captive, and which have taken Nicotera and have burned and destroyed it and have killed full two hundred men, French knights." And the Lord King, who heard this, dismounted and knelt on the ground, and so likewise did all those who were present, and they began to sing the 'Salve Regina'; and they blessed and praised God for this victory and did not attribute it to themselves, but solely to God. What shall I tell you? The Lord King replied to En Cortada that he was welcome, and commanded that he should return at once to the galleys and order all to come in front of the custom-house praising God, and that they should make the accustomed salute. And it was done as he commanded, and the twenty-two galleys entered first and they towed, of galleys and lenys and barges, more than fifteen. And so, all beflagged, the standard raised, and

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trailing the enemies' banners in the sea, they entered Messina. And if any man has ever seen joy and cheerfulness on land and on sea there he might see and hear, for it seemed that heaven and earth were fighting, but the cries were to the praise and glory of God and Our Lady Saint Mary and all the Heavenly Court. And when they were at the custom-house, which is at the palace of the Lord King, the Te Deum was chanted and all the people on sea and land responded, so that, truly, my belief is that the voices could be heard in Calabria. What shall I tell you? Amidst this feast and rejoicing they landed. And all the Sicilians cried: "Our Lord and Father the true God, we bless Thee, Who hast sent us such people to deliver us from death; and it is evident, Lord, that this people is indeed Thy people. These are not men, rather are they lions, for they are all, amongst other men in the world, what lions are amongst other beasts. Wherefore, Lord, Thou art praised and blessed, Who has given us such a lord with such valiant followers." What shall I tell you? The feast was so great that no man ever saw greater, nor a more joyous.

Now I shall let this be and shall speak of King Charles and of the count of Alençon and of their followers.

LXIX

How King Charles burst out laughing when he heard that the galleys of the Lord King En Pedro were chasing his galleys; and of his great grief when he knew of the capture of his galleys.

When King Charles knew that the twenty-two galleys of the King of Aragon were sailing after his fleet, he crossed himself in his astonishment and said: "Ah, God, what a mad people that is who go with their eyes open to be killed. True indeed is the saying of the wise man that all the sense of Spain is in the heads of the horses; for the people have no sense, and the

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horses are sensible and the best horses in the world.”⁶⁶ And on the following day, when he saw so many sails enter Boca de Faro, he and the count of Alençon (who was at Catona and who saw them first and sent word to King Charles at Reggio) imagined the fleet was returning with twenty-two galleys they had taken, to present them to King Charles. And that was what King Charles and the count of Alençon imagined; but when they saw them enter Messina and, at night, saw the illuminations made at Messina, they wondered. And when they knew the truth they said “Ah, God, what is this? What are these people who have fallen upon us? These are not men, but devils from hell. May God, in His mercy, let us escape out of their hands.”

And so I must leave them; they are in great grief and great fear; and I shall return to the feast at Messina.

LXX

How the almugavars and retainers asked the Lord King En Pedro as a favour to let them go to Catona against the Count of Alençon; and how the Lord King granted them this favour and they killed the said count.

What shall I tell you? The seamen who had been in the galleys had gained so much that they can be made prosperous by it for ever, they and theirs, if they know how to keep it. But, when the almugavars and retainers saw the great gain the seamen had made, they were full of envy and went to the Lord King and said to him: “Lord, you see that the seamen have made much profit and do not mind how much they spend, and people think that we, whom they see badly clothed, are not of any account, and so, Lord, you should give us an opportunity of making profit.” And the Lord King said that he was willing to give them every opportunity he could of

⁶⁶Praise of the Spanish horses is found in Strabo and Marzial. The former, speaking of the horses of the Celtico-Iberians compares them to those of the Parthians for lightness and swiftness; and Marzial says that the Romans called all their valuable horses Asturians. — Bofarull.

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acquiring booty, and would do so willingly. "Then, Lord," said they, "now is the opportunity for you to make us rich, and we will earn for you the greatest honour and the greatest profit vassals have ever earned for their Lord." "Then," said the Lord King, "say, what is that?" "Lord," said they, "it is the truth that the count of Alençon, brother of the King of France and nephew of King Charles, is at Catona with a great force of chivalry. And if it pleases you, Lord, have the trumpets sounded and the galleys manned at once. And, Lord, the men will embark at once, for the seamen are always glad not to be idle. And as soon as they have embarked, we will ascend into the galleys and after we have retired for the night, say at midnight or after, the galleys shall take us over to the west of Catona, in such manner that they can make two journeys before dawn. And when we are there in the morning, at dawn, if God pleases, we will attack the host, and will act so that God and you and all our well-wishers will have great joy and it will make us rich and prosperous for ever. However, Lord, we entreat of your mercy that the expedition be royal, that we have to give neither fifth nor anything else. It should please you well, Lord, that we trust in God that tomorrow will be the day on which we shall act so as to avenge King Manfred and his brothers, whereat you and all yours will be well satisfied and joyous for ever. For you see clearly, Lord, that if we kill the count of Alençon, and so many important men from France and elsewhere who are with him, we shall have taken a good revenge." And the Lord King answered them joyously: "We are well content with all you have planned to do. And comport yourselves well and valiantly, and act in such manner that We have cause to be grateful to you for ever. Assuredly, if you will wait prudently when the galleys have landed you, until the second boat-full has come over, and then attack the enemy at dawn, all you have planned can come to pass and be accomplished." "Lord," said they, "make the sign of the Cross over us, bless us, and let us go. And have the trumpets sounded, and tell the admiral the whole plan, and tell him to have two armed lenys cruising in these waters so that the enemy gets no information." And then the Lord King said: "Be blessed by the hand of God and by Ours, good luck be with you, and go in the keeping of God and of

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His Blessed Mother, and may He defend you from all evil and give you victory." And upon this they kissed his feet and departed.

And the Lord King summoned the admiral and commanded him to man the galleys and told him the whole plan. And the admiral did at once what the Lord King had commanded him to do. What more shall I tell you about it? As it was ordained by the Lord King, so it was accomplished. The galleys had made two journeys by the hour of matins, laden with almugavars or with retainers, and again returned for a third journey, so many people were there in San Rayner de Messina to take over to Catona. And they went on board the galleys as if they were going to a dance with their betrothed and were bound to be very joyous. And, as there was no room for them in the galleys, so many went on board the barges that they were nearly drowned. Indeed, more than three boat-loads were lost, for so many went on board that they capsized. And when the galleys and many barges had made the two journeys it was nearly dawn and all went noiselessly to Catona, and appointed renowned chiefs for each company who, with their companies, were to have no other care but to go straight to the principal house of Catona, where the count of Alençon was lodged. And the others were to attack in the town, and some the tents and barges around, for all the Frenchmen had not been able to lodge in the town. And, as it was ordained, so it was done and accomplished.

What shall I tell you? When it was daylight, everyone was in his teride and the trumpets of the almugavars and of the chiefs of the retainers sounded and, together, they attacked. And ask me not how nor in what fashion; never did people attack more vigorously than they did. And they of the count's host rose, not knowing what had happened, and the almugavars and the retainers attacked them, so that not even one could escape. And those who had been ordained to go to the lodging of the count of Alençon went there and attacked vigorously. And, certainly, they had hard work, for they found there full three hundred knights in armour on foot, who were the count's guard. But of what use was it to them? They were cut down at once, and the count was found putting on his armour with about ten knights, who were at the door of the chamber and let no one enter. What shall I tell you? The almugavars rushed up to the chamber,

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seeking the count. But the knights cried: "Hold, hold; the count of Alençon is here. Take him alive, he will give you more than fifteen thousand silver marks." But they cried: "No prisoners! He must die in revenge for the deaths caused by King Charles." What shall I tell you? The ten knights all died at the door of the chamber, like good and valiant men, and the count of Alençon was cut to pieces in the chamber. And whilst the fight was at its height, the galleys returned after yet another journey, with many barges. And you might see men land and slaughter the French, because they were with the brother of the King of France. What shall I tell you? Before the hour of tierce⁶⁷ they had killed and cut them all down. And the cry of alarm reached Reggio, and King Charles, who heard it, thought the King of Aragon had crossed over and he made all his people arm and he remained in the city of Reggio, ready to defend himself and the city, for he knew not what the truth was, for none dared go outside the city. And, meanwhile, the almugavars and retainers embarked in the barges and galleys, of which so many had come from Messina that, in one journey, they brought them all away, with so much treasure in gold and silver, as well dishes as belts, swords and florins and various gold and silver coins, and merchandise, and horses and mules and palfreys and harness and tents and clothes and bed-clothes that it would be endless to count it. What shall I tell you? It could never be said in any raid that so much gold and so much silver and so many movables were taken. What more shall I go on telling you about this event? The meanest man present made gain without measure and without end. And it seemed, at Messina, that more florins were spent than formerly pitjols;⁶⁸ because Messina then became so rich that the inhabitants have never had any poor amongst them since.

⁶⁷9 a.m.

⁶⁸Bofarull suggests that 'j' is here used by Muntaner as equivalent or most like in sound, to the Italian 'c.' Antonini defines the 'Picciola' in his dictionary: "A coin in use in Florence, of which four went to the quattrino, called by some by its Latin name 'minuta.' 'And I leave him two hundred lire di piccioli in cash.' Here 'lire piccioli' means silver lire, as distinguished from gold lire."

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Now I shall cease to speak of this, of which the Lord King had great joy; and so he should for many reasons and, amongst others, there is this: that the Sicilians esteemed each of his followers as worth more than six knights of other nations. It put them in such good heart that, if only ten Catalans were with fifty Sicilians the latter were not afraid they might be destroyed by two hundred men of other nations,

Now I shall leave off speaking of the Lord King and of his followers and will turn again to speak of King Charles.

LXXI

How King Charles heard of the death of the count of Alençon and of the great grief he felt at his death; and how he resolved to prepare to take vengeance upon the Lord King En Pedro.

And when King Charles knew that the count of Alençon and all the chiefs that were with him and the knights and other followers were all dead, he was so full of grief that no man could describe it; and especially when he knew that foot soldiers had done this deed. And he considered within himself what he could do, and he commanded all his followers to be ready; for, assuredly, he would avenge this death if the King of Aragon crossed over. And so he showed himself comforted before his people, yet other thoughts were in his heart. But it can be said of him that he was the wisest prince of the world in deeds of arms. And that he should be for many reasons. The first was that he was of the highest birth of the world. Besides, he had spent all his life in feats of arms, for he had been with his brother, King Louis of France, in the expedition to Damietta and in the expedition to Tunis and, afterwards, in the battles which he had fought and won in many wars in Tuscany and Lombardy and in many parts. And let no one imagine that a lord need only be accomplished in feats of arms; rather, he needs sense and capacity and wisdom, and he should know how to choose to the best advantage in war. For you know the Gospel says that man lives not by bread alone, wherefore no lord can be considered accomplished only because he is expert in feats of arms, rather he must

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have many other qualities. Therefore it can be said of King Charles that he was accomplished in arms, but not only in arms but in all things and he showed this to all the world by the decision he took in this narrow pass in which he saw himself. What he did and planned should add more to his reputation for valour and capacity than if he had won another battle like that against King Manfred and King Conradin. And if you say to me, why? I can easily answer: when he fought those battles he was very prosperous, but now he was in great peril and in very narrow straits for many reasons. Firstly, he had lost the sea; then he had lost the count of Alençon with the greater part of his barons and knights whom he could trust. Besides, he was in expectation that all the Principality and Calabria, and Apulia and the Abruzzi would rebel, because of the bad government of his officials. Thus he considered well all this and many other perils in which he saw himself, such as that he had opposed to him the most valiant prince of the world, lord of the best people, most ready to die of any on earth, and most loyal to their lord, for all would sooner let themselves be cut to pieces rather than that any dishonour should come to him. Therefore it was most necessary for him, at this juncture, to have understanding, strenuousness, and capacity. What shall I tell you? In the night, when others were sleeping, he was watching, and thought out the wisest plan that any king or other man could ever imagine for the restoration of his country and himself.

LXXII

Recounts the decision King Charles took when in such straits and how he sent to accuse the Lord King En Pedro, by which a combat between the two kings was arranged; and how kings and richs homens should always have old and experienced men for their undertakings.

And he thought and spoke thus: "The King of Aragon is the wisest prince and the bravest born since Alexander and, if thou accusest him of having broken faith in coming into thy territory without defying thee, he will have to justify himself. And thou wilt persist in sending him messages

of accusation, and he will have to clear himself by combat, either single combat, or ten against ten, or a hundred against a hundred. And when he shall have assented to this he will not turn back for anything, and so thou wilt accept the combat for a hundred against a hundred, and wilt put it under the arbitrament of the King of England; and we will both agree to be at Bordeaux by a fixed day, within a short time. And when the combat is agreed upon and the people know of it, even if they have risen, they will stop and say: 'Against whom have we rebelled? The King of Aragon has to go to the combat and, if he is vanquished, we may reckon ourselves dead men, considering the power of King Charles.' And thus they will all keep quiet, and no one will move until the combat is over; and it will be well for us if they reason thus and no one moves now."

And having made this plan, which was the wisest and best that any lord had ever imagined in such straits, he appointed very honourable messengers and sent them to the King of Aragon in Messina [Dec. 1282], and commanded that they should speak to him before a full court, as well of his followers as of Sicilians and others, and say that they would not speak except in the presence of all; and when a full court was assembled, they should accuse him. And so the said messengers came to Messina and at once did what their lord had commanded them. And, when the full court was assembled, they said: "King of Aragon, King Charles sends us to you, and says to you, through us, that your honour is tarnished by your entering his territory without defying him." And the Lord King of Aragon, moved by anger and indignation, answered and said: "Tell your Lord that We will appoint messengers who will be with him to-day, who will answer him to his face for Us, as you have accused Us to Our face; and so prepare to go." And the messengers, without taking leave of the Lord King, went away and embarked in an armed leny in which they had come, and returned to King Charles, and told him the answer the Lord King of Aragon had made. And six hours of the same day had not gone by when the Lord King of Aragon sent two knights in another armed leny, who appeared before King Charles. And so, without greeting him, they said to him: "King Charles, our Lord, the King of Aragon, sends to ask you if you commanded the messengers you sent him to-day to say such words as they

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have said." And King Charles answered: "Most assuredly; I wish you to know, the King of Aragon and you and all the world, from Our own mouth, that We commanded them to say those words, and so We repeat them again, before You, with Our own mouth." Then the knights arose and one of them spoke and said "King, we answer you on the part of our Lord, the King of Aragon, that you lie in your throat; that, by nothing he has done has his honour been tarnished, and that he says that yours was tarnished when you attacked King Manfred, and again, when you killed King Conradin; and, if you deny this, that he will make you acknowledge it in single combat. And though he says nothing against your knighthood, for he knows that you are an accomplished knight, yet he will give you the advantage of weapons, in consideration of your greater age. But if you will not accept this, he will fight you ten against ten, fifty against fifty, or a hundred against a hundred. And this we are prepared to sign." And King Charles, when he heard this, was very pleased in his mind, for he knew that his purpose was realised, and he said: "Barons, those messengers of Ours, who were in Messina to-day, will go with you, to learn from the King if he says what you say; and if he does, let him give his gage before Our messengers and swear upon the four Holy Gospels, and as King, that he will not retreat from what he says. And if he does this, you, together with Our messengers, return to Us and We, likewise, will give you Our gage and We will take the same oath. And then I shall make my decision within a day and will accept one of those three proposals he has made me and whichever I accept I am prepared to uphold; and then we shall decide, I and he, under whose arbitrament we shall leave the combat; and within another day we will decide this. And when we have decided under whose arbitrament we shall fight, we will take the shortest and quickest time we can to be ready for the combat at the place agreed." "With all this we are content," said the messengers.

And they passed over together to Messina at once. and came before the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon. And the messengers of King Charles said what he had commanded them to say. And when they had finished their argument, the Lord King of Aragon answered and said: "Tell King Charles all that Our messengers have said to him We say, and in order that he and

you should believe it We will repeat it." And he said to them no more and no less than his messengers had said. And then the messengers of King Charles answered: "Then, King, as you have answered thus, give your gage in the presence of all." And then the Lord King took a pair of gloves a knight was holding, and threw them down in the presence of all. And the messengers of King Charles took the gages and at once said: "Then, King, swear upon God's Holy Gospels, and as a King, that you will not go back upon this; and if you do, you will be a false and perjured man, in place of being vanquished." And the Lord King sent for the Gospels and swore as they requested him. And again the Lord King said: "If you consider that any more should be done in affirmation, I am prepared to do it." And the messengers said: "It seems to us that all is complete." And they returned at once to Reggio with the messengers of the Lord King of Aragon to King Charles and told him all that had been done and what the Lord King of Aragon had said. And, at once, King Charles did all that the King of Aragon had done in regard to the gages, as well as in regard to the oaths. And the messengers of the Lord King of Aragon brought away the gages, and when this was done and signed it could on no account be gone back upon. Wherefore King Charles was joyous, and so he should be for he had, at once, taken the heart out of those who wanted to rebel against him, so that all his plan was being carried out. And for this reason it is said, and such is the truth, that the Lord King of Aragon was never tricked in any war, except in this one. And this happened to him for two reasons. The first is that he had to do with a king old and very wise in all matters, for I would have you know that long practice is worth much in all affairs of this world. And King Charles had long continued in wars and was old and mature in all his concerns. And the Lord King of Aragon, assuredly, was as well endowed with all capacity and aptitude as he was; but the truth is that he was young, and his blood was hot and it had not cooled like King Charles's. Wherefore he did not think of the present. And believe me, every wise prince and any other person, of whatever condition, should fix his mind on the past and the present and the future. And if he does that and has recourse every time to God and prays to Him to be on his side, his plan will not fail. But the Lord King of Aragon did not consider more than two

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seasons, that is, the past and the future, and he left out the present. If he had fixed his mind on the present, he would have taken good care not to undertake these combats; for he would have seen well that the present time was such, that King Charles would lose all his territory; and, again, that he was in such a situation that, assuredly, it would come to pass that he would have to put himself into the power of the King of Aragon, without a blow and without any cost, for all the country was about to rise in rebellion.

Therefore, lords, who will hear this book, resolve to have in your counsel richs homens and knights and citizens and every other manner of men and, amongst the others, old men who have seen and heard and long practiced what they have long been accustomed to do; and, assuredly, they will choose of two good things the best, and of two evils the least. I shall say no more on this matter, for all the lords of the world are of such high birth and are so accomplished that, if they were not badly advised, they would never do anything displeasing to God. And even when they consent to have such things done, it is not that they wish to do them, but that men tell them and make them believe things are what they consider right, when they are the opposite. Wherefore they are justified before God, but the wretches who thus delude them and give them to understand one thing for another, they have the burden of it and will suffer punishment for it in the next world.

LXXIII

Recounts how the combat of the two kings was agreed for a hundred men against a hundred at Bordeaux before King Edward of England; and how the fame of the said combat spread throughout the world; and King Charles in this interval asked for a truce which the Lord King En Pedro would not grant him.

And when all this was settled, both the Kings could hardly await the day of the combat, and King Charles sent to the King of Aragon, to say that he thought and had remembered that, as they both were of the highest

birth in the world, it would not be suitable that they should fight with the smaller number, but with a hundred a side and that it could then be said that, when they entered those lists, each with a hundred knights, there would be present amongst them the two most accomplished knights of the world. And this was settled on both sides. And after that King Charles sent to say that he thought that King Edward of England⁶⁹ would be, for both of them, the most acceptable king of the world, as he was one of the most upright Kings of the world and a good Christian; and that the city of Bordeaux, near the territories of both of them, was his, and that they should fight under his arbitrament in the said city of Bordeaux; and that on a fixed day, under penalty for treason, they should each, in person, be at Bordeaux and, on the day fixed, under penalty for treason, the lists should be ready. And this seemed to him the most convenient place of any belonging to a prince, or of any place he could think of. However, if the King of Aragon knew of a better, or more secure for both sides, and which could be got ready in a shorter time, let him say so; but if this seemed well to him, that he should agree to it, in virtue of the oath he had sworn already through his messengers; and, if he pleased, he would do the same through his messengers. And upon this the messengers came to the Lord King of Aragon and told him all King Charles had commanded they should say.

And when the Lord King of Aragon had heard all they had said, as you have heard already, he thought it was well; and it seemed to him that King Charles had chosen rightly, as well in respect of the numbers as in respect of the King of England and of the city of Bordeaux. And he did not wish to object to anything, rather he agreed to everything, as has been said before; except that he added to the oath, and required King Charles to do the same, that, under the penalties agreed between them, neither of them should bring more knights or a greater force than the hundred knights who were to enter the lists. And King Charles was pleased with this, and so they both swore and signed and thus were the combats of the two Kings settled, and

⁶⁹Edward I.

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the numbers, and under whose arbitrament and the place where the combats should be fought and the time at which the Kings should be there.

Now I shall let this be and shall speak of the fame which spread through all the country concerning these combats and, thence, through all the world. Everyone was awaiting the interview, to see how it would end, and everyone kept to himself and would not take part against either of the kings. And so King Charles sent to tell King En Pedro of Aragon that, if he consented, he would be pleased there should be a truce between them until the combats had taken place. But the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon sent to tell him that, as long as he was alive, he would have neither peace nor truce with him, rather he would have him know that he would do him, and cause to be done him, all the evil he could; that he was well assured that King Charles would do the same by him. Rather he would have him know that he would shortly fight him in Calabria; and that, if he wished, there would be no need to go and fight at Bordeaux. And when King Charles heard this answer he thought it would not be well to tarry where he was, for three reasons. Firstly, that he had lost the sea, so that he would get no victuals; the other was that he knew the Lord King En Pedro wished to cross over to where he was, according to what he had heard; the other, that he would go and attend to his affairs, so as to be at Bordeaux on the day fixed. And therefore he left Reggio and went to Naples, and from Naples to Rome to the Pope; and he left his son, the prince, in his place.

Now I shall let him be whilst he is with the Pope and shall turn to speak of the Lord King of Aragon.

LXXIV

How the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon released full twelve thousand Christians whom he had taken from King Charles, and had a gown made for each one and gave each one rations for his return to his country.

When the Lord King of Aragon had settled the combats, he sent for the Admiral and commanded him to give barques to all the Christians they had taken prisoners from King Charles; for every fifty prisoners one of those large cross-rigged barques which the galleys had brought from

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Nicotera. And he also ordered his majordomo to have for each prisoner a gown and a shirt and breeches made, and a Catalan cap and belt, and to give to each prisoner a Catalan knife and a gold florin for rations, and that they should be taken out of prison at once and prepare to go each to his country. And as soon as these orders were given, the admiral mounted his horse at once, and went to chose, for the honour of God, the best amongst the barques, and into each he put bread and water and cheese and onions and garlic for fifty people for fifteen days. And when it was all ordained, those people went to the meadow outside Saint John's gate, and there certainly were more than twelve thousand persons. And the Lord King rode and went to them and had them dressed as has been said before, and spoke, and said to them thus: "Barons, it is the truth that you have no guilt in the evil King Charles has done, nor are you guilty in coming with him. And so, in the name of God, We absolve you. Arrange to go everyone to his land; but I beg and advise you that, if you are not forced to it, you do not again fight against Us." And all shouted: "Virtuous Lord, God give thee life, and to us may He give the favour of seeing thee Emperor." And they all knelt down and sang the Salve Regina. And when they had done this, the admiral made them all embark, according to what the Lord King had commanded. And so they went, each to his country, and may God give us as much joy as each of them had and as their friends had when they saw them. The fame of this went through all the world and caused the prayers of all, friends and enemies, to go up to God for the Lord King of Aragon.

LXXV

How the Lord King En Pedro passed into Calabria to fight King Charles; and how he landed at Catona where he had news that King Charles had departed; and how, Reggio and many other castles and cities captured, he settled all Sicily and Calabria; and how the Infante En Jaime Pedro, his son, was nominated one of the hundred for the combat.

And when the Lord King had done this, he immediately issued a proclamation, that everyone should prepare to embark, horse as well as foot, with bread for a month; that all should know that he wished to pass

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into Calabria on Monday to fight King Charles (it was Thursday when the proclamation was made) and that, if it pleased God that King Charles would give him battle, he need not go to Bordeaux, whereat he would be very glad. And when people heard the proclamation every man prepared joyously to get ready. And when King Charles heard this news it seemed to him no jesting matter; rather he at once decided to depart for this reason and because he had lost the sea, as I have told you before, and could not provide himself with victuals. He did not wish to await the Lord King of Aragon who, with all his followers, passed into Calabria and landed at Catona and thought to find King Charles there. But they told him that he had gone away. And the Lord King was much displeased at this and said: "As we are here, let us not have come in vain." And they went to the city of Reggio and besieged it, and they had not been there two days, during which they had pressed the garrison hard, when it surrendered to mercy and gave over to him all the Frenchmen who were there. And the Lord King sent them away as he had done the others. And after he had taken the city of Reggio, he took also Calanna and la Mota, the castle of Sanct Onoxent,⁷⁰ that of Sanct Agata and that of Pentedatilla, and Amandolea, and Birats. What shall I tell you? They took every place they rode to. And the light horsemen and the almugavars made raids, penetrating a three or four days' march inland, and fought with knights King Charles had left in the villages. But what shall I tell you of them? If the men of the Lord King of Aragon were a hundred on horseback and five hundred afoot, and encountered five hundred men on horseback of the others and three or four thousand men afoot they would kill or take them all. They had so discouraged them that, as soon as they heard the cry: "Aragon," they thought themselves dead men and surrendered. And he who wished to tell all the fine feats of arms the followers of the Lord King of Aragon performed every day in Calabria would not find time to write them all. And if you ever saw a joyous lord, the King of Aragon was that. He

⁷⁰Moisé, the Italian translator of the Chronicle, calls Sanct Onoxent San Lucido. It is impossible to identify some of the places mentioned by Muntaner; many of them, and especially the castles, have long since disappeared.

remained fifteen days in Calabria and within these fifteen days took all the coast from Turpia to Quirayt and was full of enjoyment. But, when he remembered the date of his having to go to the combat, he had to change his design. And when he had been fifteen days in Calabria with upraised banner, he went through all that country and left his vicar-general in Calabria and garrisoned all the castles and places he had taken with his followers; and, besides, left there all his men of arms as well the almugavars, as the retainers. And he left there five hundred horsemen, all Catalans and Aragonese, and returned to Messina with the rest of the chivalry. And when he was in Messina he settled all Sicily and put a military chief⁷¹ in every place, and in Messina and in other places, captains and magistrates and judges. And micer Aleyneps became commander of the valley of Mazzara. And to each of the other richs homens and knights of Sicily he gave and allotted offices, together with the Catalans and Aragonese; thus, he put into each office a Catalan or an Aragonese and a Latin; this he did in order that they should become well known to one another. And when he had thus settled all the island and Calabria he wished to ordain all relating to the sea, and he called the noble En Jaime Pedro, his son, and said: "En Jaime Pedro, you know that We are to fight King Charles on a fixed day and the time We have left is short. And We have much trust in you and in your knightly expertness, and wish that you go with Us and be one of those who will enter the lists with Us. Wherefore We wish you to resign the office of admiral, for it does not seem to Us that henceforth it will be to Our honour and yours that you should be Our admiral. He who is admiral has to do with every kind of people, therefore it would not be suitable, and should not be, that you, who are Our son whom We love much, should have to continue with such people." And the noble En Jaime Pedro answered and said: "Lord and Father, I give you many thanks, for doing me the great honour that it is your pleasure that I should be one of those who will enter the lists with you. And I value it

⁷¹Estreticho, military chief. In various documents of this period relating to Sicily when the king addresses the royal officials, he always names the stratigoto after the justiciariis. — Bofarull.

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more, Lord, than if you had given me the best country in your territories. Wherefore, Lord, take my office of admiral and my person and what I possess, as it pleases you; never at any time have I been so joyful as I am at this favour you have done me." And so he laid down the admiral's baton and put it in the hands of the Lord King.

LXXVI

How the Lord King of Aragon appointed the noble En Roger do Luria admiral and prepared to go to Bordeaux to the combat; and how he took leave of all and passed into Catalonia with four Catalan galleys.

And then the Lord King called the noble En Roger de Luria, whom he had brought up, and made him kneel before him and said to him: "En Roger, Doña Bella, your mother, has served the Queen, Our wife, well and you have been brought up hitherto by Us and have served Us well; and so We give you, by the grace of God, the admiral's baton, so that henceforth you are Our admiral for all Catalonia and for the Kingdom of Valencia and for Sicily and for all the territories We possess and all God will grant us to conquer." And the noble En Roger threw himself on the ground and kissed the feet of the Lord King of Aragon and then his hands and took the baton with such good fortune that may it please God that all the officials to whom the Lord King will entrust his offices in future will administer them as well as did the said noble. For it may well be said that there was never a vassal in any office who brought his lord greater honour than he did; and this continued from the day he took the baton until he passed from this life.

And when the said noble, En Roger de Luria, had taken the admiral's baton you might see rejoicings and sports and dances in Messina and a great feast made which would be marvellous to relate. And when all this was over, the Lord King assembled a General Council in the church of Sancta Maria la Nova of Messina and exhorted all well and nobly, and censured and admonished them, as well Catalans as Aragonese and Latins, and entreated them all to love and honour each other and to have no differences, but to love each other like brothers. And when he had said all

this and spoken many other good words he said to them: "You all know that We have a short time left before We go to the combat We have undertaken with King Charles, for which We would not fail to be in the lists on the day agreed, were it to be lord of all the world. Wherefore We say to you: be of good cheer and endeavour to do well. We leave you so many expert men that these alone, whom we leave with you, could fight King Charles. And so, with the help of God, you will remain in perfect security. And We promise you that, as soon as We are in Catalonia We shall send you the Queen and two of Our sons; so that you should understand that this kingdom and you are as dear to Us as Catalonia and Aragon. And you may bpesure that, as long as the world lasts, We and Ours will not fail you, rather shall hold you in the same regard as Our natural vassals. And again, We promise you that, if We escape alive from the combat, We shall return here at once, unless other business, which we cannot neglect, arises. And even if other business should prevent Us, Our face shall ever be turned towards you." And with this, he made the sign of the Cross and blessed all the people and took leave of all. And there you might see weeping and lamenting, and they cried: "Virtuous Lord, God give thee life and victory, and grant us the favour always to hear good news of thee."

And so the Lord King descended from the platform from which he had spoken. And there you might see the throng there was to kiss his feet and hands, for everybody must needs kiss either his feet or his hands. And so they accompanied him on foot to the palace, and he could not ride, neither did he wish to, because of the ladies and damsels who issued out into the streets to kiss the ground in front of him, when they could not kiss his feet or his hands. What shall I tell you? It was morning when he began to speak and it was vespers and dark before he got to the palace; neither he nor any man there had any mind to eat or drink; they could not get their fill of looking at him. And when he was in the palace, the trumpets and nakers sounded, and everybody who wished to dine there, dined; for at no time whilst the Lord King of Aragon was in Sicily did he forbid his door or table to anyone who wished to eat there. And the Lord King and all sat down to eat and they were splendidly provided.

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And when the next day came the Lord King sent for the admiral and said to him: "Admiral, fit out at once twenty-five galleys, and man them so that each has a Catalan boatswain and one Latin and four Catalan steersmen and four Latin; and the same for the sailors in the fore-part of the ship, and the rowers shall all be Latins, and the cross-bowmen all Catalans. And We wish that, henceforth, all the fleets you fit out shall be thus ordained and that you, on no account, alter this. And so let the standard be raised by the table⁷² at once and arrange to pay these twenty-five galleys and two lenys for four months, for we wish to pass to Catalonia in them." And this he said before all. And the admiral did at once what the Lord King had commanded.

And, at night, the Lord King sent for the admiral and said to him: "Admiral, keep what I am going to tell you secret; I enjoin this upon you as you value Our love. From amongst those galleys, you shall man four entirely with Catalans of good birth, and let not one Latin be in them nor any man of another language, and you shall pretend to send them to Tunis; but they shall go to Trapani, and We shall be at Trapani this day fortnight" (and he reckoned up to him the daily march he intended to make) "and so We shall find the four galleys there and shall go on board and depart, in the keeping of God and of Our Lady Saint Mary. And let this be so secret that no man knows anything of it. And you shall remain with the other galleys to guard the island and Our followers who are in Calabria." And the admiral said to him: "Lord, for God's mercy how is this, that you want to pass over to Catalonia with so few galleys?" Said the Lord King En Pedro: "Say nothing more; it shall be done thus." "Then, Lord, for the love of God, let me go with you in those four galleys." Said the Lord King: "You shall not do so, and do not contradict Us in Our decision." "Lord," said the admiral, "let it be done as you command." What shall I tell you? It was done as the Lord King had commanded.

⁷²Volunteers who were not vassals were enrolled at a table surmounted by the Royal Standard. The officer entered their names in a book. These volunteers were sometimes called soldiers of the table.

And when all this was ordained, the Lord King took leave and, from Messina, went to visit all the territory of Sicily, and he came to Palermo where the greatest feast was made that had ever been made for any lord. And there also he assembled a General Parliament, as he had done at Messina, and there also he preached to them on the same subject, and there likewise might you see lamentations and weeping and crying, and they followed him from the cathedral, where the parliament was, to the palace. And there also ladies and damsels issued out into the squares, kissing the ground in front of him and calling blessings and all happiness down upon him. And when this was done the Lord King departed from Palermo and went to Trapani. And if you ask me what people followed him, it would be endless to tell; for, as soon as he was out of Messina, so many people from every place went with him, their number was infinite. And in every place they gave him banquets and entertained him and those who were with him, of whatever condition they were. What shall I tell you? When he was at Trapani he likewise held another parliament and there were more people there than had been in any of the others. And, being in the parliament, he preached to them and said what he had said in the other parliaments. And this one ended also as the others had, in the other places. And that same day, whilst the Lord King was on the platform preaching, the four galleys and an armed leny which the admiral had added, came to Trapani; and the commanders of the galleys were En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol, in whom the Lord King had great confidence. And as soon as the galleys had arrived, the notables of Trapani gave them great refreshment. And on that day the Lord King embarked on his good enterprise amidst great weeping there was at Trapani, and made only those go on board who, he had ordained, should go, and no more; and these were only a few in order that the galleys should sail light. And so the Lord King, with the grace of God, had embarked and put out to sea. God in His mercy carry him to safety.

Now I shall cease to speak of the Lord King, for I shall know how to return to him, and he is sailing on his good adventure, and the island of Sicily remained well ordered by sea and by land and all he possessed in Calabria well ordered and garrisoned; and I shall speak of King Charles.

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LXXVII

How King Charles went to the Pope and asked him before all his College to help him against the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon with an interdict and with the treasure of the Church and with a Crusade.

When King Charles came to the Pope he begged him to assemble all his Consistory, for he wished to speak with him and with all his cardinals. And as he requested so it was done. And this the King did because he had in the same way, in their presence, received leave for the conquest, and all had promised him succour and aid. And when the Pope and his College were assembled King Charles spoke thus: "Holy Father, you and all your Consistory know that I undertook the conquest of the territory of King Manfred for the honour of Holy Church, as I told you then. And you, at that time, and all your College, promised to help me and to support me against all who would prevent the said conquest; and, again, that you would provide me with money and with all I should require. And you, Holy Father, and all these other lords who are here, know that I have well accomplished all I promised you and have not considered any peril nor damage to my person, neither to kinsman nor vassal of mine. Now it is the truth that the King of Aragon, owing to your great fault, has come against Us and has taken the island of Sicily and a great part of Calabria and will go on taking territory from Us every day, if God and you do not remedy it. And assuredly, Holy Father, you and these other lords, for four reasons especially, should give Us remedy in this. The first reason is that you have a covenant with Us about it. The second reason is that the King of Aragon has done what he has done through your great fault, because of the cruel answer you gave the noble En G. de Castellnou. For the King, failing the assistance you refused him, had to seek remedy in his affairs, a thing he would not have done if you had helped him in what he asked, which was in a most just and good cause. And I shall say, not only you, but all the kings in Christendom should have helped him, for never was there a king who attempted such a lofty enterprise and maintained himself in it longer

than the five greatest Christian kings of the world could have done. And so, through your great fault, he had to go away, and he came to Sicily, where the Sicilians, very humbly, begged him to become their lord. And you know he had a claim to it, for his wife and sons, and could not fail them. But if you had granted the aid he asked of you We are certain he would not have abandoned what he had begun so well. And so, Holy Father, you are the occasion of Our ill, which is very great; for, even if we had lost the count of Alençon, Our nephew, alone, that would be so great a loss, it would be incalculable; but, besides him, We have lost many good relatives and vassals of Our nephew, the King of France, and it is true that We can never avenge them. And the third reason is that you may be certain that the King of Aragon will do so much that he will come as far as Rome, if you do not immediately hasten to issue an interdict against him and all those who aid him, absolving from all punishment and guilt all those who are against him and who shall help Us, and condemning him and all who shall support him to lose all they have. And when you shall have given this sentence, assuredly, the King of Castile and the King of Mallorca and the King of England and the other lords of the Christian world who have the intention to uphold the King of Aragon will refrain and take no part; rather, peradventure, there may be some who will wish to obtain the indulgence. But if they do not wish to obtain it, nor to support Us, at least they will not injure Us in anything. The fourth reason is that, with the treasure of Saint Peter, you would provide for the whole of this war and for Us and also for the King of France, who is a great countenancer of Holy Church; admonishing him that, simultaneously with the crusade you will proclaim against the King of Aragon, he should arrange to invade his country. And so, if you do these four things, We shall completely overcome the King of Aragon. Thus We shall take from him all his territory and, besides, prevent him from assisting Sicily.

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LXXVIII

How the Holy Father, Pope Martin, granted to King Charles all the said King had asked of him; and how he pronounced a sentence of interdict against the Lord King En Pedro and his supporters and absolved from punishment and guilt all those who opposed the said Lord King En Pedro.

And the Pope⁷³ replied: "Godson of Holy Church, all you have said We have heard well, and We answer the four reasons you have put before Us, for which We are bound to help you. And to the first We reply that it is the truth that We are under covenant with you to assist you in everything We can against all who oppose you, and this We shall do willingly. The other reason, that you say it is Our fault that the King of Aragon went to Sicily, We grant you. When, on that occasion, We said no to him, We acknowledge that Our wish guided Us more than Our reason; wherefore We acknowledge the fault and that We are bound to help you in every manner. The third reason, as to the crusade and the interdict, We promise you that it shall be issued and proclaimed at once, before you depart from Us. The fourth, of the treasure you ask of Us, and that We should admonish the King of France as a great countenancer of Holy Church, We shall comply with willingly and are ready to provide you and the King of France with money. And so be of good cheer and be comforted, for, all you ask, Holy Church will do in full measure."

And upon this the cardinals spoke and each confirmed what the Holy Father had said. And thus King Charles was much comforted and content and gave them many thanks for their good answer and begged them to hasten everything on, as he had to go to his nephew, the King of France, to ask him for succour and aid and beg him to go with him to Bordeaux. And so the Pope hastened in such manner that, within a few days, he proclaimed the sentence and the crusade against the King of Aragon and

⁷³Martin IV, Simon de Brion, born at Mont Epiloir, near Bavany in Champagne, was elected Pope on the 22nd February, 1281, at Viterbo.

his country and all those who gave him aid, and he absolved from punishment and guilt all those who opposed him. This sentence was given by Pope Martin, who was a Frenchman. And it is said that no sentence has ever issued from the court of Rome that is not just; and so we must all believe, for it is said by the priests who are administrators of Holy Church that, *Sententia pastoris justa vel injusta timenda*⁷⁴ est. And so all faithful Christians must believe, and so do I believe. Therefore this help was very great, the greatest Holy Church can give any lord and which should be most feared by every faithful Christian. And then the Pope helped King Charles with the treasure of Saint Peter, as much as he needed for himself and for the King of France.

And so King Charles took leave of the Holy Father and of the cardinals and went to France.

LXXIX

How King Charles asked the King of France and the Twelve Peers for help and advice in his affairs, to which the said King of France demurred by reason of the oath sworn between him and the Lord King En Pedro, but was absolved by the legate of Pope Martin from every promise and oath he had made.

And when the King of France and he met there was great mourning for the death of the count of Alençon and this mourning of theirs and of the people lasted two days. And on the following day King Charles came to speak with the King of France, his nephew, and with all the Twelve Peers of France. And when they were assembled in council, King Charles rose and bewailed the great dishonour and the great damage the King of Aragon had done him and begged the King of France and the Twelve Peers for help and advice. And the help he asked was, that he begged them not to desert him in such dire necessity as he was in, knowing as they did that he

⁷⁴The Stuttgart edition has “tenenda.”

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was the son of a King of France and was of the same flesh and blood as they were, and that the House of France never forsakes one issued from that House; and that thus the Lord King, his nephew, and they all were bound to him. And the advice he asked was for this great difficulty he was in, in the combat he had undertaken, and the day being so near on which he was to be at Bordeaux;⁷⁵ and he begged they would give him their counsel. And so for these two reasons he begged them to enable him to reckon upon them. And upon this he ceased to speak.

And the King of France rose and said: "Uncle, We had heard all what has happened to you and now We have heard what you have said and what you ask of Us, to which We answer that, for many reasons, We are bound to help and advise you. In your dishonour We have greater part than any person of the world and, so likewise in the harm you have suffered, and especially as regards Our brother the count of Alençon, whom We have lost by so base a death. But, if We had ten times the reasons We have, We should not know what to do; for We are bound to the King of Aragon, Our brother-in-law, by oath, to support and help him against all men in the world and he, also, is thus bound to us; and again, We are bound not to go against him for any reason in the world, and so, in this strait, We do not know what to say.

Then rose the cardinal who was the Pope's Legate with full power and said: "Lord King, let not this hinder you; I am here with full power from the Holy Father; and you know that the Pope has that power that, what he binds on earth is bound in Heaven and what he absolves on earth is absolved in Heaven. Wherefore I, in the name of God and of the Holy Apostolic Father, absolve you from all oath and all promise that you have made for any reason, to your brother-in-law En Pedro of Aragon. And of that I shall write for you, as soon as I leave this place, a proper document, with pendant seal, wherefore, henceforth, hold yourself absolved from all in which you were bound to him. And, again, I require you, in the name of

⁷⁵The covenant between Pedro and Charles by which each king appointed six men who were to elect the hundred combatants is dated: Messina, the 9th of the kalends of January 1282 (Incarnation). – Bofarull.

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the Holy Father, to prepare to march against him, and I give you and all who follow you or aid you, absolution from punishment and guilt, and I pronounce an interdict on all those who oppose you. And this I will proclaim to-morrow in the city of Paris in general, and then it will be proclaimed every day in every Christian country of the world.⁷⁶ And again, Lord King, I tell you, in the name of the Holy Father, that the treasure of Saint Peter will aid you and will provide you with all you will need. And so prepare to give your help and advice to your uncle, King Charles, who is here present, for this you call do henceforth without any hindrance.

LXXX

How the King of France promised to aid King Charles in person and with followers against the Lord King of Aragon and decided to go with him to Bordeaux; and of the crime he plotted against the Lord King of Aragon; all of which was agreed to by the Twelve Peers of France.

Then the King of France answered and said: "Cardinal, We have heard well what you have said in the name of the Holy Father, and We know that all is as you have said, and such is Our belief and such must it be of all faithful Christians. Wherefore We hold Ourselves absolved of all that bound Us to the King of Aragon, Our brother-in-law. And as it is so, We, from this time on, fully promise Our Uncle, King Charles, the help he asks of Us and also Our advice in the matter of the combat which is arranged between him and the King of Aragon. Firstly, Uncle, We reply to you freely that We will help you against the King of Aragon and his supporters, in person and with followers, as long as there is life in Us. And this We swear and promise you under the jurisdiction of the Cardinal, who is here in the place of the Holy Apostolic Father. And this We offer you for the honour of

⁷⁶So inciting was the crusade against King Pedro, that the people, bent on obtaining forgiveness of their sins had been given to understand that, in default of arms, it was enough to throw a stone as against Don Pedro, and they used to say in throwing it: "Je jette cette pierre contre Pierre D' Aragon pour gagner l'Indulgence." – Bofarull.

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Holy Church and for yours because We owe it to you and in order to avenge Our brother, the count of Alençon. Next, We advise you on no account to fail to be at Bordeaux on the day of the combat. And We will go with you in person, and We shall go so well accompanied that We do not believe the King of Aragon will be so bold as to dare to appear on that day; or, if he does, that he will not fail to lose his life. Neither the King of England nor anyone else will be able to help him."

And upon this the King of France said no more and King Charles spoke and said: "Nephew and Lord, We gratefully give you thanks, in the name of Holy Church and in Ours for the good offer you have made us and the good advice you are giving Us about the journey to the combat. But We fear that the King of Aragon might say something in detriment of Our good faith, if We go thus accompanied; all that is arranged between us is put down in writings divided by A B C."⁷⁷

Said the King of France: "He can say nothing against your good faith on that account; We have seen already the covenants between you and him; the clause you fear says that you shall not bring more than those hundred knights who are to enter the lists with you, and he the same. And you will not bring more than those hundred who are to enter the lists with you, but We shall bring whom We like, for there is nothing about that in the covenant. He has not thought of this, and so you will not fail in what you have promised." Answered King Charles: "Assuredly, it is the truth, the covenant says thus; therefore I shall do what you, Lord, have advised."

Then the Legate rose and gave many thanks to the King of France in the name of the Holy Apostolic Father and all his College, and made the sign

⁷⁷"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." (Gayangos.)

of the Cross over him and blessed him and gave him his blessing.⁷⁸ And when this was done, a great many of the Twelve Peers of France present rose and confirmed all that the King of France had said and ordained, and all offered their person, their fortune and all they had, in aid of King Charles, and offered to follow the King of France at their cost and providing, in order to obtain the indulgence. And when all had spoken King Charles rose and spoke thus: "Lord and King, We have little time left to go to Bordeaux; We shall leave the Legate here, who will not part from you, and We shall go to Provence and We shall take with Us sixty knights of France, upon whom We have set Our heart for entering the lists with Us, if the combat takes place; and We shall have forty others from Provence. And with these hundred knights, no more, We shall be at Bordeaux eight days before the time, and you will order your going according to your wish, for to your going We can and must say nothing." And the Lord King of France answered that he thought well of all this and that he should go and attend to his affairs; that he knew what he had to do. And upon this they kissed each other and took leave of one another.

And so I must let the King of France be, and the Legate who was having the crusade preached daily everywhere, and I shall speak of King Charles.

LXXXI

How King Charles had twenty galleys fitted out at Marseilles of which En G. Cornut was made commander in order that he should go at once to Malta and seek En Roger de Luria, to fight him and bring him away, dead or captive.

When King Charles had taken leave of the King of France he went on his journeys to Marseilles, with the sixty French knights whom he had selected. And when he was at Marseilles, he sent for En G. Cornut, who

⁷⁸It seems redundant to bless and give a blessing, but I believe the difference is that the former is done in words and the latter by a gesture of the hand. – Bofarull.

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was of the honourable men of Marseilles, and of an ancient family and told him to set up a recruiting table at once and man twenty-five galleys with men of good birth, all of Marseilles and of the coast of Provence, and not to put in a man of any other nation, but only true Provençals, and to provide them with boatswains and steersmen, and the prows should have double armament. And that he should see to it that every man was as brave as a lion, and that he himself would be Commander and Chief Lord. And that he should go at once towards Sicily and visit the castle of Malta and there refresh his men and, when they were refreshed, that he should seek En Roger de Luria, who had not more than eighteen galleys, for the King of Aragon had not ordered more than twenty-two to be fitted out, and of these he had taken four to Catalonia, and so there did not remain more than eighteen. "And if we can take these, all the sea is ours, for all the people expert in seamanship whom the King of Aragon has, are in those eighteen galleys. And so do not, on any account, let them escape you, and do not appear before Us until you have killed or taken them." And, upon this, En G. Cornut rose and went to kiss King Charles's feet and said: "Lord, I give you grateful thanks for the honour you bestow upon me, and I promise that I will not return to Marseilles, nor to your presence, until I can bring you En Roger de Luria dead or a prisoner and all the fleet I shall find with him." "Now," said King Charles, "prepare to hasten in such wise that, in eight days, you are gone from here, and this We command you under penalty of losing Our love." "Lord," said En G. Cornut, "it shall be done as you command."

And so En G. Cornut arranged to fit out the twenty-five galleys and did all King Charles had commanded. And so I must tell you about him when he has accomplished his good journey; may the Moors also always make as good a journey. Now I shall cease to speak of King Charles, for I shall know well how to return to where I am leaving him.

It is the truth that the said En G. Cornut fitted out the twenty-five galleys. And they were assuredly the best-equipped galleys that ever issued from Provence, and he put on board full sixty expert men of his lineage, and then many honourable men of Marseilles. And he shaped his course for Naples and there refreshed his men and, when they were

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refreshed, he shaped his course for Trapani with the twenty-two galleys, and the three others passed through Boca del Faro, to get news; and for this he chose the three best rowing galleys he had with him and gave them notice that they would find him at the castle of Malta, where they should go, and whoever got there first should wait for the others.

LXXXII

How the admiral En Roger do Luria after having scoured the coast of Calabria and taken towns and homesteads captured the three galleys which the admiral of Marseilles had sent to get news of him; and how the said En Roger went close to the men from Marseilles.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of them and shall speak of the admiral En Roger de Luria who had fitted out the twenty-five galleys as the Lord King of Aragon had commanded. And he sent four and a leny to Trapani, to the Lord King of Aragon, as you have heard already; and so twenty-one galleys and two lenys were equipped and these were very well manned with Catalans and Latins. And when they were fitted out and he had sent the four and the armed leny to the Lord King at Trapani, the admiral, with twenty-one galleys and two lenys, scoured the coast of Calabria, as far as beyond Castella, which is close to the Gulf of Taranto; and in many places they made raids inland and took towns and homesteads, and he garrisoned the said village of Castella, and they made much gain and could have done much damage if they had wished. But the Calabrians came to the admiral, and said: "Do not injure us; you may be certain that we are all convinced that, if God brings the virtuous King of Aragon safe out of the combat he has undertaken to have with King Charles, we shall all be his, and so may it please you not to do us that harm which you could do us."

And the admiral, seeing this, understood that they spoke well and went on his way, doing the least harm possible; for, in truth, the people of that country were, at that time, so ignorant in matters of arms, that a hundred almugavars could take a thousand of them (if so be that they met a thousand) for they did not know at all what to do. And the men with the

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admiral, almugavars and retainers, were such that, in one night, during the hours of darkness, they would go eighty or a hundred miles inland and carry off to the sea whatever they wished, so that their gain was infinite, and he who would recount it would have to write so much that everyone would be tired of hearing it. Wherefore I pass on with a summary, for indeed I could recount to you over thirty raids they made in this expedition alone, which the admiral made with these twenty-one galleys and two lenys, and in each they met chivalry and foot-soldiers and defeated them all. A big book might be made of it. Therefore, it suffices that I tell you a summary of the journeys. What shall I tell you? When the admiral had scoured the whole of Calabria and had performed many great feats with great gain, he returned to Messina. And when he came to Cape Larmita, which is at the Eastern entrance to Boca del Faro, he met, at break of day, the three Provençal galleys which En G. Cornut, the admiral of Marseilles, had sent to get news. And the two armed lenys, which went ahead of the admiral En Roger de Luria saw the three galleys which were posted on the look-out, but were resting for the night, awaiting news. And as soon as the two armed lenys had discovered them, they returned with muffled oars to the admiral and told him. And, at once, the admiral separated his galleys in echelon and surrounded the three galleys, so that they were quite unable to get away. And he immediately approached them in person with three galleys. And they, who heard them, seized their oars, for they trusted more in their oars than in God, or in their arms; but the admiral went to attack them. What shall I tell you? As they turned, they saw other galleys already in front of them and, immediately, they were vanquished and taken, and thus they got those news they were seeking; they could say they had sure news of En Roger de Luria.

And when the admiral had captured them and it was day, he wished to learn all their plans and he learnt them, for nothing was hidden from him, and he went immediately, very joyously, to Messina and took the three galleys with him, stern foremost and pendants trailing. And immediately, on that same day, he landed all that was in his galleys and all the sick and wounded and took fresh people. And on the following day he left Messina with his twenty-one galleys and two lenys and took his course to Malta.

What could I tell you? That day he went as far as Syracuse and asked for news of the Provençal galleys. And a barge which had arrived from Gozo told them that they were at Malta. And the admiral left Syracuse at once and went as far as Cape Passaro that day and there rested for the night. And when he had rested for the night and day was near he, coasting along the shore, went as far as Cape Ras-Altara; and this course he took in order that, if the Provençal galleys had left Malta, he should see them at any time, although he knew that they were to await there the three galleys he had taken; but he wished they should on no account be able to escape from him.

And when he came to Fuente de Scicli he made everyone land on the shore, and in the huerta of Scicli and at the castle they had great refreshment. Thus he made every man refresh and adjust himself and everyone examine his arms, and the cross-bowmen the cords and nuts of their cross-bows and all that was wanted.

So, that afternoon, they had great refreshment of meat and bread and wine and fruit – for this Scicli is one of the most fertile places in Sicily – and they all carried away water, which is of the most wholesome of the world, and everything was ordered and put in trim for battle. And when all had had supper and had provided themselves with water, the admiral preached to them and spoke many very good and timely words, and he said in particular: “Barons, before it is daylight I shall be in the part of Malta where I shall find twenty-two galleys and two lenys manned by men of Provence, and they are the flower of all Provence and also the pride of the men of Marseilles, who have always despised the Catalans more than any other people. And so, also, great honour and gain will result to the Lord King of Aragon and to all Catalonia from this battle, for, when we have defeated these men, the sea will be ours, and so be pleased all to remember to do well.” And at once they all answered the admiral: “Let us go, for assuredly they are all ours, and this is the day that we have always desired, when we shall fight them.” And all began to shout: “*Aur, Aur.*”

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LXXXIII

How the admiral En Roger de Luria came to the port Of Malta and reconnoitred the fleet of the men of Marseilles; and how he wished to show his pride in this first battle which he was determined to win.

And they embarked at once and took with them a barge of eight oars they had found at Scicli, in order to reconnoitre the port secretly by means of it. And when they had embarked, they put out to sea with a land breeze, and before the hour of matins they were before the port and they went on immediately with muffled oars. The two armed lenys went to search the port and in front of them, at a distance of a cross-bow shot, went the barge. And the men of Provence had their two lenys on guard at each of the points at the entrance to the harbour; but the barge entered through the middle of the port with muffled oars, in such manner that they came in front of the castle and found all the galleys which had their oars unshipped, and they counted them all and found that there were twenty-two galleys and two lenys and discovered also that these two, as well, were at this post with oars unshipped. And so the barge went out of the port and found the two lenys which were cruising in the middle of the entrance to the port and they went at once to the admiral and told him what they had seen.

And the admiral made his followers put on their armour at once and he put the galleys in order of battle [1238]. And when all were ready for battle, day was beginning to dawn, and all cried to the admiral: "Let us attack, for they are all ours." And then the admiral did a thing which should be counted to him more for madness than for sense; he said, God forbid he should attack them in their sleep, rather did he wish the trumpets and nakers to be sounded in the galleys to wake them up, and he would let them prepare. He did not wish that any man could say to him that he would not have defeated them if he had not found them asleep. And all cried: "The admiral says well." And this the admiral did more especially as it was his first battle since he had been made admiral, and he thus wished to show his boldness and the prowess of the worthy people with him. And

he had the trumpets and nakers sounded and they began to enter the harbour, formed in line, and all galleys lashed together. And the Provençals awoke at the evil sound and, at once, the admiral En Roger, raising the oars, let them put on armour and get ready. And there came down from the castle full a hundred men of rank; and, between Provençals and Frenchmen who went on board the galleys of the Provençals, they were much the stronger, and this appeared clearly in the battle. And when En G. Cornut, the admiral of Marseilles, saw the pride of the admiral En Roger de Luria, who might have killed or taken them all without a battle, he said, so loud that all heard it: "Ah, God, what is this? What people are these? These are not men, rather are they devils, whose only wish is a battle, for they could have taken us all already if they had wished, but they did not wish it." And he added: "Therefore, Lords, consider who you have to fight with; now seems the time to act. Here is the pride of Catalonia against the honour of Provence, or all dishonour, as long as the world lasts. Therefore be all prepared to do well, for we have arrived at the point that we have sought since leaving Marseilles; it seems to me that we need not have sought it, for they have come to us. Now let the event go as it may, for there is no holding back."

And then he had the trumpets sounded and the sails hoisted and, well prepared and in battle array, he came towards the galleys of En Roger de Luria, and the galleys of En Roger came towards his. And in the middle of the harbour they came to the attack so vigorously that the prow of every galley was shattered, and the battle was most cruel and fierce. What shall I tell you? The play of the lances and darts thrown by the Catalans was such that nothing was a defence against them; for there were darts thrown which passed through men's breastplates and through everything, and thrusts of lances which passed through the man they hit and through the deck of the galley. And of the cross-bowmen we need not speak, for they were enlisted cross-bowmen, who were so dexterous that they did not discharge a shot without killing or disabling the man they attacked, for in battles the enlisted men have it all their own way. Wherefore it would be

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folly in a Catalan admiral to take with him in his galleys more tersols⁷⁹ than twenty in a hundred men for reconnoitring; for the enlisted cross-bowmen are so dexterous and so organised that nothing can resist them. What shall I tell you? The battle began at sunrise and lasted until the hour of vespers and never could any man see more cruel a battle. And although the men of Marseilles had the advantage of one galley more and of the hundred men of rank who had come on board from the castle, in the end the Provençals could not hold out, for when the hour of vespers came, full three thousand five hundred of the Provençals had been killed, so that those who remained on deck were of no account. And when the Catalans saw that those few men were defending themselves so vigorously, they cried in a loud voice: "Aragon, Aragon, at them, at them!" And all gathered fresh strength and boarded the galleys of the Provençals, and all they found on deck were killed. What shall I tell you? Between wounded and others, who hid below, not five hundred men came out alive. And of these many died afterwards of mortal wounds they had received. And the admiral En G. Cornut and all the kinsmen and friends he had with him, and the men of rank and position were all massacred. And so they took the twenty-two galleys and one of the armed lenys; the other escaped out to sea, for it had many more oars than those of the admiral En Roger; and it went to Naples and Marseilles to recount their unsuccessful errand; and when King Charles knew it, he was greatly grieved and displeased and held his cause for lost.

And when the admiral En Roger had taken the galleys and the leny he went to the western point of the port and landed his people, and each man looked for his companion, and they found they had lost full three hundred men, and of wounded there were two hundred of whom the greater number recovered. And he told them that any booty any man had taken was his, solely and absolutely, and that he gave up to them all rights the

⁷⁹Bofarull is in doubt as to the meaning of "tersols," but from the root of the word "ters" and various other mentions of tersols in the Chronicle is inclined to think that they were the men who occupied the third post in the ship, after the 'proeles' (sailors in the prow) and the rowers and that they were fighting men. In Chapter cxxx. however, rowing is clearly their task.

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King and he had in the gain; for they had enough, as he had the galleys and the prisoners for the King and for himself. And so all gave him thanks, and that night they had plenty of food, and also the following day; and they at once sent the armed barge to Syracuse, to make known the victory God had given them. And the admiral ordered the King's officials at Syracuse, in a letter, to send at once many runners to Messina and throughout the island of Sicily to recount this good news and so it was done. And may God give us as great joy as there was throughout all Sicily.

And, besides, the admiral manned the armed leny he had taken from the Provençals and sent it to Catalonia, to the Lord King and the Queen. And it went by Mallorca and came to Barcelona, and from Barcelona they sent a runner to the Lord King and to my Lady the Queen and to the Infantes and throughout the territories of the Lord King of Aragon. And it is needless to tell you the joy of the Lord King and of my Lady the Queen and of the Infantes. And so, likewise, the leny of Marseilles came to that city and recounted what had happened to them. And the mourning began, in Marseilles and in Provence, which is lasting still and will last for a hundred years. Now I shall let this be and shall turn to the admiral En Roger de Luria.

LXXXIV

How the admiral En Roger de Luria took Malta and Gozo; and of the brotherly friendship ever since between Catalans and Sicilians.

When the admiral had refreshed his people for two days he went, with raised banner, as far as the city of Malta and wished to attack it. But the notables told him not to do them any damage, for the love of God, for the city would put itself in the keeping and under the command of the Lord King, and that they surrendered to him, to do and say all he commanded. And then the admiral entered the city with all his followers and received their homage and that of all the island and left with them two hundred good men of Catalonia to defend them against those of the castle; but fewer would have sufficed, for they of the castle had lost the greater number in

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the battle and chiefly those who were expert. And when he had done this, he went with up-raised banner, to besiege the castle and attack it; but when he saw that he could do nothing without catapults, he raised the siege, resolving shortly to lay a siege he would not raise until he had taken the castle. And the notables of Malta gave the admiral jewels of the value of a thousand onzas, and so he was pleased with them, and they with him; and they gave so many provisions to the galleys that they sufficed them until they came to Messina. And when this was done, he went to the island of Gozo and attacked the town and took the ravelin at once, and when he had taken the ravelin and was going to attack the town, it surrendered to the Lord King and En Roger entered the town in his name and received the oath and homage and left one hundred Catalans to guard the castle which is in the town. And when he had settled the town and the island of Gozo, the men of Gozo gave him jewels to the value of five hundred onzas, and great provisions for the galleys, and so the admiral went away pleased with them and they also remained joyous and pleased with him.

And when this was done he set his course for Sicily and landed at Syracuse and there great honour was shown him and a great feast made and refreshment given. And then he went to Aci and then to Taormina, and in each place a great feast was made for him and so many provisions given that they did not know where to put them. And to each place he towed the galleys he had taken, stern foremost and pendants trailing, and thus also they entered Messina. And you need not ask me about the feast and the illuminations there, for so great was the joy that it is enduring still and will endure for ever. And then all Sicilians considered themselves safe and secure; for, until then, they had not considered themselves quite secure; but then they knew the valour of the admiral and of the Catalans, and they esteemed them and feared them. And then they began to mingle with them, and contract marriages with them in Messina and in all Sicily, and they were and are and always will be like brothers. And God send bad luck to whoever tries to undo this brotherly love; for their association is very good, there never were two nations who united so well as these have done.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of the admiral and will speak again of the King of Aragon.

How the Lord King of Aragon, departing from Trapani to go to the combat at Bordeaux, went coasting along Barbary; and how he spoke with the men of Collo from whom he learned as a sure fact that forty thousand men of arms had died at Collo when the Lord King was there with his fleet.

And when the Lord King of Aragon had departed from Trapani with the four galleys and an armed leny he ordered En Roger⁸⁰ Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol to steer for Goletta, for he wished to go along the coast to Barbary, and to go to the town of Collo, to see if it was inhabited and what was being done and said there. And as he commanded, so they did. And when they were at Goletta, the Lord King with a good company went to hunt goats which are wild there, for he was one of the best hunters of wild game in the world and always liked to go hunting in the mountains. And they took so many goats that all the galleys were provisioned with them, for it is amongst the best and richest meat in the world, And they killed so many that they became scarce.

And when they had refreshed one day at Goletta they came, coasting along Barbary, to the town of Collo. And, at once, all the people of Collo who had returned there and a thousand men besides who had remained on guard, went to the seashore with their arms, and the galleys were at anchor in the roads with their banners hoisted. And the Lord King in person went on board the leny and said: "Let us approach the shore, and hang out the shields. I wish to speak with them." "Ah, Lord," said En Roger Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol, "What is it you want to do? Send one of us or a knight, and he can equally well give you the news you wish to hear." Said the Lord King: "We shall not like it so well if We do not hear it Ourselves." And then the rowers of the leny began to row and when they were within a

⁸⁰Further on Muntaner calls him Ramon.

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cross-bow shot, the King sent a palomer⁸¹ on shore who knew the Saracen language very well, to tell them to give his leny a safe-conduct and not to act treacherously towards him, and the leny would do the same by them. "And if they ask thee about the galleys, whose they are, tell them that they are the King of Aragon's and are going with a message to Catalonia. And if they ask thee further, tell them yonder knight in the leny will answer, on the part of the messengers, any questions you wish to ask him."

And so the palomer landed and said to them what the Lord King had commanded. And at once the Moors gave them a safe-conduct, and they had a Moor who could make himself understood, who went in the leny with the palomer who was bringing the safe-conduct. And when they had the safe-conduct the leny approached the land and four Saracen knights on horseback went into the sea, as far as the stem of the leny, and went on board. And the Lord King made them sit down before him, and gave them to eat and asked for news, what the Moors had said and done when the King of Aragon had gone away. And they said, after the King of Aragon had set sail, for two days more, no man dared approach the town, rather they thought the sails were of another fleet which came to aid the King of Aragon. "Now tell me," said the Lord King, "on the day of the battle, did you find many people missing?" "You may be sure," said they, "that altogether we lost more than forty thousand men of arms." Said the Lord King: "How can that be? We who were with the Lord King of Aragon did not think that we had killed more than ten thousand?" "Assuredly," said they, "there were more than forty thousand, and we tell you that the fleeing crowd was so great that men suffocated each other. And if, by ill fortune, the King had gone over that mountain, we should all have been killed; not one would have escaped." Said the Lord King: "But how could he have gone over the mountain when you had chivalry ready to attack the town and the tents, if the King of Aragon had passed over the mountain?" "Assuredly," said they, "there was nothing of all that, for we are people gathered together by chance, and there can never be amongst us that

⁸¹The man in the top-mast.

concord necessary to make us sure of success. And therefore we tell you that if, for our undoing, he had gone over the mountain, we should have been killed and the whole country conquered. From there onwards he would have found no opposition, rather he would have taken Bona and Constantine and Jijelli and Bougie and then a great number of the coast towns." And then the Lord King lifted his eyes to Heaven and said: "Ah, God, Lord and Father, may it please Thee not to forgive this sin to him who caused this evil, but rather avenge Thou it; may I see it before long." "Now, tell me," said the Lord King, "those people, do they wish much evil to the King of Aragon?" And they answered: "Evil? God forbid, rather do we wish him more good than to any lord on earth, Christian or Moor, and we assure you, in good faith, that owing to his merit, if he had remained here until now, fifty thousand people, men, women and children, would have had themselves baptised and would have become his. Also we boldly say to you, on our faith and that of King Mirabosecri, that all merchants and mariners or any other person who is a subject of the King of Aragon can come in safety and security to Collo and to all the territory of King Mirabosecri. And of this we assure you, on that faith that God has put into our hearts and you can believe us, for we all four who are here, are chiefs and lords of this people and this place and of Jijelli, and are blood relations of King Mirabosecri. And the truth is as we have told you." And the Lord King said to them: "As you are such honourable men, whilst you are here trust us." And they said that at no time would they fear that followers of the King of Aragon would play them false or betray them, for it had never been done: "And be sure that we would trust no other people in the world except you. God has given a virtue to the King of Aragon and to his people which is that they keep faith with their friends and with their enemies. Now, as we have told you what you have asked us, we pray you to tell us where the King of Aragon is, or what he did when he departed from this place, and what he has done." And so the Lord King recounted to them what had happened to him since he left Collo. And they wondered and said that, truly, he was the most accomplished knight in the world and of the greatest courage and that, if he lived long, he would subjugate all the world.

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And so they were much pleased with what they had heard and took leave of the Lord King and begged him to tarry until they had sent him refreshment, and said that, in honour of the Lord King of Aragon, they would give refreshment in this place to these galleys and to all galleys of his which would come to it and would wish to tarry there. And the Lord King gave them many thanks and gave them presents on board the galleys to which he took them. And then he had them set on shore and it was not long before they sent, in barges, ten oxen and twenty sheep and all the bread they found baked on shore, and honey and butter and a great deal of fish. Of wine they had none, rather the Lord King gave them two casks of Mena wine, one white and one red, which they liked better than if he had given them fine horses.

LXXXVI

How, after having stayed one day at Collo, the Lord King set his course towards Cabrera and Ibiza; and how he landed at the grau of Cullera, which is in the Kingdom of Valencia; and how he sent letters to the hundred knights who were to be with him in the combat,

And so the Lord King stayed that day at Collo, and refreshed his people. And at night he put out to sea with the land-breeze and had fine weather, and set his course for Cabrera. And when he came to Cabrera he took in water and then took his course to Ibiza and then landed at the grau⁸² of Cullera, and from Cullera runners went to my Lady the Queen and the Infantes who were at Sajoncosa, and through all the country. And when everyone heard the news, they made processions and illuminations, and they praised God, Who had given them back their lord, safe and joyous.

⁸²“Many towns on the Mediterranean coast of Spain, are a mile or two from the shore on which is their landing-place, the ‘grau’ (the Latin ‘gradus’). The object of such graus was not convenience, but safety for the place itself, from the sudden attacks of corsairs, who must leave their ships to get to it.” –Gayangos.

And as soon as he came to Cullera he went to the grau where he stayed two days, and then went to the city of Valencia. And do not ask me about the feast made there, for, of all the feasts I have recounted to you, which had been made in Valencia for any cause, none had been like this one. What shall I tell you? Whoever was making a feast, the Lord King was thinking about his affairs and especially about the combat; he lost not one hour nor one moment of the day. And he, at once, commanded letters to be written to those he had settled should be with him in the combat, whose names he had written down; for, whilst at sea, he had considered them all and written them down. And this list he gave to his clerks in order that they should let everyone know, in his name, that on a fixed day they should be at Jaca apparelled in the manner in which they would have to enter the lists. And as he commanded, so it was done. And the runners went everywhere. And the King had chosen a hundred and fifty knights for the hundred he needed, in order that if, when they were at Jaca, any were ill, he could always select a hundred and together with them, go to Bordeaux.

And so everyone got ready in the best manner possible in the way in which he would have to enter the lists, for none suspected that letters had been sent to more than a hundred. No one knew it except only the Lord King and two clerks who wrote the letters with their own hands and whom the Lord King enjoined, under penalty of death, to keep the secret and not to let anyone know that there were more than a hundred. And in this the King did very wisely; for if it had been known that he was summoning more, each one would have been in doubt whether it was he the Lord King did not wish to enter the lists and so would not have apparelled himself so well, or with such high spirit as did he who believed firmly that he was one of the hundred.

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LXXXVII

How the Lord King En Pedro sent the noble En Gilabert de Cruilles to the King of England at Bordeaux to ascertain whether he would safeguard the lists to him; and how he heard from the Seneschal of Bordeaux that the King of France was coming to Bordeaux with twelve thousand men of arms to kill him.

And when the Lord King had sent the letters in all directions, he appointed very honourable messengers whom he sent to Bordeaux, and amongst them the noble En Gilabert de Cruilles, to ask the King of England whether he would safeguard the lists for him, so that he would have to fear nothing from anyone at Bordeaux. And so the noble En Gilabert departed from the Lord King and went to Bordeaux, and the few words the Lord King had committed to him sufficed. He who sends a wise messenger need say but few words, and the noble En Gilabert was of the wisest knights of Catalonia.

It is the truth that when the combats were settled between the Lord King of Aragon and King Charles⁸³ they agreed that messengers from each

⁸³Romey denies the truth of the story of Don Pedro's appearance in the lists at Bordeaux; a document preserved in the Archives at Barcelona, however, confirms the fact of his journey. "Petrus Dei gratia Aragonum et Sicilie Rex. Inclito et Karissimo nepoti suo infanti dompno Johani Illustris Regis Castelle filio salutem et sinceram dileccionem. Femos vos saber commo nos vincimos per fetcho de la batayla que era firmada entre Rey Carlos et nos la qual se habia de fazer el primer dia desti present mes de junio en que somos et irribamos en Valencia XVII dias andados del mes de mayo primero passado de si llegamos personalmente a Bordell et fiziemos nuestra presentacio al seneschal del Rey Dinglatierra mas por que el rey Dinglatierra avia desmandada la batayla end avia fetcho su mandamiento al seneschal no la quiso pendrer el seneschal ni assegurar nin podiera qual el rey de Francia et el rey Karlos eran y con todo lor poder et nos oviendo fetcho todo complimiento que devimos nin podiemos oviemos nos de tornar e somos en Tirassona sanos et con salut loado a Dios et enbiamos vos lo dezir por que sabemos que vos plaçra. De mais sabet que luego que irribamos vos ovieramos fetcho saber nuestro ardit mas non podiemos por el pocco

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should go together to King Edward of England, who was one of the most noble lords in the world, and that each would pray him to preside over the combat and to set up the lists in the city of Bordeaux. And the King of England, at the earnest entreaty of both, agreed to guard and secure the lists at Bordeaux. And this he promised and assured both through their messengers, and that he would be at Bordeaux in person. And so the Lord King of Aragon thought that the King of England was at Bordeaux and therefore, assuredly, he sent the noble En Gilabert de Cruilles to him. But when the noble En Gilabert de Cruilles expected to find the King of England at Bordeaux, he did not find him; and he came before his seneschal who was a man noble and of great probity, and told him the message as he was to have said it to the King of England. And the seneschal said: "En Gilabert, Lord; my Lord the King of England has indeed assured these combats and promised to be there in person. Now it is the truth that, since he assured the combats, he has heard for certain that the King of France is coming to Bordeaux and is bringing full twelve thousand armed knights. And King Charles will be here, at Bordeaux, on the day the King of France comes, as I have heard. And the King of

tiempo que aviamos, pero somos muy maravillados de vos ca sabendo que venir deviamos non llegastes quentra esta frontera per veernos ca nos muy grandio sahor et gran placer ovieramos de la vuestra vista assi commo cuydamos que ovierades vos de la nuestra otrossi. Ahun vos femos saber que entendimos que vos queredes yr pera Portogall et defend al rey do Castella vuestro padre de la qual cosa nos maravillamos muicho commo vos queredes a esti tiempo partir de don Sancho et qualquier que vos de esti conseio no vos conseia bien en ello et cuydavamos nos fiernmamente que quando oviessedes vos de tomar tal conseio que vos devierades conseyar ante con nos des que eramos en logar que lo vos podiades fazer. Pero pues que hata qui non no lo ficziestes rogamos que vistas las presentes vos tornedes a esta frontera do nos somos et que vos veades con nos que es cosa ca nos plazra muycho et por que nos podamos conseiar lo meior a vuestra pro et a vuestra honra. E otrossi nos faremos et aguisaremos commo don Sancho faga todas las cosas que vos por bien tovierdes. E en esto non pongades dubda et enbiadnos sobresto vuestra respuesta con vuestro special mandado et con ell fazer nos saber ende vuestro entendimiento et vuestra voluntat. Data Tirasone XII Kalendas julii anno Domini MoCCoLXXXo tercio.— Archivo de la Corona de Aragon. Reg. No. 47, folio 119.

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England sees that he will not be able to hold the lists secure and so he does not wish to be present; rather, he has commanded me to send word to the King of Aragon not to come to Bordeaux if his life and honour are dear to him; that he knows for certain that the King of France is coming to Bordeaux to kill the King of Aragon and all who will be with him. "I wanted to send, this very day, messengers to the Lord King of Aragon about this, but as you have come, I have told you, in order that you send word of it and remain to see if what I have told you is the truth, and that you always bear witness to what you will see here."

And the noble En Gilabert, being wise in many ways, sounded the seneschal in order to know what thoughts he harboured, and he found him always well-disposed towards the King of Aragon, and the more he tried him the more true he found him. And so, when he had assured himself well of the loyalty of the seneschal and of his goodwill towards him, he sent word to the Lord King of Aragon of all the seneschal had told him, by many runners who went each his own way. And the runners were four, and all four, within two days, entered Jaca where they found the Lord King of Aragon who had come there in a few days, having made two days' marches into one. And do not imagine that he tarried for any feast or rejoicing that was made for him anywhere.

And when the Lord King heard what En Gilabert made known to him on the part of the King of England and of the seneschal he was greatly displeased; however, the knights he had summoned all arrived on the day fixed by him, and not one of the hundred and fifty failed. And all came arrayed and appalled as was suitable for their rank. And whilst all was being prepared for that event the Lord King went to Saragosa, to visit the city and to see my Lady the Queen and the Infantes. I need not tell you whether they made a feast, for there had never been such joy and cheerfulness on earth. And he remained four days with them. And presently he took leave of my Lady the Queen and of the Infantes and made the sign of the Cross over them and blessed them and gave them his blessing.

And when he came to Jaca, that same day, he found four more runners who had come from En Gilabert to let him know that the King of France

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and King Charles, both together, had entered Bordeaux on such a day, with as much chivalry as you have heard before and that they had pitched their camp near to where the fists were made in which the two Kings were to fight, at a distance of less than four cross-bow shots. Every day the King of France and King Charles came to the lists with a great retinue, to see how they were ordained; you may be sure they were better ordained than any lists had ever been. At the top was a chapel in which the King of England was to be seated, and then, all round, was the space for the knights who were to keep the lists. And when the Lord King had heard this account he was more displeased than he had been before and sent his runners to En Gilabert to tell him to let him know of what mind the seneschal was towards him. And he answered the truth and let him know most assuredly that there was no man in the world who could love a lord more than the seneschal loved him, and of that he might be sure. And when the Lord King had heard this he considered himself safe.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of him and shall turn to King Charles and to the King of France.

LXXXVIII

How King Charles knew how to make many friends; and how he sent the count of Artois to the Pope, to ask him to provide him with money and to arrange to defend Calabria, doing all the damage he could do to the Sicilians; and how he was at Bordeaux on the day fixed.

When King Charles had equipped the twenty-five galleys of En G. Cornut and they had left Marseilles, and he had appointed the forty knights of Provence who were to enter the lists with him, he acted with the same great wisdom that the Lord King of Aragon had done about the hundred and fifty knights, for he had over three hundred letters sent to knights in diverse directions to say that they should enter the lists with him, being, each one of them, a knight whom he loved and trusted much. And of these some were Romans and some from every city of Tuscany and Lombardy, and there were Neapolitans and knights from Calabria and

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from Apulia and from the Abruzzi and from the Marches and from Languedoc and from Gascony; and each one imagined that the truth was that King Charles loved and esteemed him so much that he wished him to be in the lists with him. But he had quite settled in his mind that he would have mostly Frenchmen or Provençals. But he did this in order that, for all time, they and their descendants should believe that King Charles loved them much, so that they, therefore, should take his part, for each of these knights was very powerful indeed in his own country. And as he had planned, so it has happened; the greatest party and the greatest strength that King Robert⁸⁴ had in Rome and in Tuscany and in Lombardy and in the other places, he had for this reason that each man said: "My father was to have been one of the hundred to enter the lists with King Charles against the King of Aragon." And they prided themselves much upon it, and so they should, if it were as they imagined. Wherefore you see how many friends he knew how to gain for himself and for his people without its costing him anything. And so you can think that both the Lord King of Aragon and King Charles were wise enough; but King Charles had the advantage of him of long experience, because of the many more days he counted.

And when King Charles had done all this he commanded his barons, kinsmen and friends, and more especially the count of Artois who was the son of his nephew, to go to Naples with much chivalry, to ask the Pope to supply him with money, in order that the count of Artois should defend Calabria and fit out galleys at Naples and, with the twenty-five galleys from Provence, harry Sicily and do there all the damage he could whilst the King of Aragon was unable to help. And it was done as he commanded. And when he had ordained all this he, on his part, and the King of France on another, went to Bordeaux, so that, on the day settled between them, they entered Bordeaux in the way En Gilabert de Cruilles had let the Lord King of Aragon know, as I have told you already.

⁸⁴Robert the Wise, also called the Good, succeeded Charles II, the Lame, on the throne of Naples, and reigned from 1309 to 1343 during the time therefore, when Muntaner was writing his chronicle.

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Now behold the King of France and King Charles at Bordeaux where they have pitched their tents, as you have heard already. And I shall let them be and will turn to the Lord King of Aragon.

LXXXIX

How the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon arranged to be at Bordeaux on the day fixed for the combat without the knowledge of anyone; and of his wonderful and notable fearlessness in keeping his oath.

And when the Lord King of Aragon knew the good disposition of the seneschal towards him he resolved that, on no account, would he fail to be in the lists on the day fixed; but this he kept secret and would confide to no man. And presently he sent for a worthy merchant, by name En Domingo de la Figuera, who was a native of Saragossa and was a good man and loyal, wise and discreet, and he was a merchant always dealing in horses in Gascony and Navarre, getting them in Castile and taking them to all those parts and to the districts of Bordeaux and of Toulouse. And he was a man of great wealth, for he collected twenty or thirty horses at a time from Castile and took them to the aforementioned places. Therefore you may believe that he knew all the roads there were in each of these provinces, as well high-roads as by-roads, as well in the plains as in the mountains, for there was no path in the country, whether in those parts or in Aragon or in Catalonia that he did not know much better than did the people of the country. And this he knew from long usage and because sometimes he had to go off the roads, in order that the horses he was taking to some richs homens should not suffer in the feuds there were between them. And when En Domingo de la Figuera came to the King, the King took him into a chamber and said to him: "En Domingo, you know that you are Our natural subject and that We have always highly esteemed you and yours; wherefore We wish you to undertake a thing for which, when accomplished by the help of God, We will reward you so well that it will make you and yours prosperous for ever." And En Domingo, who heard this, rose and went to kiss his foot and said: "Lord, command, for I am

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ready to do all that you command." And upon this the Lord King took a book in which the Holy Gospels were written and told him to swear that he would speak to no man in the world of what he was going to say to him. And he swore it at once and did homage to him with hands and mouth.

And when it was done, the Lord King said to him: "Do you know, En Domingo, what you shall do? You will take twenty-seven horses of Ours, those I shall tell you, and of them you will send nine distributed among three places on the road We shall take from here to Bordeaux, and another nine on the road We may take on Our return through Navarre, and another nine on the road we may take through Castile. Our wish is that, on the day fixed, We be in the lists for the combat at Bordeaux, We, in person, and we shall go in this manner: you will ride on horseback as a lord and We shall go as your squire on another horse, with a hunting spear in Our hand, and We shall have with Us En Bernart de Peratallada, who will ride on another horse, with saddle-bags, and he will carry Our saddle-bag, which will be light, for there will not be more in it than Our coat of mail and money for expenses, and he too will carry a hunting spear. And we will ride all day without stopping in any place and, at night, at the time of the first sleep, we shall stop at an inn and we will dine and rest for the night. And when matins are rung We shall have other horses which we shall find there and which you will have had saddled; and we shall leave the first horses behind and we will do the same thing everywhere. And I shall be your squire and shall hold your stirrup when you mount and I shall carve before you at table. And En Bernart de Peratallada will look after the horses. And so it is needful that, in going, we make three days' marches into one, and many more in returning; and we must not return the way we came. And thus We wish it done. And so, consider what will be the safest road for us going, and take the nine horses and send each with a squire from among your friends whom you can trust, and with a single blanket only. And also arrange to send them each to the post at which we must find them in order to change, and that the squires know nothing of each other, but go, three by three, to their place. And so let it be with all. And each is to think that you are not sending more than those three; and tell them that you are sending the horses to be sold, and that they should await you in such and such a

place and not leave it on any account; that they should look well after themselves and the horses and that all three should stop in the same inn. And when we arrive we shall stop at another inn, so that they will not see Me, for they would recognize Me. And see that you ordain all I have told you and that no man knows anything of it. And I shall have the horses delivered to you, three by three, so that those from whom you receive them do not know what we want them for, save that We shall tell them that We wish them delivered to you, in order that you have them tried outside, to know which is the best for Us."

And En Domingo de la Figuera answered: "Lord, as you have commanded, so it shall be done, and leave it to me from now onwards to arrange all; and as I know your wishes, I trust in God I shall fulfil them so that God and you will be satisfied. And with the help of God, be of good cheer, for I shall take you to Bordeaux by such ways that we need fear nothing, and so likewise in returning. And arrange to appoint a man to deliver the horses to me." And the Lord King said: "Well said; see that you make haste." And he called at once to his Master of the Horse, and told him if his love was dear to him, and under pain of death, no man must know anything of what he was about to tell him, except he and En Domingo de la Figuera. Said the Master of the Horse: "Lord, give your orders and I shall execute them." Said the Lord King: "Go at once and deliver twenty-seven horses by three and three, to En Domingo de la Figuera, choosing the best We have." And the Master of the Horse said: "Lord, leave it to En Domingo and me, for I certainly have under my orders full seventy horses, between those sent to you by the King of Mallorca and the King of Castile and by others, and so it seems to me that I can choose the twenty-seven best amongst them, albeit all are so good that there is little to choose." Said the Lord King: "Now go and luck go with you."

And they went and did all the Lord King had commanded to each, and the Lord King at once, on that day, chose ten knights to go, each separately, and he sent them all to Bordeaux, to En Gilabert de Cruilles; namely every day one, and each carried a message to En Gilabert and to the seneschal of Bordeaux. And all the message was that the Lord King of Aragon sent to ask the seneschal if he could assure his safety, that he was ready to be there

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on the day of the combat. And this he did for two reasons; the first, that people on the road should get used to seeing messengers from the King of Aragon pass every day; and that he should have news every day whether, in coming or going, they met anyone to do them any annoyance, and anyone to show them hospitality. The other reason was that he knew the seneschal had orders to do all the King of France commanded, save, however, that he had special orders given him by the King of England that, for no reason whatever, should he consent or allow the person of the King of Aragon to suffer any ill or hurt; and that, as the King of England knew that this seneschal was devoted, body and soul, to the King of Aragon and all his House and had always been so, that, therefore, he had made him seneschal of all the district of Bordeaux, as soon as he knew that the combat was to take place.

And so the seneschal, when the message of the King of Aragon came to him, at once went to tell it to the King of France; and the King commanded him to write to the King of Aragon to come, that the lists were ready and that King Charles was ready. But the seneschal sent to tell him quite the contrary; that, as he valued his life, he should not come; and that God and all the world would hold him excused; and that the King of England had not wished to come, because he saw that he could not assure his safety; so that on no account should he attempt to come. And so the King of France became accustomed to these daily messages, for there was no day on which he did not receive a message. And so he thought that the seneschal was writing to the King of Aragon as he commanded and he was in expectation that he would come.

And whilst all this was going on as arranged, the day of the combat approached. And the Lord King of Aragon called En Bernart de Peratallada, who was the son of the noble En Gilabert de Cruilles, and took him into a chamber together with En Domingo de la Figuera and disclosed the matter to him and commanded him to keep it secret; and this he promised, like En Domingo. And he commanded them to be ready that night to depart after midnight, and commanded the Master of the Horse to have the three horses apparelled and saddled with the saddles of En Domingo de la Figuera, and to put the saddle-bags on the first.

And as he had commanded so all was got ready, and no man knew anything of it except those three and the Master of the Horse; for the Lord King knew full well that no one would consent that he put himself in such great venture. But he was of such high courage and so loyal that, not for all the world, would he have remained behind and not be in the lists on the day that had been fixed. And so, therefore, he did not wish that any man should know anything of it, so that even his eldest son, the Infante En Alfonso, who was with him, knew nothing.

Shall I give you much news of it? When midnight had struck they rose and the Master of the Horse had the three best horses that were there got ready, and the Lord King mounted one and carried in front of him the coat of mail of En Domingo de la Figuera, and a hunting spear in his hand, and underneath he was armed with good epaulieres and a strong camisol; and a linen smock dyed green covered all; and then he put on a much-worn and old coat of mail and a capero and a cerveliere,⁸⁵ with a linen coif over it. And En Bernart de Peratallada was armed in the same manner and carried the bag, namely a wallet which did not weigh much, and a hunting-spear in his hand. And En Domingo de la Figuera rode like a well-arrayed lord, as he was accustomed to ride, with his saddle-cloth and with his sun-hat and his gloves, all well ordained. And En Bernart carried a great shepherd's bag in which there were altogether six big loaves, which they would eat by day, and they would drink water where no one would see them. And so, with the grace of God, they departed from Jaca. And assuredly, they went in such manner, that they made three days' marches between night and day and what they took from the following night. They always arrived at an inn at the hour of prime,⁸⁶ and they did not dismount by day in any village, except in order to drink; for, the bread they ate walking or riding. And when they were at the end of the first journey they found the three horses. And, at once, En Domingo de la Figuera with his

⁸⁵"Cerveliere, a skull-cap in the form of the coif de mailles, was invented by Michael Scott, astrologer to the Emperor Frederick II."—T. D. Fosbrook. *Encyclopedia of Antiquities*.

⁸⁶7 a.m.

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retinue went to the hostel where the horses were, and the men with the horses rejoiced greatly and asked why they had come so late at night. And he told them it was in order that the horses should not suffer from the heat.

And whilst he was with these of his retinue the Lord King and En Bernart de Peratallada made ready the meal. And when he thought that they might have got it ready, he returned to the hostel, where the Lord King and En Bernart de Peratallada were; and he made the others remain where they were, saying he would see them in the morning. And when he came to his hostel, he found the table laid and the Lord King gave him water to wash his hands and En Bernart de Peratallada looked after the horses. And so when En Domingo had his hand bowl and the Lord King had carved before him, En Bernart de Peratallada came, and he and the Lord King eat together at another table, and so they all eat, and do not imagine that they gossiped, for each was busy carrying the sauce to the mouth, and as soon as they had eaten, they went to lie down and they slept until the hour of matins. And at the hour of matins they rose, and En Domingo de la Figuera took the three horses to the inn of the others and had their saddles removed and put on the other three, who were rested, and ordered his men to feed them well. And so they proceeded to ride on; and they did every day as they had done on the first day's journey.

XC

How the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon entered the lists at Bordeaux and rode all over them on the day fixed for the combat; and how he had letters written to say he had appeared in person; and how he searched the lists and found no one.

And so they went so long that they came to half a league from Bordeaux at the time of the evening bell. And they went to the tower belonging to an old and worthy knight, who was a great friend of the said En Domingo de la Figuera; and there they were well received. And when they had had supper they went to lie down and in the morning, at dawn,

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they rose and mounted their horses and went towards the lists. And the day was the day fixed for the combat.

And at once they sent the host to En Gilabert de Cruilles, who was lodged at an inn outside the city, which was nearer the lists than any other there was in the city. And they told him to say that En Domingo de la Figuera and a knight of the King of Aragon had arrived, and had spent the night with him; and that he should come at once, alone, without another man, to speak with them. And the host went at once to En Gilabert, who was up already, and told him the message. And En Gilabert, who knew that it was the day on which the Kings were to be in the lists, was full of apprehension and feared what he would see, because he knew the high courage and the great loyalty of the Lord King of Aragon. And at once he rode with only the host, without calling anyone else. And when he was with them and saw the Lord King and his son,⁸⁷ he changed colour; but he was so wise that he let nothing appear of his surprise, because of the host. And the Lord King took him aside and En Bernart de Peratallada and En Domingo de la Figuera remained with the host. And En Gilabert said, when they were apart: "Ah, Lord, what is this you have done, and how could you put yourself into so great a hazard?" "En Gilabert," said the Lord King, "I wish you to know that, even were I certain I have to lose my life here, I should not have refrained from coming for any reason whatever, and so do not let us make long speech about it. You have sent to tell me that I can trust the seneschal and, therefore, go to him and tell him that a knight of the King of Aragon is here who wishes to speak with him and that he should bring with him a notary and six knights who are his men, and no more, and that he should come at once." And En Gilabert went at once to the seneschal and told him what the Lord King of Aragon had commanded him to say. And the seneschal went to the King of France and said to him: "Lord, a knight has come from the King of Aragon and wishes to speak with me, and with your leave, I wish to go to him, if it is your pleasure." And the King of France answered that he was accustomed to

⁸⁷Peratallada was the son of de Cruilles.

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such summons being made every day, and said: "Go, and good luck be with you and, when you have spoken with him, let Us know what he said." "Lord," said he, "I shall do so." And the seneschal went at once with the notary, the best and oldest there was at the court of the King of England, and with the six most honourable knights he had in his company. And when they came to the lists they found the Lord King and En Bernart de Peratallada and En Domingo de la Figuera in the lists; and the seneschal and those who were with him entered within the lists, and also the host who was with the King and En Gilabert who was with the seneschal.

And when the seneschal entered the lists, the Lord King went to meet him and his companions and greeted him in the name of the Lord King, and he courteously returned the greetings; and the King said to him: "Seneschal, I have appeared here before you for the Lord King of Aragon, because to-day is the day on which he and King Charles have sworn and promised to be in the lists—this very day. And so I ask you if you can assure the safety of the lists to the Lord King of Aragon, if he comes to these lists this day." And he said: "Lord, I answer you briefly, in the name of my Lord the King of England and in mine, that I cannot assure his safety; rather, in the name of God and of the King of England, we hold him excused; and we declare him fair and loyal and absolved of his oath, for we could not in any way assure his safety. Rather, we know for certain that, if he came here, nothing could save him, nor those who should come with him, for all would die. Behold here the King of France and King Charles, who are here with twelve thousand armed horsemen. And so you can understand that neither my Lord the King of England, nor I for him, could assure his safety." "Then," said the Lord King, "be pleased, Seneschal, to have letters made of this and command your clerk to write them." Said the seneschal I am content." And so he commanded it.

And at once the notary wrote all the seneschal had said. And when he came to ask the King what his name was, the King said: "Seneschal, you assure my safety and that of those who are with me?" "Assuredly, Lord, yes," said he, "upon the troth of the King of England." And then the Lord King threw back his hood and said: "Seneschal, do you know me?" And then the seneschal looked at him and knew that it was the King of Aragon;

and he was about to dismount, but the Lord King would not suffer it, but rather made him keep his seat. And then he gave him his hand to kiss. And the seneschal said: "Lord, what is this you have done?" "I," said he, "have come here to fulfil my oath, and I wish the notary to write down at length all that you have said and that I have said, and how I have appeared in person and have searched the lists." And then he urged on his horse and rode all round the lists and down the middle, in the presence of the seneschal and of those who were there. And meanwhile the notary was writing. And whilst he was writing truthfully all pertaining to the event, and in justification of the Lord King, the said Lord King did not cease to ride round the lists, so that he went all over them, with his hunting spear in his hand, and all said: "Ah, God, what a knight have we here; never was knight born who could be compared to him."

And when he had searched the lists many times whilst the notary was writing, he went to the chapel and dismounted and held the reins in his hands, and prayed to God and said the orisons that were suitable for him to say. And he praised and blessed God who had brought him hither on this journey to fulfil his oath. And when he had finished his prayer he returned to the seneschal and the rest of the company; and the notary had written all he had to write and read it in the presence of the Lord King and of the seneschal and of the others and had it attested by his witnesses. And the Lord King said three times to the seneschal that, if he could assure his safety, he would remain for the combat. But he answered that he could not. And all this was set down in writing; how he, boldly, on his horse, his hunting-spear in his hand, had searched three times the whole of the lists, around and down the middle and across, and had gone to the chapel to pray. And when all this had been set down in a public document, the Lord King requested the seneschal to order the notary to make, of this account, two documents divided by A.B.C.: "One to remain with you, and the other to be given by you to En Gilabert de Cruilles for Us." "Lord," said the seneschal, "this I shall command the notary to do. And as I command, so it will be done."

And this done, the Lord King took the seneschal by the hand and started on his way and went where they had lain that night. And when

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they came before the tower, said the Lord King to the seneschal: "This knight has treated Us with great honour and given Us much entertainment in his house, wherefore I pray you that, for Our honour, the King of England and you make him such a gift that it will increase his importance and that of his family." "Lord," said the seneschal, "this shall be done." And the knight ran to kiss the hand of the Lord King. And when he had said this, the Lord King said to the seneschal: "Await Us, for I will dismount here to take leave of the lady who has received Us so well here last night." "Lord," said the seneschal, "do what pleases you, which is well worthy of your courtesy." And so the Lord King dismounted and took leave of the lady. And when the lady knew that he was the King of Aragon, she fell at his feet and gave thanks to God and to him for the honour he had done her.

And so he took leave and mounted and, with the seneschal, he started on his way and went speaking to him all the time for the distance of full a league and gave him thanks for the good disposition he had found in him. And the seneschal said to En Domingo de la Figuera: "En Domingo," said he, "you know the roads; I advise you not on any account to return the way you came, neither through Navarre, for I know that the King of France has written to all parts that, from this day onwards, every man be taken who belongs to the King of Aragon, whether he be going or coming." Said En Domingo de la Figuera: "Lord, you say well, and if it pleases God we will give good heed to what you say." And then they took leave of each other; and the Lord King, with the grace of God, went and took the road of Castile.

Now I shall cease to speak of the Lord King of Aragon and shall speak again of the seneschal, and of the King of France and King Charles.

How the seneschal of Bordeaux went to tell the King of France and King Charles how the King of Aragon had been in the lists at Bordeaux; and of the great fear which seized the said Kings and how they were full of apprehension.

When the seneschal had departed from the King of Aragon, the others who were with him accompanied En Gilabert de Cruilles to his inn; and then the seneschal with the rest of the company, as they were, went to the King of France and to King Charles and told them all that had happened, and how the King of Aragon had entered the lists and whilst the clerk was writing, had ridden his horse over the whole of the lists, around, and down the middle, and all parts, and how he had dismounted to pray in the chapel; in fine all he had done and said.

And, when the Kings heard this, they crossed themselves more than a hundred times and, at once, the King of France said: "It is needful for us all to be on the watch at night, and that the horses have their armour on, and that a thousand armed horse keep guard at night and that all be on the look out; for, assuredly, you will see that he will attack us to-night. You do not know him as well as I do; he is the most accomplished knight in the world and of the highest courage there is in the world to-day. And you may imagine what he is, when he has attempted so great a thing. And so, Seneschal, ordain the watch of your followers, and We shall have Ours ordained of the best. And the seneschal answered: "Lord, everything shall be done that you command." Said the King of France to King Charles: "Let us go and see the lists and we shall see the footprints of his horse's hoofs, if, indeed, that can be true which the seneschal said." And King Charles said: "I am content to do it, and I tell you that this has been a marvellous thing, and the boldest deed of chivalry any knight ever performed, whether of one alone or of several together, thus to enter the lists; wherefore everyone may very well doubt it." Said the seneschal: "Lords, do not doubt what I tell you; you see here the clerk who has put it in writing, and these six knights who are witnesses, who have known him for

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a long time. And see here the knight who was his host in the night. And he showed the greatest valour and courtesy I have seen in a lord, for he went to take leave of the lady, wife of the knight, and he went there and went up to the chambers, as if he were in the safest place in the world. And all this all these knights have seen." "Truly," said the King of France, "here was great valour and great boldness and great courtesy." And they mounted and went to the lists and saw the nail-marks of the horseshoes, and the proof of all the seneschal had told them. What shall I tell you? The renown of it spread through the host and through all the country and, that night, you might see fires, and every man armed and the horses with their armour on, for that night no man in the host slept.

And on the following day they struck the tents and the two Kings went away together and came as far as Toulouse, where they found the cardinal, called Panberto (who was the Pope's legate), the eldest son of the King of France, and monsenyer Charles, his brother; and they made a great feast for their father and for King Charles as well. And when the King of France and King Charles had recounted to the cardinal what the Lord King of Aragon had done, he marvelled and crossed himself more than a hundred times. "Ah, God," said he, "how great a sin did the Pope commit, and we all, when we denied that Lord help; for this is another Alexander born in the world."

Now I shall cease to speak of the King of France and of King Charles and of the cardinal, and I shall turn to speak again of the Lord King of Aragon.

XCII

How the Lord King of Aragon returned amongst his people through the territory of the King of Castile; and of the great joy all his subjects had and especially my Lady the Queen and her children.

When the Lord King of Aragon had taken leave of the seneschal and of the others he started on his way, that which En Domingo de la Figuera showed them, and they went along the boundary of Navarre, that is,

always on the territory of the King of Castile; and he led them by the way where he knew they would find the horses. And, as they had done in going, so they did returning. So they came to the town of Soria, and to Seron de Seron, and then to Moanquelo, which is the last place in Castile, at the entrance to Aragon. And from there they came to Verdejo, and there the Lord King was recognized, and they made him a great feast and rejoicings and entertained him well for two days. And all in the surrounding country knew it and every man of that district attended him on horseback and afoot to accompany him, and thus well accompanied he came to Catalonia; and if in any place a great feast had been made for the Lord King, there was it made.

And the Lord King sent his runners into all parts and he, in particular, commanded the Lord Infante and all the chiefs of Catalonia and Aragon and the hundred and fifty knights of the combat to be at Saragossa on the tenth day after receipt of the letters, for he would be at Saragossa, where he would hold Cortes; and this he sent to say throughout all Aragon. And if joy and feasting were ever seen, it was at Jaca, as made by the Lord Infante and by all who were there. And they made a great procession in which all the prelates of Catalonia and Aragon were present, and praised and blessed God for the great favour he had done them in the person of their lord, whom He had saved from great peril and who had returned with great honour; what he had done would redound to the honour of the House of Aragon for ever. And when this feast had been made, every man went where he pleased, but so as to be at Saragossa on the day fixed. And the Lord Infante En Alfonso and the greater part of the richs homens, knights and prelates went towards Catalonia, to the Lord King. And so also do not ask me about the rejoicing my Lady the Queen and the Infantes made, and all they of Saragossa, when they knew that the King and his retinue were at Jaca; for in Saragossa and in all the territory they had been in great fear, for they did not know where the Lord King was, nor could find any sign of him until became himself; therefore it is not to be wondered if they were very anxious.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of the Lord King of Aragon, and shall turn to speak again of the admiral En Roger de Luria.

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XCIII

How the admiral En Roger do Luria ordered his brother-in-law, Manfredo Lansa, to besiege the castle of Malta; and how the said admiral took Lipari.

And when the admiral had won the battle, and the feast in Messina was over, as you have heard already, he prepared to fit out thirty galleys, for he had news that, at Naples, all the galleys that were there were being equipped, and so he wished to be prepared and he fitted out the thirty galleys. And when they were fitted out, he had news from Naples that those galleys would not sally out yet for a whole month; that there would go, on board of them, of counts and other banner lords, more than fourteen, with chivalry who would bring their horses in cross-rigged barges and in the galleys. And so he judged rightly that it was not necessary that that month should be wasted. And he called his brother-in-law, En Manfredo Lansa, and told him to go on board the galleys, and a hundred knights with him and a thousand almugavars and a hundred seamen; and that all should join him with their tents and bring four catapults, and that they should go to the castle of Malta and hold it besieged until they took it.

And as he ordained so it was done, and they went on board the galleys and went to the castle of Malta, and there they laid their siege and the catapults began to shoot. And when the admiral had set them on shore he ordained that they of the city of Malta and of the island should bring all kinds of goods for sale to the besiegers, and they of Gozo likewise. And all did this willingly, for they were in great fear that the castle would plunder them. And so when the admiral had planned all for them and had left, as chief, En Manfredo Lansa, who was a very wise and accomplished knight, he prepared to leave them, and he left two armed lenys and two armed barges with them in order that, should they want anything, they should at once send to tell him. And he set his course for Trapani and comforted and

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visited all the inner coast⁸⁸ until he came to Lipari. And at Lipari he made his followers land and commanded them to attack the town and, at last, they of Lipari, who saw so great a power and that the admiral wanted to sack the town, surrendered to the Lord King of Aragon and to the admiral for him. And the admiral entered within with all his followers and received the oath and homage of all, and refreshed all his followers and he chose two armed lenys, which he sent to get news, and each went its own way. And, besides he sent two armed barges manned by men of Lipari who also went to get news of the fleet of Naples.

And so I must cease to speak to you of him now and shall turn to speak of the Lord King of Aragon.

XCIV

Recounts how Cortes were held at Saragossa and at Barcelona, in which it was ratified that the Lord King of Aragon should send my Lady the Queen and their children to Sicily; and how he gave great gifts to the hundred and fifty knights who were to have been with him in the combat.

When the Lord Infante En Alfonso and richs homens and knights and prelates were with the Lord King in Catalonia they had great pleasure in being together. And En Domingo de la Figuera and En Bernart de Peratallada recounted all that had happened to them, which all considered to be a great thing and praised God who had delivered them. And so the Lord King, together with all of them, came to Saragossa. And the feast my Lady the Queen and the Infantes and all the people made was very great. It lasted four days during which no man did any work.

⁸⁸Lanz translates "Küste," Buchon "la contrée intérieure," Bofarull "el interior." From the several mentions of the "fasana de dintre" and the "fasana de fora," it seems more likely that the "fasana de fora" was the coast facing the open sea, and the "fasana de dintre" the coast of the inner sea. In the above case the coast from Trapani to opposite the Lipari Islands was not the coast of the Mediterranean, but of the Thyrrhenian Sea.

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And when the feast was over he commanded that, on the second day after, every man be ready; and on that day En Gilabert de Cruilles came from Bordeaux and brought all the letters that had been written in the lists, stamped with the seal of the seneschal. And the Lord King and everyone had great pleasure thereat. And En Gilabert recounted to them what the King of France and King Charles had done when they knew the King of Aragon had been there, and how they watched through the night, and how they left next day. And the Lord King and all the others laughed much at it, And on the day the Lord King had ordained every man was ready and when all were ready the Lord King preached to them and said many good words to them; he recounted to them all that had happened to him since he had left Port Fangós. He told them how he had come to the combat, and how the others had failed him, and that he gave many thanks to all those who were to have entered the lists with him for having come so willingly. And then he told them how he intended to send the Queen and the Infante En Jaime and the Infante En Fadrique with her to Sicily, for two reasons; the first, because all the people of Sicily would have great joy thereat and would be all the more steadfast; the other, that he believed it would please the Queen, And so he prayed them to advise him in this. Besides he had heard that the Pope had given a sentence of interdict and of a crusade against him, and that the King of France had promised aid to King Charles, at which he had wondered much: "for there are such strong covenants between him and Us that We could not at all imagine that it could be; wherefore We ask you likewise for counsel on these matters." And so the Lord King ceased to speak. And the Archbishop of Tarragona rose and answered all the Lord King had said and gave praise and thanks to God who had delivered him from so many perils, and so likewise he answered in the matter of my Lady the Queen, that he thought well of what the Lord King had said about it; that she should go to Sicily with the Infantes; and he gave many good reasons why it should be done. "And again, in the matter of the Pope and of the King of France I think it well that you appoint wise and honourable messengers and send them to the Holy Apostolic Father and to all the cardinals; and other messengers to the King of France, and that you command them all to say in your name what you shall have

decided in your council." And when the Archbishop had spoken fully, richs homens of Aragon and Catalonia rose and other prelates and knights and citizens and syndics of the towns and villages, and all approved what the Archbishop had said, and ratified it.

And upon this the court separated with great joy and concord; and the Lord King gave great gifts to all the hundred and fifty richs homens and knights who had come to Jaca to take part in the combat, and he made good to them all they had spent, as well on horses as on arms and on rations in coming and going to and from their places. So everyone went away joyously and pleased with the King; and so they should be, for there never was a lord who ruled his vassals so well as he did all his, each according to his merit. So, also, En Domingo de la Figuera had the twenty-seven horses returned to the Master of the Horse of the Lord King; and these and others, over two hundred, the Lord King gave to the other richs homens and knights who had come from Catalonia and Aragon and from the Kingdom of Valencia in his honour and who had not had notice to enter the lists. What shall I tell you? No man of merit came to Jaca on whom the Lord King did not bestow gift and favour; but greatest were the gifts to the hundred and fifty knights. And so all departed, joyful and pleased with the Lord King, and each returned to his home. And the Lord King remained in Saragossa with my Lady the Queen and the Infantes for eight days longer and settled with my Lady the Queen and the Infantes that they should go together to Barcelona, "except the Infante En Alfonso who will go with Us and there embark." Of which thing my Lady the Queen had, on the one hand, great joy and, on the other, she was displeased, for she would have to leave the Lord King. But the Lord King promised her that he would go to Sicily as soon as he could, and with this he comforted her.

And so the Lord King went to Barcelona and the Lord Infante with him, and they went by Lérida and in every place the feast they made for him was great. The feast in Barcelona in particular was the greatest that had ever been made, for it lasted altogether eight days, and nothing was attended to but games and balls. And the Lord King, as soon as he came to Barcelona, sent messengers to all the barons and knights and citizens of

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Catalonia that, fifteen days after receipt of the letter, they should be at Barcelona. And so it was done, as he commanded. And when the Lord King of Mallorca, his brother, knew that he was at Barcelona, he came to see him and the feast was very great that the two brothers made for each other.

And on the day for which the Cortes were summoned the Lord King made all the people and the court generally collect in the royal palace of Barcelona and said all that he had said at the Cortes of Saragossa, not more and not less; and so it was ratified. And in the same way the Lord King bestowed great gifts and great favours on richs homens and knights and citizens and townsmen, and so they all departed, joyous and content. And the Lord King, with his council, appointed very honourable and wise messengers whom he sent to the Pope; and so, likewise, he appointed others whom he sent to the King of France. And when they were chosen he had money given them, amply sufficient for all their expenses, and he sent them off with the clauses and all they had to take with them, and they took leave of the Lord King and went in due time.

XCIV

How my Lady the Queen and the Infantes En Jaime and Fadrique took leave of the Lord King of Aragon, and the Lord Infante En Alfonso and the Infante En Pedro of my Lady the Queen; and how the King of Mallorca and richs homens conducted my Lady the Queen to the sea leading her horse by the bridle.

And when the Lord King had dispatched his messengers, he summoned En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol and told them to fit out the ship of En P. Desvilar, called La Bonaventura, and another ship of the largest in Barcelona after that one; and to cover them with hides and to put into each two hundred fighting men, the best that were in Barcelona;

and put in buçons⁸⁹ and anchors, and arganels⁹⁰ and movable castles, and to cover them with hides, and to prepare gabions and cover them with hides, and to put in all that is wanted for armed ships; and to fit out four galleys and two lenys and two barges, and to sail all together under convoy, for he wished to send my Lady the Queen to Sicily and the Infante En Jaime and the Infante Fadrique with her; and he wished to send a hundred knights with her, besides those of her household; and also, besides the mariners, five hundred well equipped cross-bowmen, and five hundred retainers, in order that the ships and the galleys be well fitted out and that they reinforce the island of Sicily. And what he commanded, En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol carried out fully and, assuredly, as it was to their advantage, they stinted nothing, and especially as the Lord King gave them the charge of going there as commanders.

And when all was fitted out and appalled as the Lord King had commanded, my Lady the Queen and the Infantes had arrived and a great feast was made for them. And the Lord King commanded that, with the grace of God, they should embark and, at once, everyone went on board. And when all were embarked, my Lady the Queen took leave of the Lord King in his chamber; and everyone can imagine what the parting between them was, for there never was so great a love between husband and wife as there was between them, and always had been. And when my Lady the Queen had taken leave of the Lord King, both Infantes entered the chamber of the Lord King and threw themselves at his feet. And the Lord King made the sign of the Cross over them and blessed them many times and gave them his grace and his blessing, and he kissed them on the mouth and

⁸⁹Lanz takes "buçons" to mean "bushes" like the same word in Provençals and "buissons" in French. Buchon translates: "de la farine." This seems unlikely to be the meaning in a passage which enumerates no victuals, but only engines of war and what is connected with the ship itself. Bofarull identifies the word with "brúxula," of which Capmany says: "The word 'brúxula' or 'búxula' comes from the old Italian word 'bóssola,' which means 'box' the box in which the magnetic needle was kept." 'Buzon' is the Spanish name of a kind of battering ram.

⁹⁰Astrolabes? 'Arganel' is the Spanish name of a small ring in an astrolabe.

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spoke many good words, and especially to the Lord Infante En Jaime who was the eldest, who always was and still is full seven years older than the Infante En Fadrique, and was already of good judgment and very wise and learned in all worthy things, One can say of him the proverb of Catalonia, that the thorn which has to prick is pointed from the beginning. And so he showed full well in his youth that he would be wise. If he is thought to be so, full well has he shown it and shows it every day; for no wiser prince was ever born, nor one better nurtured, or more courteous, or more accomplished in arms and all matters as he has been, and is still and will be for many years, if it pleases God to give him long life. And so the Lord Infante En Jaime understood well and put into practice the good words that the Lord, his father, said to him. And so also the Infante En Fadrique, according to his understanding, remembered what the Lord King said to him, and one can say of him also what I have said of the Lord Infante En Jaime. Each of them is so worthy before God and before the world and before their people and their subjects that, throughout the world, none more worthy could be named or found. And so, when the Lord King had given them his grace and his blessing, he kissed them again on the mouth, and they kissed his feet and his hands and left the chamber, and the Lord King remained quite alone full four hours of the day and did not wish anyone to come in. And likewise, what the Lord King had done, my Lady the Queen did in another chamber with the Lord Infante En Alfonso and with the Lord Infante En Pedro, and made the sign of the Cross over them and blessed them many times, and gave them her grace and her blessing and kissed them on the mouth many times. And they inclined themselves and kissed her feet and her hands. And they took heed of the many good words and admonitions she gave them.

And when this was done the Lord King of Mallorca, and counts and barons and prelates and knights and citizens issued forth, and my Lady the Queen told them to go to the cathedral, for she wished to beg for them the favour of my Lady Saint Eulalia and of Saint Olegario; and so they entered the cathedral and went to the altar of Saint Eulalia and Saint Olegario. Then the Archbishop of Tarragona, with eight bishops and others who were there, said many orisons over my Lady the Queen and all the Infantes. And

when all this was done and my Lady the Queen had completed her orisons, the mounts were all got ready, and they went to the sea. And the Lord King of Mallorca, on horseback, led the Queen's horse by the bridle, and it was also thus led by the count of Ampurias, by viscount Rocaberti and En Ramon Folch, viscount Cardona, on foot, and by other richs homens of Catalonia and Aragon, more than fifty, who were on foot around her, as well as by the consuls of Barcelona and many other citizens. And then followed all the people, as well men as ladies and damsels and children, who were all weeping and praying to God to guard my Lady the Queen and the Infantes in all difficulties and to carry them to Sicily, safe and in good health. What shall I tell you? He was very hard-hearted who did not weep on this occasion. And so, when they came to the sea, the Lord King of Mallorca dismounted and lifted my Lady the Queen from her horse and then put her and, with her, the Infantes into a beautiful skiff of the ship which had been sent for her. And at the leave-taking of the two Infantes who were going away from the two who remained, you would have seen a piteous sight, for no one could separate them, until the Lord King of Mallorca descended from the skiff and separated them still weeping, and put the Lord Infante En Jaime and the Lord Infante En Fadrique into the skiff with my Lady the Queen. And as soon as he had placed them there he and the count of Ampurias and En Dalmau de Rocaberti and En R. Folch, viscount Cardona, went on board the skiff and, at once, they commanded the crew to row. And so they began to row and my Lady the Queen turned round and made the sign of the Cross and blessed her sons and then all the people and also all the country. And the mariners rowed and they went to the biggest ship, called the Bonaventura. And when my Lady the Queen and the Infantes had left the shore, the ladies and damsels were made to embark in other skiffs that had been apparelled, and richs homens and knights with them to do them honour and to accompany them. And, with the grace of God, they all went on board the ship, and the Lord King of Mallorca and the count of Ampurias and viscount Rocaberti and viscount Cardona with them. And then the ladies and damsels who were going with the Queen went oil board. And En Ramon Marquet distributed all the rest of the retinue in the other ships and galleys.

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And when all had embarked, En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol came to the Lord King of Mallorca and kissed his hand and said to him "Lord, make the sign of the Cross over us and give us your blessing, and land, and let us go with the grace of God." With that the Lord King of Mallorca took leave, weeping, of my Lady the Queen and then of the Infantes; he made the sign of the Cross over them and blessed them, and, weeping, gave them his blessing very lovingly, and the count and the viscount, too, were weeping. And when they had taken leave they issued out of the ship, and the ship was on the point of sailing and the boys were on the yards, and the steersman ready to salute; and when he had saluted, he gave the order to set sail and at once the ship sailed away and then all the other vessels. And when the ship had sailed you might have heard shouts on the shore; all shouted: "Good luck go with thee! Good luck go with thee!" All the world seemed to respond.

And when they had sailed, the Lord King of Mallorca landed, the barons and richs homens mounted and went to the palace where they found the Lord King was still in the chamber with the two Infantes who remained with him, namely the Infante En Alfonso and the Infante En Pedro. And when the Lord King knew that the Lord King of Mallorca and the counts and the barons had come, he went out of the chamber and the trumpets sounded and they went to dinner. And all endeavoured to make entertainment and diversion to cheer the Lord King and the Infantes. And when they had dined, they left the table and remained in the other saloon where came juglars⁹¹ of diverse sorts who cheered them. What shall I tell you? That day they spent thus. And I must cease to speak to you of him

⁹¹"We wish and command that at Our Court be four juglars of whom two be trompadors and the third a tabaler [player of the kettledrum] and the fourth a trumpeter whose office it be whenever We dine in public to sound the trumpets at the beginning and the tabaler and he of the trumpet to exercise their office together with the trompadors; and they again do the same at the end of Our dinner; and if then there be stranger juglars or of Our own who play other instruments, these We wish to hear at the end of Our dinner." The Ordinances Of The King Don Pedro The Ceremonious For The Governance Of All The Offices Of His Court. Capitulo Dels Juglars.

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and must speak to you again of my Lady the Queen and of the Infantes and of their fleet.

XCVI

Recounts the good voyage my Lady the Queen and the Lords Infantes made; and how all the fleet was guided by the hand of God.

When the galleys and the ships and the lenys had sailed, that Lord Who guided the three Kings and sent them the star by which they directed themselves, also sent to these three persons the star of His grace, namely, to my Lady the Queen and to the Lord Infante En Jaime and the Lord Infante En Fadrique. And so they are three persons whom you may compare to the three kings who went to worship Our Lord, of whom one was called Balthasar, the other Melchior, and the other Gaspard. And to Balthasar, who was the most pious man ever born and the most pleasing to God and to the world, you may compare my Lady the Queen, for never had a more pious lady been born, nor a more virtuous, nor a more gracious than my Lady the Queen. And the Lord Infante En Jaime you may compare to Melchior, who was indeed the most upright man for justice and courtesy ever born. And so the Lord Infante En Jaime can be compared to him, for he has all these qualities. And the Infante Fadrique you can compare to Gaspard, who was young and still a child, and the most beautiful boy in the world and wise and upright.

Therefore, as God wished to guide those three Kings, so He guided these three persons and all those who went with them; and now, at once, in place of the star, He gave them a favourable wind, as favourable as they could ask for, and He did not forsake them until they came safe and in good health to the harbour of Palermo.

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XCVII

How my Lady the Queen and the Infantes arrived in the harbour of Palermo and of the great honours rendered them.

And when they of Palermo knew that my Lady the Queen was there, and the two Infantes, if the joy was great I shall not tell you, nor need I, for they and all of the island had thought themselves almost forsaken, and now they thought themselves safe. And at once they sent runners throughout all Sicily and all they of Palermo, men, women and children, went to Saint George's where the Queen and the Infantes landed. And when my Lady the Queen and the Infantes went on shore she, as she set foot on land, crossed herself and lifted her eyes to Heaven and, weeping, kissed the ground; then she went to the church of Saint George, and there she and the Infantes prayed. And meanwhile all Palermo issued forth and over five hundred riding-beasts were brought; and to my Lady the Queen they brought a white palfrey, gentle and beautiful, and they put the saddle of my Lady the Queen on it. And at once they brought from the galleys, in barges, two palfreys which were there, and two others for the Infantes with very rich harness; and then they brought three mules and three very beautiful palfreys belonging to my Lady the Queen, which were there; and then full twenty others, what between palfreys and mules of the ladies and damsels who came with my Lady the Queen, each with its fine harness. And then they brought, from the galleys and from the ship in which my Lady the Queen had not come, full fifty beautiful and valuable Spanish horses which belonged to the knights who had come with my Lady the Queen and with the Infantes. And when all was on shore, the barons and the knights and the honourable men of Palermo and ladies and damsels and children came to my Lady the Queen, to kiss her feet and her hands. And those who could not get near the Queen kissed the ground and all cried: "Welcome, my Lady Queen and the Lords Infantes." And the joy was so great, and the noise of the trumpets and cymbals and all the other instruments, that it seemed as if heaven and earth were crumbling. And so my Lady the Queen mounted, and the Lord Infante En Jaime, on

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horseback, led her horse by the bridle and Micer Aleynep and Micer Juan de Calatagiro, and Micer Mateo de Termini and many other richs homens on foot, also led her horse. And then all the people of Palermo went singing and dancing before them, and praising and glorifying God Who had brought them hither. And the Infante En Fadrique rode also, on the other side of my Lady the Queen, and then all the ladies and damsels who came with her, and knights and all those of her household. That is, no one rode except my Lady the Queen and the Infantes and those who had come with her; all the others went on foot.

And so, amidst this rejoicing, they went to the royal palace and, before they came to it, my Lady the Queen wished to go to the cathedral of the archbishopric and do reverence there to Our Lady Saint Mary, and so she did, And when they came to the door of the church, my Lady the Queen commanded that no one should dismount, except she herself and the Infantes and two ladies; and they entered within and went to the altar of Our Lady Saint Mary and there made their orisons, and then rode on and amidst the same rejoicings went to the palace. And when they had dismounted, my Lady the Queen entered the chapel of the palace, which is of the richest of the world, and there, also, she and the Infantes made their orisons and then went up to the chambers and adjusted and appalled themselves. And the trumpets were sounded and they went to dinner. And they sent so much refreshment to the ships and galleys that it sufficed them for more than eight days. What shall I tell you? The feast lasted more than eight days, when no one did anything but dance and amuse himself, and the same was done throughout all Sicily.

XCVIII

How Ramon Marquet and Berenguer Mallol sent to tell the Lord King En Pedro that my Lady the Queen and the Infantes had arrived at Palermo safe and in good health.

And as soon as they had landed and my Lady the Queen and the Infantes had been received with this feast and had gone to the palace, En

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Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol sent two armed lenys to Catalonia, each separately, with letters in which they made known the day they had landed in Palermo and how they were received and what weather they had had and how they were all well and cheerful. And the two lenys departed from Palermo and went to Catalonia safely and landed in Catalonia, namely at Barcelona, where they found the Lord King En Pedro who had promised that he would not depart until he had news of them. And so the lenys came to Barcelona and gave the letters to the Lord King, and when he had read them and they of the lenys had recounted to him how they had gone safe and in good health, and told him the honour shown to them, the Lord King had a procession made and thanks given to Our Lord the true God for the grace He had done them.

And so I must cease to speak to you of the Lord King of Aragon and must turn to speak to you again of my Lady the Queen and of the Infantes.

XCIX

How my Lady the Queen decided to hold Cortes at Palermo and how micer Juan de Procida spoke in the said Cortes in the name of my Lady the Queen and her children; and how they accepted her as their Queen and natural Sovereign.

When the feast at Palermo had lasted full eight days and my Lady the Queen and the Infantes had well recovered from the fatigue of the sea, my Lady the Queen held council with micer Juan de Procida,⁹² who had come

⁹²“Amongst the many knights exiled by Charles of Anjou was a prominent knight of Salerno called Giovanni di Procida, who besides the confiscation of his great possessions had, so it was said, seen his wife and his daughter insulted by the King. This man, of great understanding, cunning and determination, who had faithfully served the Princes of the House of Swabia, took refuge in Spain, burning with a desire for vengeance against Charles. He was well received by Jaime I and Pedro, on his accession, bestowed on him several towns and castles in Valencia.”

with her and who was one of the wisest men of the world, and with En Conrado Lansa, who had also come with her, and with other richs homens and knights who had come with her, and the Lord Infante En Jaime and the Lord Infante En Fadrique; and she held counsel with them and asked them to advise her what to do. And micer Juan and others advised her to send letters to all the cities and towns of the island, telling them to send syndics and deputies to Palermo. They said: "Tell them to be at Palermo, at the Cortes you wish to hold, ten days after the receipt of your letter, and write the same to the richs homens and knights of Sicily. And when they are ready, then you will tell them what is meet." And my Lady the Queen and the Lord Infante En Jaime thought well of this advice, and so it was done.

And when the appointed day came they all were at Palermo, and on that day they all assembled in Palermo in the Salavert,⁹³ at the ringing of a

"..... Procida communicated to Pedro his plans for Pedro's accession to the throne of Sicily, which belonged by right to Queen Constanza. The plan flattered the King's ambition and filled the Queen with enthusiasm." Lafuente: Historia de España.

Procida's hopes were raised by the election of Pope Nicolas III, one of the greatest opponents of the French domination and of Charles of Anjou personally. The circumstances being favourable, Procida formed a great confederation against Charles which included Pope Nicolas, the Emperor Michael Palaeologus, King Pedro and the Sicilians. No difficulties discouraged Procida; in various disguises he made his way to Constantinople, to Sicily, to the residence of the Pope. Negotiations went on from 1277 to 1280, and it was because of these plans that Pedro hastened to suppress the rebellion of the Moors in Valencia, of the Catalan barons, to hold his brother Jaime of Mallorca in subjection and to establish good relations with King Alfonso and Don Sancho of Castile. The death of Nicolas and the election of Martin IV, a Frenchman, reversed the policy of Rome and might well have discouraged men less resolute than Pedro and Procida, but they were undismayed, and Pedro's mysterious preparations were completed. Procida went to Sicily and on the 30th of March 1282 what is known as the Sicilian Vespers inaugurated a revolution which gave the crown of Sicily to Spanish Sovereigns for over four centuries.

⁹³Salavert, the Green Chamber. A 'Green Chamber' is mentioned in several other Chronicles, e.g., Monstrelet, in Chapter xv of his Chronicle says: "The King of Navarre, being present, entreated the King [Charles VI of France] that he would fix an hour for hearing them again after dinner, and the King, complying with his request, appointed

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bell, and the seats of my Lady the Queen and of the Infantes and, afterwards, of the richs homens and knights were erected there, and then all others, indiscriminately, sat down on the floor, on which carpets had been spread. And on the previous night my Lady the Queen and the Lords Infantes had summoned micer Juan de Procida and told him what he should say, and that he should prepare to speak in place of my Lady the Queen and the Lords Infantes and present the letters which the Lord King of Aragon sent to the whole community of Sicily in general, and so likewise those he had sent specially to every rich hom in every place.

And so, when all were assembled, my Lady the Queen rose and said to them: "Barons, micer Juan de Procida will speak to you in Our name, and so listen to what he will tell you and count it as being said by Ourselves." And at once she sat down again. With that, however, micer Juan rose and, as he was one of the wisest men in the world, he said many good words and amongst others he said: "Barons, my Lord King of Aragon sends you many greetings, and he sends you this letter. Order it to be read publicly to all the community of Sicily, and when it is read you will know what he sends to tell you. I, then, in place of my Lady the Queen and of the Lords Infantes, shall have to say to you what is meet to tell you." And at once he gave the letter to micer Mateo de Termini, who took it and raised it to his head and then, very reverently, kissed the seal and opened the letter in the presence of all. And when he had opened it, he read it in such manner that all could hear it well. And the substance of the letter was this: That he gave them his grace, and informed them that he sent them Queen Costanza, his wife and their natural sovereign Lady; and that he commanded and told them to accept her for their Lady and Queen and obey her in everything she commanded. And again, that he sent them the Infante En Jaime and the Infante En Fadrique, his sons, and that he recommended to them and commanded them that, after the Queen and himself, they look upon and hold the Infante En Jaime as their head and chief and lord in the place of the Queen, his mother, and of himself; and as it is not given to the Queen to

an hour for the rector to return. When the King had dined he entered the chambre verte. attended by the following Princes"

be every day and at all hours in council, that, in her place they consider and decide all matters with the Infante En Jaime in council; and that they do nothing without him, unless the Queen, or he for her, give them power to do so; and that they may believe that they will find so much wisdom in the said Infante that they will be well content with him.

And when the letter had been read micer Aleynep rose in the name of all and said: "Lady Queen, you are welcome; and blessed be the hour in which you and the Lords Infantes arrived amongst us; and blessed be the King of Aragon who has sent you for our guard and defence. Wherefore we all pray God Jesus Christ and His Blessed Mother and His Blessed Saints to give long life to the Lord King and to you, Lady Queen, and to all your children, and that He take from our days to lengthen yours, and that God preserve you to us and to all your peoples. And you, Lady, we accept now fully from the Lord King, in our name and in the name of those who are not present as our Lady and Queen, to do and to say all you command. And we accept the Lords Infantes as those who are to be our lords after the Lord King and, especially, we accept the Infante En Jaime as head and chief and lord, in the place of the Lord King and in yours. And, for greater security, I swear by God and by the Holy Gospels, for myself and for all the community of Sicily, to keep and to do all I have said, and thus all who are in this court will swear for themselves and for the places whose syndics they are." And at once he rose and kissed the hands of my Lady the Queen and of the Infantes, and each of the syndics and richs homens, and knights and franklins did the same.

And when this was done the said micer Juan de Procida rose for my Lady the Queen and said: "Barons, my Lady the Queen gives thanks to God and to you for the goodwill you have shown her and promises that she will ever love and honour you, as well in general matters as in particular, and will help you with the Lord King and with her sons in all she will be able and which will be honest and good. And she prays and commands that, henceforth, you look upon the Lord Infante En Jaime as your lord, in the place of the Lord King his father, and in Ours; because, as it is not given to Us to go about the territories, he will have to visit all the places as Lord, and he will have to go to the wars and to all affairs, as well

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to feats of arms as to other affairs. These Our children are of such descent that they never prize anything as much as to be accomplished in arms. And so have been all their predecessors, and this they will maintain, they and all their issue, if it be God's pleasure. Wherefore it is needful that you should take care of them and guard them, and especially the Infante En Jaime who, from now onwards, will undertake affairs and the wars. The Infante En Fadrique is so small and so young that We do not wish him to leave Us, until he is grown up.

And micer Aleynep rose and answered my Lady the Queen and the Infantes in the name of all – that all this, if it please God, they would do “as my Lady the Queen commands and in such wise that God and our Lord, the King of Aragon, and you, my Lady the Queen, and the Infantes and all your friends and subjects will have pleasure thereat.” And upon this my Lady the Queen made the sign of the Cross over them and blessed them all and gave them her grace and her blessing. And so all rose and returned home with great joy and content. And micer Juan gave them the letters for each place and sent them separately to each rich hom.

C

How my Lady the Queen and the Infantes went by land to Messina where a parliament was assembled; and how they had news that the noble En Manfredo Lansa had taken the castle of Malta.

After this my Lady the Queen and the Infantes went by land with their retinue, by short journeys to Messina; and in every place so great a feast was made for them that it was marvellous. And so, by short journeys, the five hundred cross-bowmen and the five hundred almugavars came with them by land, with their arms, and all the knights with their arms, and their horses led. All the people were very joyous and made great endeavours to see the beautiful sight. And if at Palermo a great feast had been made for them, that of Messina was much greater, without any comparison; it lasted more than fifteen days, during which no one did any work.

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And during these fifteen days came news that the noble En Manfredo Lansa had taken the castle of Malta, which was surrendered to him to mercy. And assuredly the feast became still greater because of this, and my Lady the Queen and the Infantes had great joy and pleasure; and so they should have, for the castle is right royal and beautiful, and that castle and the island are to the island of Sicily as the stone is to the ring.

And when the feast was over my Lady the Queen assembled a parliament in the city of Messina, of the gentry of the city and of the plain of Milazzo and of the coast as far as Taormina. And when all were assembled micer Juan de Procida spoke many good words for my Lady the Queen and for the Infantes, and gave great comfort and great joy, so that all departed pleased with my Lady the Queen and the Infantes.

CI

How the Lord King En Pedro, after the Queen and the Infantes had departed decided not to leave Barcelona until he had news of them, which he had shortly.

After my Lady the Queen and the Infantes had sailed from Barcelona, the Lord King of Mallorca and all the richs homens and barons remained with the Lord King of Aragon for eight days. And the eight days over, the Lord King of Mallorca took leave of the Lord King of Aragon and returned to Perpignan, and with him went the count of Ampurias and En Dalmau de Rocaberti, because they are his neighbours. And after they had gone all the richs homens of Catalonia and Aragon went likewise; and the Lord King remained in Barcelona, for he had resolved in his heart not to depart without news of my Lady the Queen and of the Infantes; but he did depart, as you have heard already, when he had news by two armed lenys. He at once, wrote the news to the Lord King of Mallorca and to all the richs homens of his realm and to the cities and kingdoms, in order that they should make processions and praise God.

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CII

How the Lord King of Aragon and King En Sancho of Castile had interviews in which the Lord King of Aragon wished to hear the intention of King En Sancho; which was to help him against everyone in the world.

And when the Lord King had had these good news, he went visiting his dominions, and he went to see his nephew the King of Castile,⁹⁴ who, when he knew he was in Aragon, had sent to beg him for an interview. And this was done, for they saw each other at Ariza, and there each made a great feast for the other, and the King of Castile, especially, made great rejoicing and entertainment for his uncle.

And when the feast was over, the Lord King of Aragon took him into a chamber and said to him: "Nephew, I believe you have heard how the Church, without any cause has given sentence against Us; and this has come about through the Pope,⁹⁵ who is French; and so you may well believe that, because he is of the nation of King Charles, he will grant him every favour and every aid. And you can see this now, for he has condemned Us without summoning Us. And so likewise the King of France, Our brother-in-law, who has great covenants with Us, he also has proffered support to King Charles, his uncle. Full well has he demonstrated all his mind, for he came against Us to Bordeaux, to accompany King Charles, with twelve thousand armed horse. I believe for certain that We have now a war with the Church and with France; and so I wish to know from you what is your intention in this." The King of Castile answered: "Uncle, all you have said I know for certain and, amongst other things, it is why I have begged you for this interview; and I hear that you have sent

⁹⁴Sancho IV, 1284-1295.

⁹⁵Martin IV pronounced a sentence of excommunication against Pedro III on the 18th November, 1282 (see Chapter LXXX), and renewed it in 1283, declaring him dethroned. He proclaimed a crusade against him and conferred the Kingdom upon Charles of Valois, second son of Philip III, le Hardi, and nephew of Pedro through his mother.

them messengers and I believe full well that these messengers will bring you news of war. And I, Sir Uncle, promise you, by the covenant which is between you and me, which I now here ratify with oath and homage of mouth and hand, that I shall not fail you in person, nor with all Our territory, and that you shall have me for all aid, with all my power, against every man in the world. And so when your messengers have returned, let Us know what they bring you, and if they bring you war We shall prepare for it. It seems that, between you and Us and the King of Mallorca and the King of Portugal, we can defend ourselves against them. Rather, I believe that if we conduct this war vigorously, we shall recover Navarre at once and then the country beyond. And so, Sir Uncle, be comforted and of good cheer and be content." And, assuredly, he spoke the truth; if these four Kings of Spain whom he named, who are of one flesh and blood, held together, little need they fear all the other powers of the world.

And so the Lord King of Aragon who heard the King of Castile, his nephew, speak thus rose and kissed him more than ten times and said to him: "Nephew, I hoped for this from you and I am much pleased and give you many thanks for the good offer you have made to me; and it is my belief that you will carry it out."

And after these words they parted from each other and took leave most sweetly, as a father might part from his son. And the King of Castile returned to his realm, and the King of Aragon also returned to his dominions, for he did not wish to do anything until the messengers had returned, whom he had sent to the Pope and to the King of France. And so I must cease to speak to you of the King of Aragon and must turn again to speak to you of the King of France and of King Charles and of the cardinal.

Chronicle

CIII

How the King of France and King Charles decided to send mosenyer En Carlot, younger son of the King of France, to the Pope with the cardinal in order that he should grant him the Kingdom of Aragon; which Pope Martin, the Frenchman, did.

After the feast was over, which they made at Toulouse for the King of France and for King Charles, the two Kings took counsel with the cardinal and with mosenyer Philip and mosenyer Charles, sons of the King of France, as to what to do. And it was ordained by them that King Charles and the cardinal should go to the Pope and that they should take with them the younger son of the King of France, called Charles, and that the Pope would make a grant to him of the Kingdom of Aragon and that he would place the crown of it upon his head. And so it was done. This grieved mosenyer En Philip, his brother, much for he loved the Lord King of Aragon, his uncle, more than any man in the world after his father. But mosenyer Charles at no time showed any love for the House of Aragon. And so the King of France went to Paris and King Charles and the Cardinal with mosenyer Carlot,⁹⁶ whom they took with them, went to Rome, to the Pope. And when they were there the Pope granted him the Kingdom of Aragon and set the crown of it upon his head with a great feast and great courts that assembled there. And we might quote the saying of Catalonia, when someone says: "Would such a place was ours." The other answers: "It seems to cost you little." And that one can say of the Pope, for it seemed that the Kingdom of Aragon cost him little, as he made such a good profit out of it. And assuredly this grant was the worst ever made to the injury of many Christians.

⁹⁶This is the French diminutive turned into Catalan, but without a Catalan determination which would be 'et': Carlet. — Bofarull.

And when this was done, monsenyer Charles went to France, and his father and the cardinal accompanied him and at their arrival the King of France made a great feast; but not so monsenyer Philip who said: "What is this, Brother? They say you have yourself called King of Aragon?" And he said it was the truth and that he was King of Aragon. And he answered him: "Forsooth, my fair Brother, you are King of your hat, for of the Kingdom of Aragon, you will never have an inch. Our uncle, the King of Aragon, is King and Lord of it, and he is more worthy to be King of it than you, and will defend it against you in such manner that you will see full well that you have been invested with empty air." For these words the two brothers had many disputes and it would have gone on to worse, had it not been for their father, the King of France, who separated them.

And when the feast was over, the cardinal said to the King of France, in the name of the Pope, to prepare to march in person against the King of Aragon, and to put his son, who had been crowned King, in possession of all his country. And the King of France said: "Cardinal, arrange to have money sent to Us and have the crusade proclaimed everywhere and leave it to Us to fulfil the rest. We will provide Ourselves with men for the sea and the land, and will have forty galleys made, and will arrange all We require for the journey. And We promise you, on the word of a King, that in a year from this, next April, We shall have invaded the King of Aragon's territory with all Our forces." And upon this the cardinal and Charles, King of the Hat, were joyous and content with what the King of France had said to them. And King Charles, also, who had remained with the Pope, provided himself from all parts with chivalry and followers with whom to go to Naples and attack Sicily.

And so I must leave them, who are making every exertion in all parts, and must speak to you again of the messengers whom the Lord King of Aragon sent to the Pope and to the King of France.

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CIV

How the messengers of the Lord King of Aragon had a bad reception from the Apostolic; and of the cruel answer they had from him and from the King of France.

When the messengers of the Lord King of Aragon had departed from Barcelona, they went so long on their journeys that they came to the Pope; and, assuredly, you have seen, formerly, messengers of the Lord King of Aragon received better at the court of the Pope than they were; but, however, they paid little heed to that. They came before the Pope and spoke to him thus:

“Holy Father, the Lord King of Aragon sends you and all your College many greetings and commends himself to your favour.” And the Pope and the cardinals were silent and answered them nothing. And the messengers, who saw that no answer was given to their greetings, said: “Holy Father, the Lord King of Aragon sends to tell you by us that he marvels greatly that Your Holiness has given sentence against him and has hastened to act so strongly against him and his country without any summons made to him, which is very strange. He, Holy Father, is ready to justify himself, under your and the cardinals’ jurisdiction, to King Charles and to any other man who has any claim against him; and this he is ready and prepared to secure through five or six Christian kings, who will be sureties to your court or to Your Holiness, that he will comply in all that is justly claimed of him by King Charles or, any other. And so he entreats and requests Your Holiness and the cardinals that he be given formal hearing, and that you revoke the sentence you have given; that, your honour safeguarded, it be not carried out. And if, peradventure, he will not submit to the judgment given, then there will be cause that you, Holy Father, proceed against him. But, assuredly, he will not go against the judgment, and Holy Church knows what she should do.” And upon this they ceased speaking.

And the Pope answered: “We have heard well what you have said, and We answer you that We shall not turn back, nor undo what We have done;

for all We have done against him We have done with good right and cause." And he was silent. And one of the messengers, who was a knight, rose and said: "Holy Father, I marvel much at the cruel answer you give us, and well can it be seen that you are of the nation of King Charles, for his people are listened to here, and loved and helped; but it is the Lord King of Aragon who has given more increase to Holy Church than all the kings of the world for the last hundred years, without succour and aid from the Church. And again, he would have made more conquests, if you had given indulgences to those who came to his assistance in Barbary, such as you have given against him. But because of the cruel answer you made him, he departed thence; from which great harm has come to Christendom. Wherefore, Holy Father, for the love of God, amend your answer." And the Pope answered: "The answer is this: that we shall do no otherwise." And upon this the messengers rose all together and said: "Holy Father, see here letters, which give us power to ratify, in the name of the Lord King of Aragon, all we have said, and so be pleased to accept his ratification." Said the Pope: "I accept nothing." And upon this the four messengers called a notary and said: "Holy Father, then, as you answer us thus, we appeal from your sentence, in the name of the Lord King of Aragon, to Our Lord the true God, Who is Lord of all, and to the Blessed Saint Peter; and we request this notary to put it in writing" (and the notary rose and took the appeal and put it into legal form). "And again, Holy Father, we declare to you, in the name of the Lord King of Aragon that, as we find no mercy in you, all the injury he and his followers will do in his defence, be upon your soul and upon the souls of all those who have given you such counsel; and neither the soul of the Lord King of Aragon nor those of his followers will have punishment or hurt for it, for God knows that nothing will be done by his nor his people's guilt; and of this, notary, make us another document." And so he did at once. And the Pope answered: "We have acted justly towards your King, and he who does not believe this, be sure that he is under interdict and excommunication. Everyone knows, or may know, that no sentence ever issues from the court of the Pope that is not just. And this is the truth, that this sentence is just; therefore We shall change nothing in it henceforth; and as for you, prepare to go." Wherefore the messengers

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departed, displeased, from the Pope and returned to Catalonia, to the Lord King and told him all that had been said to them and what they had said and done. And the Lord King lifted his eyes to Heaven and said: "Lord and Father, into Thy hands I commend Myself and My people, and to Thy judgment."

What shall I tell you? If these messengers to the Pope came back with an evil answer, with as bad came those of the King of France, and they also had made their protest there. And when they came before the Lord King and recounted this mission to him, he said: "Now come what may; if God is with us We fear their power not at all."

And so I do not wish to speak to you any more of these messages, for I should have too much to do if I wished to recount it all; it is enough for me to say the sum and substance of them. And so I must cease to speak to you of the messengers of the Lord King of Aragon and shall turn to the admiral En Roger de Luria.

CV

How the admiral En Roger de Luria defeated thirty-seven galleys, and took or defeated twenty-five which had come out of Naples with eight counts and six other banner lords in order to land at Cefalu.

When the admiral En Roger de Luria had taken Lipari and had sent the two armed lenys and the two armed barges from Lipari for news, they returned after a few days, each separately, and brought news of thirty-six galleys, which had come out of Naples with many counts and barons and brought with them so many barges that they carried full three hundred horses; and so also, by land, much chivalry was Corning as far as Amandolea, and this chivalry would land at Cefalu, which is one of the strong castles of Sicily still holding out for King Charles. But the city, situated at the foot of the mountain, was not holding out for him, and so they were coming to take the city of Cefalu and put succours into the castle. And when they had set the chivalry on shore, they were to return to Amandolea and make many journeys, until all had been taken across;

assuredly this would be done, if God did not give remedy. And, in truth, they very nearly succeeded in doing great damage to the island of Sicily.

And when the admiral En Roger heard this news, he at once had the trumpet sounded and made the people assemble in the stem of the galleys, and recounted to them all he had heard, and then preached to them and said many good words to them. And finally, amongst others he said these: "Lords, you have heard how my Lady the Queen of Aragon has come to Sicily, and has brought with her the Lord Infante En Jaime and the Lord Infante En Fadrique; whereat we must all have great joy and gladness. And so we must act in such wise that, with the help of God, we take those galleys and those people who come so insolently. Everyone can well imagine that when eight counts and six other banner-lords are coming, that there is pride and power. Wherefore it is now needful that each man redouble his courage, for, indeed, we shall all get great honour in fighting against such expert men." And all cried: "Admiral, let us go. Each day will seem a year to us until we are at them."

And at once the trumpet sounded and all embarked and left in due time and set their course for Stromboli and from Stromboli they entered Calabria and came straight to Amandolea. and from Amandolea to Scimoflet and then to Sentonocent, and then to Citraro, and then they came to Castrocucco and to Maratia. And when they were on the beach of the city of Macanstre, they saw the fleet of the counts off Cape Palinura. And when they saw it, all cried: "Aur! Aur!" and they arrayed themselves full well in order of battle and then steered for their enemies. And when the counts saw the fleet of the admiral En Roger come with banners upraised, assuredly, they were greatly pleased; but if they were pleased, the crews of the galleys were not. However, they had to work as galley slaves, and dared not contradict the orders and wishes of the counts and of the other barons.

And so, ready for the battle, they went to attack [1284]. And if ever people have been seen attacking vigorously they did, and when they were fighting hand-to-hand, you might have seen blows given and the Catalan cross-bowmen shoot in such manner that you may believe they never missed once. What shall I tell you? It is an arduous task to fight against the

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power of God, and God was with the admiral and the Catalans and the Latins who were with him. Rank and riches were of no use there, rather were the Catalans so vigorous that the galleys of the counts were defeated. Those who could disengage themselves from the throng left the battle, and there were eleven galleys which left it in such a state that they had no occasion to sing the Te Deum, rather they thought only to flee. And the admiral, who saw them go, detached six of his galleys, in order that they should follow them; and they followed them as far as the castle of Pixota and there they attacked them on shore; but owing to the numerous chivalry that was there, they could take none. But, however, it came to the same thing for them, for the chivalry which was there, whose lords were in the galleys, said: "Ah, traitors, how is it you have forsaken such noble chiefs as those who are in the galleys?" And so, upon this, they cut them all down. And the admiral and his galleys renewed their efforts and cried: "Aragon! Aragon! at them! at them!" And they boarded the galleys, and every man they found on deck was killed, except the counts and the barons; those of them who had escaped alive surrendered to the admiral. And so the admiral captured the counts and the barons and all the other people of twenty-five galleys, dead or prisoners, and the galleys and all there was in them and then sent for the barges which were carrying the horses and took them all, so that not more than ten escaped. But these few escaped when the battle was at its height and went to the said castle of Pixota. And so the admiral, with great joy, took the twenty-five which had remained and all the galleys, barges and the lenys, and also all the counts and barons, except the count of Monfort and a brother of his, and two cousins-german of his, who let themselves be cut to pieces, for they would not surrender. And in this they did well, for they knew well that they would not escape if they had remained alive, for they would have had their heads cut off. But all the other counts and barons surrendered to the admiral.

And when all this was done, the admiral set his course for Messina and sent at once an armed leny to Catalonia to the Lord King, and another to Sicily to my Lady the Queen and to the Lords Infantes. And do not ask me if there was great gladness in all these regions, for you can all imagine it. And so also you can imagine that the people of the fleet of the King of

Aragon had great gain; for so much had everyone gained, from the greatest to the least, that it would take too long to tell; for the admiral left to each man what booty he had taken. And with these privileges the Admiral gave them, he redoubled their courage. And he learned this from what the Lord King had done with the ten galleys of the Saracens which En Conrado Lansa had defeated, as you have heard already. Wherefore every admiral or chief of men of arms should endeavour to keep those who go with him cheerful and rich. If he takes their booty from them, he takes the heart out of them and this he finds when he needs them. Wherefore many are lost and will be lost if they are not generous and open-handed, and men with whom there is honour and victory to be gained. And so, content, as you may understand, they came to Messina.

And if ever there was a feast, this one was the greatest ever made on earth. And the Lord Infante En Jaime and the Lord Infante En Fadrique rode out with many honourable people, to the Fuente del Oro and all Messina went there also. And when the admiral saw the Infantes, he went on board a barge which set him on shore, and he approached the Lord Infante En Jaime and kissed his hand, and the Lord Infante kissed him on the mouth, and afterwards the Lord Infante En Fadrique did likewise. And the admiral said to the Lord Infante En Jaime: "Lord, what do you command me to do?" Said the Lord Infante En Jaime: "Go on board the galleys and make your feast, and then go and salute at the palace, and then go and make reverence to my Lady the Queen; and then We shall hold Our council with you and with Our other council, as to what you should do." And so the admiral went on board the galleys and went to make his feast, towing the galleys and the barges and the lenys he had taken, stern foremost and the pennons trailing. And when he came in front of the custom-house, he chanted the Te Deum and all Messina responded, so that it seemed heaven and earth were crumbling. And when all this was done, the admiral landed at the customhouse and entered the palace and went to do obeisance to my Lady the Queen, and kissed the ground in front of her three times before he approached her, and then kissed her hand and my Lady the Queen received him with a kind and joyous mien. And as he had made obeisance to my Lady the Queen so likewise, he went to make

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obeisance to Doña Bella, his mother, and his mother kissed him, weeping for joy, more than ten times, and held him so closely that no one could have separated them, until my Lady the Queen rose and parted them. And when she had parted them, the admiral, with the leave of my Lady the Queen and of Doña Bella, his mother, went to his inn where a great feast was made for him. And he had the counts and barons put into the castle of Matagrifon,⁹⁷ and had them chained with strong leg-fetters; and he appointed suitable guards. And the horses, of which there were full three hundred, he sent to the Lord Infante En Jaime, to do what he pleased with them. And the Lord Infante En Jaime, instead of having them put into his stables, gave thirty to the admiral, and all the others he gave to counts and barons and knights and franklins; not one did he keep for his own use except four handsome palfreys there were amongst them, which he gave to his brother, the Infante En Fadrique.

And when all this was done, the Lord Infante En Jaime assembled his council in the palace, to which council came the admiral and the others who had been appointed. And when they were all assembled my Lady the Queen sent to tell the Lord Infante En Jaime, to come before her with his council; and at once they went. And when they were in her presence, she said: "Son, I pray you, for the honour of God, before you decide anything about the prisoners, that you set free whatever men there are from the

⁹⁷"The King of England [Richard Coeur de Lion] now having little confidence in the natives, built a new wooden fort of great strength and height by the walls of Messina, which, to the reproach of the Griffones, he called 'Mategriffun.'" (Chronicle of Richard of Devizes, section 28.) In section 64, Richard of Devizes says: "The King of the English, unused to delay, on the third day of his arrival at the Siege [of Acre] caused his wooden fortress which he had called 'Mate Grifun,' when it was made in Sicily, to be built and set up, and before the dawn of the fourth day the machine stood erect by the walls of Acre, and from its height looked down upon the city lying beneath it." The wooden fort erected by the walls of Messina by Richard was evidently replaced by a stronger structure, a regular mediaeval castle, to which prisoners were sent for safe custody.

The barony of Akova in the Morea was called Matagrifon by the Aragonese and Catalans. It was a favourite name with them where they wished to express their hatred and contempt for the Greeks. (See Chapter CXIII.)

Principality and from Calabria and from Apulia and from the Abruzzi; and that you send them each to his country, as the Lord King your father did with those who were taken at Catona and at the defeat of the galleys of Nicotera. For, Son, your father and you and We may be certain that none of them fought against us of their own will, rather did they thus as slaves, for they know full well that they are Our natural subjects. And if the heart of each could be laid open there would be found written on it the name of Our grandfather, the Emperor Frederick, and of Our father, King Manfred, and Ours and that of all of us. And so it would be a sin if these men perished whilst in Our power." And upon this the Lord Infante said: "My Lady, as you command, so it shall be done." And at once, in the presence of my Lady the Queen, the Lord Infante En Jaime commanded the admiral to carry this out. And the admiral answered that it should be done as they had commanded; and it was so fulfilled. Wherefore I need say no more about it, for the dispositions that the Lord King had made for the others were carried out exactly. And so the great fame and great renown of my Lady the Queen's virtues went through all the land and afterwards throughout all the world. And when all this was granted the Lord Infante and his council went to hold their council where they were accustomed to hold it for all matters, and it was decided that, in regard to count or baron or knight, nothing should be done without the decision of the Lord King of Aragon, and that a galley should be provided at once with messengers who would go to Catalonia and take with them the names of all the prisoners, in order that the Lord King might command what he pleased. And as it was decided, so it was fulfilled; and the galley was fitted out and departed from Messina.

And so I must cease to speak to you of the galley, and I shall turn to speak to you of another matter which should not be omitted.

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CVI

How micer Agustin d'Availles, a Frenchman, went to Agosta with twenty galleys of the Prince Matagrifon and took and sacked the town; and how their commander fled to Brindisi and of the great fear he had of En Roger de Luria.

It is the truth that whilst this fleet of the counts was being prepared at Naples, a noble of France, by name micer A. d'Availles, who was a powerful baron, thought that he, on his own account, could perform some signal deed which would turn to his honour and to that of his men, and which would please King Charles, for he had left France in order to support him. And he came to the Prince⁹⁸ and said to him: "Prince, I know you have at Brindisi twenty galleys undecked aft. May it please you to have them fitted out, for they are all in good repair; and spread the rumour that you wish to send me to the Morea with chivalry, and let everyone embark at once, voluntarily or by force. And I, with three hundred horsemen, all natural dependents of mine and of kinsmen of mine, shall go on board with expert knights. And have me set on shore in Sicily, at Agosta, where there is a good port and a strong, fine castle which I have held before for your father. And at present the King of Aragon is not careful to guard it and the town is not well walled and, with the crews of the galleys, we must be able to enter it at once. And whilst I shall attack on one side, Count Brienne, count Monfort and the other counts who have gone there, will attack as fiercely on another. Thus we shall surely lay waste and burn all the island, and shall reinforce all the castles still held for you. And whilst En Roger de Luria is out of Sicily we can safely carry out what I have planned." What shall I tell you? The Prince knew micer A. d'Availles for so fine a knight and for so wise that he believed him and granted him what he had proposed. And as he had planned, so it was

⁹⁸Charles, Prince of Salerno, afterwards Charles II of Naples.

done; whilst the admiral was at Lipari they got ready and departed from Brindisi and came to the town of Agosta and attacked and captured and sacked it.

And when they landed, they inquired the state of the island. And some men of Agosta, whom they had captured, gave information to the commander of the galleys who was questioning them and who came from Brindisi. The Frenchmen were so arrogant that they cared not to ask any questions, but only to burn and plunder the town, but the commander of the galleys, who had the fear of En Roger in his heart, questioned them very secretly, and they of whom he inquired said to him: "Lord, be sure that three days ago the admiral was at Messina." And they recounted to him the whole of the matter. And at once the commander of the galleys went to micer A. d'Availles and said to him: "Micer A., if you wish it, I will go to Calabria with the galleys to-night and bring you the company I shall find on the beach of Stilaro, which the Prince will have sent you; and thus you will be better accompanied. Here I can do you no service with the galleys." And the French are people who, in matters of the sea, of which they understand nothing, believe what any man tells them. And so micer A. d'Availles told him to go, and luck go with him, but he bid him return soon. But of the going I need not tell you; if he told a deaf man, he did not tell a lazy one. However, micer A. gained as much by giving him leave as if he had not given it, for the commander would have gone away that night, just the same, for he knew well (and it was so) that they had come in an evil hour. And so he landed the victuals and what he had belonging to the knights and, at night, put out to sea. But do not imagine that he had any thought of going near the beach of Stilaro, rather he went out to sea in haste and steered for Cape Colonne, and rested not until he came to Brindisi. And when he came to Brindisi, he left the galleys in the dockyard and every man went away to wherever he wished and if any are still alive, they are fleeing still.

Now I shall let them be who have brought the galleys to a safe and good place and shall turn to speak of the Lord Infante En Jaime and of the admiral En Roger de Luria.

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CVII

How micer Agustin d'Availles was taken and defeated by the Lord Infante En Jaime.

As soon as the Lord Infante and the admiral knew that micer A. d'Availles had sacked and burned Agosta, the Lord Infante En Jaime had his banner brought out, with full seven hundred horsemen and three thousand almugavars and many men afoot of Messina; and he went straight to Agosta. And the admiral made every man go on board the galleys and there was no need to entreat or force them, for they embarked willingly, as if they were gaining indulgences, with great joy and gladness. And as soon as they were on board they went to the harbour of Agosta and prepared to go up to the town, without waiting for the Lord Infante. And there, on the roads, you might have seen deeds of arms, the finest of the world. What shall I tell you? That there were darts and spears thrown by the hands of almugavars which passed through knight and horse, right through their armour and all. And assuredly the admiral would have killed and defeated them all that day, but it was night when this was going on and they had to stop the hand-to-hand fight. And when it was dawn, the Lord Infante and his host came before the castle, and they of the castle held themselves for dead men, for they had gone into the castle in such haste that they could not put in forage and victuals for even three days; and so they thought themselves lost. And upon this the Lord Infante gave orders to attack, and if you have ever seen a fortress vigorously attacked, this one was. But the castle is assuredly the strongest I know standing in a plain. It is true that you cannot well count it as standing in a plain; rather it is at a great height looking towards two sides, to the side of the harbour, and towards the Greek sea. And so they could not take it easily at all by shield and lance. Wherefore the Lord Infante En Jaime, on the following day, had the catapults erected, which they brought from the galleys. And when micer Agustin d'Availles found himself in such danger, he saw his folly. He had already lost full one hundred knights and many men afoot, and provisions he had none. And so he sent two knights to the Lord Infante by

whom he entreated mercy, to let them go out and have them set down in Calabria, and he promised never to fight against him. And the Lord Infante, moved by compassion, and for love of God, and out of courtesy, answered that he would let them go, but under a covenant by which he gave them the assurance that he would do them always all the injury he could, and under the assurance that they would take away neither horse nor harness nor anything in the world, except clothes.

And when micer Agustin heard what the messengers told him that the Infante had answered, he asked them if anyone had advised this. And they replied no, rather had he answered without any advice. "Ah God," said micer Agustin, "what great sin does he commit who does and occasions injury to such a House of accomplished knights. I tell you, he has answered more nobly than prince ever did. Wherefore I say to you, let what pleases him be done." And so it was ratified, and it was done to the grief of the admiral and of all who were there, for they thought it much better they should be killed; but to the Lord Infante En Jaime it seemed good and that, for the honour of God, this was best. And so the Lord Infante commanded the admiral to set them on shore, safe and secure, in a place which was being held for King Charles. And so they embarked as had been settled. And when they had embarked, the Lord Infante sent ten horses to micer Agustin, for him to ride, he and nine noblemen of his lineage who were with him, and to each he sent suitable clothes and gave orders to the admiral that, when he had landed them, he should give these to them in his name.

And when all was on board the Lord Infante called the admiral and said to him: "Admiral, you will take twelve galleys well equipped. We shall make En Berenguer de Vilaragut commander of them and when you have set these people on shore, you will return to Messina and En Berenguer de Vilaragut will set his course for Brindisi. And if he can find the twenty galleys which brought these people to Agosta, let him fight them, for, with the favour of God, he will easily bring them away." "Lord," said the admiral, "this shall be done as you command, and I am pleased that you entrust the galleys to En Berenguer de Vilaragut, who is a very wise knight and accomplished in all feats." And upon this they called En

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Berenguer de Vilaragut and the Lord Infante En Jaime told him what they had planned, and told him to go on board the galleys and to prepare to do well. And En Berenguer de Vilaragut went and kissed his hand and gave him many thanks. And he embarked at once with a good company of knights and of men afoot, and they took leave of the Lord Infante and of those who were with him and went to the beach of Stilaro, and the admiral set down micer Agustin and his company in front of the castle. And then he gave him, in the name of the Lord Infante, the ten horses for the use of himself and the other barons who were his kinsmen, and the harness for them and the horses. With that micer Agustin and the others, who saw such courtesy, said: "Ah, God, what are the Pope and the cardinals doing that they do not make the King of Aragon and his sons lords of all the world?" And they gave many thanks to the admiral, and begged him to commend them to the favour of the Lord Infante and to let him know of a surety that, because of his noble qualities, they would not be against him as long as they lived, in any part of the world.

And when micer Agustin and his companions came to Naples they found the Prince sad and displeased with what had happened to the counts. And the defeat of micer Agustin made his sorrow twice as great, so that he exclaimed: "It would be better for King Charles, Our father, to arrange this matter, for if he settles it by war, I see it all lost."

Now I shall speak of the admiral who is returning to Messina. En Vilaragut parted from him with twelve galleys well equipped and two armed lenys and two barges. And so I shall cease to speak of them and shall turn to speak of the Lord Infante En Jaime.

CVIII

How the Lord Infante En Jaime garrisoned the castle of Agosta, fortified it and peopled it with Catalans and how he obtained Soterrera and the castle of Cefalu.

It is the truth that when the admiral and En Berenguer de Vilaragut had parted from the Lord Infante with those people, the Lord Infante

Muntaner

garrisoned the castle and fortified it and repaired it. And also, he had a wall made in the town which joined it to the castle on two sides. The town was long in shape, wherefore it was not very strong, nor easily defended, and on that account it was lost. And when he had arranged to have this wall made, he had cried throughout the host and throughout all Sicily that he was sending a proclamation, that every man of Agosta who was still alive should return. But, unfortunately, few were still alive. And so he also proclaimed throughout all the host and then throughout all Sicily that all Catalans who wished to settle in Agosta should come, for they would be given good properties, free and exempt. And many came who are still there they or their issue. And when this was done he went to visit Syracuse and Noto and all the valley. And then he went to Soterrera, of which the castle still held for King Charles, and he laid such a siege to it that it surrendered in a short time. And then he went to visit a great part of the island. Then he went to Cefalu and laid siege to the castle which also held for King Charles and, likewise, hardly any time elapsed before it surrendered. And so he cast all his enemies out of all Sicily and then returned to Messina, where a great feast was made for him by the Queen and by the Infante En Fadrique and by all.

Now I shall cease to speak of the Lord Infante and, shall turn to speak of En Berenguer de Vilaragut.

CIX

How the noble En Berenguer de Vilaragut, with twelve galleys, took many ships and terides of King Charles and sacked Gallipoli and Villanova and Apulia.

When En Berenguer de Vilaragut had parted from the admiral he steered for Cape Colonne. And at dawn of day he went to Cotrone, where he found three ships and many terides of King Charles loaded with victuals. which he was sending to the chivalry he imagined was in Sicily. And at once he surrounded them and took them all and manned them, and sent them to Sicily, to Messina. And then he shaped his course for Taranto

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and there also he found much shipping which he took and sent to Messina. And then he set his course for Cape Leuca and took Gallipoli and sacked it, and in every place he had news of the galleys which may have been already at Brindisi full eight days, for they had tarried nowhere. And therefore he went harrying the coast, so as not to have come in vain. And therefore he entered each of those places, thinking to find them. And then, from Gallipoli, he went to Otranto, which is a good and rich city; and in the harbour of Otranto he also found much shipping, which he took and sent to Messina. And then he went to the port of Brindisi and entered it as far as the chain, for he could not enter further. And he sent to say to the commander of the galleys that, if he wished to issue forth to give him battle, he would wait for him three days. And so he did, for he awaited him three days within the harbour, but no one wished to issue forth. And when he saw that the commander did not wish to give him battle, he departed one night from Brindisi, and went to raid Vilanova and then Apulia, and then the whole borough of Monopoli. And when he was sacking all this he took much shipping everywhere, which he sent to Messina. And then he went to harry the island of Corfu and there also he took ships and terides.

And when all this was done and he had made endless gain, he returned to Messina, joyous and content, and so were all who were with him. And so they should be, for the gain he and all who were with him had made was countless. And when he came to Messina he was received by my Lady the Queen and the Lords Infantes and by the admiral and by all, and a great feast was made for them. And when this was over, the Lord Infante commanded the admiral to have all the galleys repaired and to set up a recruiting table for forty galleys, for he wished forty galleys to be equipped. He had heard that fifty were being fitted out at Naples. And as; he commanded so it was done.

Now I shall cease to speak of my Lady the Queen and of the Lords Infantes and of the admiral who is having the forty galleys repaired and has set up a recruiting table and I shall turn to speak of the Lord King of Aragon.

CX

How the Lord King of Aragon, when he heard of the victory of the battle of the counts and what En Vilaragut had done, decided to put his affairs in order and sent to tell the Lord Infante En Jaime what he should do with the counts.

It is the truth that when the Lord King of Aragon had heard of the battle of the counts [1283] (for so it was called and will always be called, because of the many counts there were in it) and also of the matter of Agosta, and what En Vilaragut had done, he had great joy and great pleasure, and he praised and blessed God for the favour He had shown him. And so also he decided to put his affairs in order. And when he heard what his messengers, whom he had sent to the Pope and the King of France, told him, he said to himself that this was no trifling matter, that two such powers should be preparing to invade his territory, besides the crusade the Pope had proclaimed against him; because others might take part in it also. And he had Cortes assembled at Saragossa of all the Aragonese [Oct. 1293].

And when the Cortes were assembled, the Lord King spoke many good words and recounted to them the favour God had shown him in the battle of the counts; for the galley which had brought the news had been at Barcelona for many days. And soon the Lord King dispatched it and made it return and sent orders to the Lord Infante as to what he should do with the counts and other barons and knights he held prisoners. Of this it is not necessary to speak or make mention. For the Lord King was so wise that he always chose the best that should be done. And what he commanded was done and nothing else. And what my Lady the Queen had done with the lesser people pleased him right well. And when he had recounted it all to them he also told them about Agosta and what En Berenguer de Vilaragut had done. And afterwards, when he had recounted this to them and spoken many good words appropriate to the time, he told them what the messengers had transacted with the Pope, and also what those of the King

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of France had told him; in what manner the Pope had given sentence against him and his supporters, and how he made donation of his country to his nephew Carlot, son of the King of France. And likewise, how the King of France was getting ready by sea and by land, and that he had sworn that, in a year from this April, he would be in Catalonia with his forces. And so he required richs homens and prelates and knights and citzens and towns and castles, all to give him advice and assistance.

And when he had said all this to them, those who had been appointed to answer rose and said that they had heard well all he had said and that they praised and blessed God for the honour and victory He had given him; but that, also, they were much displeased with what the Apostolic Father had enacted and done against him and so likewise with the King of France. Nevertheless they trusted in God that He would help him, for he and his people maintained a right and these others a wrong. And thus God, Who is truth and equity and justice, would support him and confound those who, with so much arrogance and pride, were coming against him. And that, as for themselves, they offered to help and support him whilst they had life and power, and that they were prepared to accept death and to mete out death to all who came against him. And they prayed and entreated him of his mercy to be cheerful and comforted, so that all his people be cheered and comforted by it; and that he arrange to ordain all his territory on the frontiers of the King of France, and have galleys made and everything got ready for the defence of his Kingdom, and that he remember the other frontiers; "as to the frontier between Aragon, Navarre and Gascony, we shall guard it and defend it in such manner, if it please God, that you, Lord, will be grateful to us and that the enemy will know that they have to do with those who will give them plenty of bad luck." And when the Lord King heard the good offer that the barons of Aragon and the knights and citzens and towns and villages had made him in so good an answer, he was very joyous and held himself well content with them all.

CXI

How the Lord King En Pedro marched against En Eustache Governor of Navarre, who had invaded Aragon with four thousand horse; and how the said En Eustache returned with all his followers.

Before the Lord King and the richs homens and the others who were assembled at Saragossa for the Cortes departed, a reliable message came to them that En Eustache,⁹⁹ who was governor of Navarre for the Lord King of France, had invaded Aragon with four thousand armed horse, and that he had taken the tower of Ull, which had been held by En Eximeno de Artieda, a knight of Aragon who was a very accomplished knight; and this appeared in the defence of the tower of Ull, for he did so much there that no knight could do more in any feat of arms. By his prowess he obtained his life, though against his wish. En Eustache commanded he should on no account be killed, for it would be a great loss if such a knight were killed. And so, by force, they took him alive. And when they had taken him, En Eustache sent him to Toulouse, to the castle Narbonne, and ordered him to be handed over to En Tozet de Xanxis who held the castle. Then En Eximeno de Artieda did so much by his prowess that he fled from that place and returned to Aragon, and did much harm to the French when he was out of prison. But I shall cease to speak of him, for there would be much to do if one wished to recount all the prowess and bold and worthy deeds that the knights of Aragon and Catalonia performed in these wars and in others, and there would not be time to write it. And it is said in Catalonia that the work exalts the master; wherefore, by the deeds of Catalans and Aragonese, can be known in general and briefly what manner of men they are. If they had not been valiant and worthy they would not have performed the deeds they did and do perform every day, with the

⁹⁹Eustache de Beaumarchais sent by Philip III to Navarre during the minority of Queen Joan who had been taken to Paris by her mother, and who married Philip's son, afterwards Philip IV, on the 16th August, 1284.

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grace and help of God. Wherefore there is no need to speak of anyone in particular, except of the deeds of the chiefs who ordain them.

And when the Lord King and those who were with him heard this, and the war cry had gone forth, the banner of the Lord King, and all the chiefs and councils of the cities and towns of Aragon issued out of Saragossa. And they came and followed the banner of the Lord King so that, since Aragon has been inhabited, so many select Aragonese gentry had not been assembled together; so that I tell you truly they not only defeated the forces of En Eustache, but they would also have defeated those of the King of France, had they been there.

And the Lord King, with great joyousness and content, went to where he knew that the host of En Eustache was, and he hastened so that one day, at the hour of compline,¹⁰⁰ he was close to the host of En Eustache, at the entrance to Navarre. En Eustache had turned back already when he heard that the Lord King was within a league of him. Each host had news of the other. And, at night, the Lord King preached to his followers and exhorted them to do well and spoke many good words and told them that, in the morning, with the grace of God and of Our Lady Saint Mary, every man should follow his banner and prepare to do well; that he wished to fight his enemies who had never imagined so mad an adventure as when they invaded his Kingdom. And when the Lord King had spoken, all answered well, but the event turned out in such manner that En Eustache with all his following returned safe and sound into Navarre, whereat the Lord King was greatly displeased. He had not had so great a displeasure since he was born and I do not wish to say anything more about it, for certainly he needs must be displeased when he knew that En Eustache had entered Navarre in safety.

And the Lord King of Aragon came by his journeys to Barcelona and there also convened Cortes and commanded that all they of Catalonia should be at Barcelona by a fixed day.

¹⁰⁰The hour of evening prayer before retiring to rest.

How the Lord King of Aragon gave his reasons to En Ramon Marquet and to En Berenguer Mallol why he was having so few galleys made against the power of the Apostolic and of the King of France and King Charles; and of the answer made to him in the Cortes at Barcelona.

With that the Cortes were convoked, of richs homens and prelates and knights and citizens and townsmen; and the Lord King called En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol, who had come from Sicily with the galleys with which they had accompanied my Lady the Queen and the Lords Infantes. And he commanded them to have, incontinent, ten galleys made, so that they should not be short of galleys. And En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol said to the Lord King: "Lord, what is this you say? You know that your enemies are having a hundred and twenty galleys made, and you will not have more than ten made?" And answered the Lord King and said: "Do you not know that We have full eighty in Sicily which, when We need them, will come ready equipped?" Said they: "Lord, we should think it well that at least fifty galleys were made here, for one cannot know whether those that are in Sicily would come in time when we need them, for, owing to matters there, they might delay. The power of the Church and of the King of France and King Charles and of their supporters is so great that we believe that they will give us enough to do there and here, even if we had fifty galleys between Valencia and Tortosa and Tarragona and Barcelona, and even if we had more. But, yet, Lord, if you had fifty galleys fitted out in Catalonia we would trust fully that, with the help of God and your good fortune, we would overcome all those of the enemy." And the Lord King answered: "Notables, you speak well, but it is much better that the enemy should not know that we have galleys here, for if they knew that we have them here and that there are fifty, theirs would come all together; and it would be a hard task and a great danger to fight them all, for there are very select people in those galleys, as well Provençals as Gascons and Genoese and many others. But if they know that we have not more than ten galleys, they will come believing themselves safe and

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will think nothing of our forces, and therefore they will come departed and you, with these ten galleys, will go attacking here and there at your will. And whilst they thus go along, despising our power and our galleys, these other galleys will come from Sicily and will go and attack where the greater part of their fleet will be. And so, with the help of God, we shall get the better of our enemies by showing only a small force. And it is thus in war; man must commend himself to God and then, with his help, choose the best and most profitable way and make no boast."

And when they had heard this, En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol said: "Lord, forgive us that we wanted to advise you, for it is clear to us that a hundred men like us could not follow in your footsteps. And we understand, Lord, that what you say is sound sense. And so we will have the ten galleys made as you, Lord, command." "Now," said the Lord King, "go with your good luck and keep what We have said to you secret." "Lord," said they, "be well assured of that." With that they kissed his hand and went to do what the Lord King had commanded.

With that the Cortes were assembled; all were at Barcelona on the day the Lord King had commanded, and they went to the royal palace. And the Lord King said to them all he had said to the Aragonese at the Cortes of Saragossa and spoke many good words suitable to the time. And when the Lord King had spoken, the Archbishop of Tarragona rose and spoke many good words, and amongst others he said: "Lord, I say to you for myself and for all the prelates of our archbishopric, priests and religious, that we cannot give you any advice as to the war, and, especially, against the sentence the Holy Father has given against you. Wherefore may it please you to let us live on the smallest means possible." And when the Lord King had heard well what the Archbishop had said, he recognized his great virtue and that of the other prelates and priests, and the great loyalty they showed, for what the Archbishop had said, was said to a right understanding; it meant that the Lord King should take all the property of the Church for his assistance in the war. But he said it in such wise that he could not be reproved, neither by the Pope nor by others. And in truth this was the meaning of all prelates and priests whatever who were in the land of the Lord King; that they should have their living only, whilst the war

lasted, and that the Lord King should make use of all the rest. And so the Lord King answered the archbishop and said that he had understood well what he had said and that he held him and all the other prelates and priests excused; and that he acknowledged that they were right, and so they should go and good luck go with them; that he would remain with the chiefs, knights and citizens and townsmen and would treat of the war. And so the archbishop and other prelates and priests left the council and went home, and the Lord King remained at the Cortes with the others.

And when the archbishop and the other prelates had left the council, richs homens and knights and citizens and townsmen rose, each in his turn, in the order in which they were to speak. And if good response of help and advice was made to the Lord King at Saragossa, much more complete response was there in this court, by all jointly. And so, amply as they made offer, assuredly much better still they accomplished in deed, according as you shall hear further on. For this response the Lord King was much pleased with all and gave them great presents and great thanks. And so the Cortes was concluded with great concord between the Lord King and his vassals and subjects; and all, when the word was given by the Lord King, returned home.

And when the Cortes had separated, the Lord King went to the city of Gerona and sent to tell the Lord King of Mallorca, his brother, that he wished to confer with him and that he begged him to come to him to the said city or, if he wished, he would go to him to Perpignan. But the Lord King of Mallorca said he wished to come to him at Gerona; and in a few days he came there, to the Lord King of Aragon. And the Lord King went to meet him as far as the bridge of the Terria. And whether they made feasts for each other I need not say; everyone can imagine that each brother had great joy in the other, and desire to see him. And so they entered Gerona amidst a great feast which was made for them. And on that day the Lord King of Mallorca and his company dined with the King of Aragon, and also on the following day and on the third. And on the fourth day the Lord King of Mallorca invited the Lord King of Aragon with all his company. And then on the fifth day the Lord King of Aragon wished the Lord King of Mallorca to dine with him. And when the two brothers had

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heard Mass, without anyone else being present, they went into a chamber and it was passed the hour of nones¹⁰¹ before they came out and dined. What they ordained and said amongst themselves no man can know, but it is said by many people that the Lord King of Aragon gave leave to the Lord King of Mallorca to support and aid the King of France against himself, because both the brothers were wise and knew that Montpellier and the counties of Roussillon and Conflans and of Cerdagne, would be lost if he did otherwise. It was the custom of the House of France never to give up what had been taken in war; they would sooner lose all their territory. And as the two Kings knew that they could not defend Montpellier and Roussillon and Conflans and Cerdagne, it was better to keep these territories in this way. And so they separated without anyone knowing what they had said to each other, but those who were wise, and also the French, always suspected this. And when they had taken leave of each other the Lord King of Aragon returned to Barcelona and the Lord King of Mallorca to Perpignan.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of the two kings, and shall turn to speak of the Lord Infante En Jaime and of the admiral En Roger de Luria.

CXIII

How the admiral En Roger de Luria coasted along all Calabria and of his great exploits; and how he took Prince Matagrifon, eldest son of King Charles, prisoner, and delivered from prison my Lady the Infanta, sister of my Lady the Queen of Aragon: and of the great tribute he imposed upon the inhabitants of Naples.

When the admiral had had the forty galleys repaired, which the Lord Infante had ordered him to have repaired, and had all the crews and all the leaders according to what had been ordained (that there should be as many Latins as Catalans, but that the enlisted cross-bowmen should all be

¹⁰¹3 P.M.

Catalans in all the galleys, except in six light galleys, which had tersols) he had the bread and all else that was needed put on board. And when the galleys had a full complement of what they needed, by the favour of God the Lord Infante commanded the admiral to make everyone embark. And at once the trumpet sounded through the city and the men embarked, full of courage and goodwill. And when they had embarked, the admiral went to take leave of my Lady the Queen and of the Infantes; and my Lady the Queen made the sign of the Cross over them and blessed them. And the Lord Infante drew the admiral aside and said to him: "Admiral, We think it well that you set your course for Naples and act in such wise, if you can, as to take Ischia; for, if we had the island of Ischia, we could easily destroy Naples." And the admiral answered: "Lord, make the sign of the Cross over us and bless us and let us go; for, assuredly, with the favour of God, we shall do so much that it shall be spoken of for ever." And upon this, the admiral kissed the hand of the Lord Infante En Fadrique and took leave of him and of all the others and, with the grace of God, they embarked.

And when they were all assembled there were forty galleys and four armed lenys and four armed barges. And they said the *bona paraula*¹⁰² and went at a suitable hour and coasted along Calabria; and first they took Scalea. And in the harbour of Saint Nicholas of Scalea they found four ships and many terides, which were loading with chips of oars and of masts and of lateen yards for galleys and lenys, to carry to Naples. And then he took Amandolea and Ximoflet and Sant Onoxent and Citrare and the city of Policastro, and burnt and pillaged all. And then he took Castellabate. And each of these places he garrisoned. And you may believe that, as the people of Calabria knew that the combat of Bordeaux would not take place, they all surrendered after a short fight, for they were all heart and soul for the Lord King of Aragon and hated the Frenchmen, as they fully showed when the Lord Infante came to Calabria; for they had no greater wish than that the Lord Infante should come.

¹⁰²In Chapter CXXX, Muntaner speaks of "the hour of the *bona paraula*." It seems to have been a prayer prescribed for certain occasions, such as the departure of a ship.

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And when the admiral had taken all this, getting news on the way, he came to Naples, to meet the Prince, who had great displeasure at his coming. And the admiral steered for Naples, getting news all the time. And when he came before Naples, he commanded the fleet to be put in order of battle, the galleys in line, and he put on his armour and got ready, and approached the mole to within a distance of three bow-shot. And he might have approached nearer without finding anyone to oppose him, but he did it in this way intentionally, in order not to prevent the enemy from going on board their galleys; for he wished above all that they should man all the galleys there and fight him. And when they of Naples saw the galleys of the admiral approach, then might you have heard shouts and the cry of alarm and the ringing of bells in Naples, so that it seemed that heaven and earth were crumbling. And the Prince came to the mole with all the chivalry and had the trumpet sounded, and proclaimed that, under pain of death, all should go on board the galleys. But his proclamation was in vain, for no one would go on board. And when the Prince saw this, moved by anger, he himself, went on board first. And when the counts and barons and knights and citizens and all the other people saw the Prince in the galleys, moved by shame all went on board the said galleys, each with his arms and well appavelled. What shall I tell you? Thirty-eight galleys were manned and many lenys and many barges. And when they were manned, they proceeded to row towards the admiral. And the admiral pretended to flee and drew away, in such manner that he had them in a place from which not a galley could escape. And when he saw that he had them well out at sea, he turned towards them. And they, who saw him turn, lost the energy with which they were pursuing him and loosened their oars. And the admiral did the same and had the galleys lashed together and put in order of battle. And the Prince did the same.

And when both sides had done this, each galley went to attack another. And if ever there was a hard battle at sea this one was, for neither the battle of Malta nor the battle of the counts could be compared to it. What shall I

tell you? The battle lasted from the hour of tierce¹⁰³ until the hour of vespers. But against the will and power of God no man can stand. And so the power and will of God was and is with the Lord King of Aragon and with his people; wherefore King Charles and the Prince were as nothing against him. And so Our Lord the true God gave victory to the admiral and his followers, who all together cried: "Aragon! Aragon and Sicily! at them!" And with great vigour they cleared full thirty galleys, but when they had cleared these, they could not take the galley of the Prince, nor the others which were around him, such honourable men of rank were there in them, who all would rather die than see their Prince taken. But what use was it? In the end they could not hold out, and the greater part of all the counts and barons and men of rank that were there were killed. The galley of the Prince alone remained; no one could take it. And upon this the admiral called to his men to encourage them. And all jumped on board the galley of the Prince and cleared all the prow. And the admiral boarded the galley, sword in hand; and when they came to the middle of the galley you might have seen feats of arms and blows given and taken which were marvellous to behold, so that all who were on the deck of the galley of the Prince were killed. And the admiral came to the Prince, who was defending himself better than king or king's son or any other knight had ever done. He did so much that no one could get near his thrusts. And, assuredly, he preferred to die rather than live, so full of rage was he. There were knights of the admiral who came, lance in hand, to attack him; but the admiral cried: "Barons, hold! it is the Prince, and I prefer to have him alive rather than dead." And the Prince heard this and saw that his defence was little use and he surrendered to the admiral. And so they were all either killed or taken.

And as soon as the battle had been won, the admiral said to the Prince: "If you wish to live there are two things you must do at once; and if you do not wish to do them, reckon upon it that now the death of King Conradin will be avenged." And the Prince answered the admiral: "What is it that

¹⁰³9 a.m.

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you wish I should do? If I can do it, I will, willingly." "What I wish," said the admiral, "is that you send at once for the daughter of King Manfred, sister of my Lady the Queen of Aragon, whom you hold in your prison here, in the Castel del Uovo, with the ladies and damsels of her household who are there; and that you make the castle and town of Ischia surrender to me." And the Prince answered that he would do it willingly; and at once sent one of his knights on shore in an armed leny, and brought my Lady the Infanta, sister of my Lady the Queen, with four damsels and two widowed ladies. And the admiral received them with great joy and with great gladness and knelt down and kissed the hand of my Lady the Infanta. And when this was done, he shaped his course for Ischia with all the galleys. And when they came to Ischia they found there great mourning, because the greater part of the gentry of Ischia had been killed or taken in the battle. And the Prince commanded that the castle and the town be surrendered to the admiral. And at once, without much entreaty, they did so, in order to recover their friends who were prisoners in the galleys. And the admiral received the castle and the town and left there four galleys fully equipped and two lenys, and full two hundred men, and he sent out of the galleys all the prisoners who were of Ischia and let them go without any ransom, and he clothed them in the clothes of the others, at which the people of Ischia were much comforted and cheered.

And when this was done he commanded him whom he had left as commander of the four galleys and the two armed lenys to let no one enter or leave Naples without his permit; and those who entered were to pay a stipulated amount for a ship or for a leny or for goods; and those who went out, a gold coin for each cask of wine and two florins for each cask of oil, and so, likewise, all the merchandize of every kind was to pay a stipulated toll. And this was done, and even more, for in this manner did they constrain them: the commander of Ischia had his factor in Naples, who received the toll of all aforesaid things and with whose permit only were they allowed to go out of the town; otherwise they would be imprisoned and would lose the ship or leny and the merchandize. This was the greatest glory a king ever had over another, this which the Lord King of Aragon had over King Charles. And King Charles had to suffer it for the sake of the

people of Naples who would have perished if they had not been able to sell their goods and take them out of Naples. And when this was ordained the admiral set his course for Procida and the island of Capri, and each of these islands he took. And as the men of Ischia had done homage to him, so did they of these islands, and he gave up to them the prisoners he had of all these places.

And when this was done, the admiral sent an armed leny to Catalonia, to the Lord King of Aragon, and another to Sicily, to tell this good news; and may God give us as great joy as they had in each of those places. But whilst the Lord King of Aragon and all Catalonia and Aragon and the Kingdom of Valencia had great joy, and my Lady the Queen and the Infantes and all Sicily as well, when King Charles and the Pope and all those of their party in Rome heard this, their grief was great. But the Ghibelline party had great joy and pleasure thereat.

And when the armed lenys had parted from the admiral, the Lord who had given him victory, gave him such good weather that, within a few days, he was at Messina. And when they were within the Torrecilla, the joy and gladness and the feast began at Messina, the greatest ever made; and the Infantes went out with all the chivalry on horseback to the Fuente del Oro, and so did all the people of Messina. And the admiral with his galleys towed the galleys he had taken, stern foremost and banners trailing. And when he came to the Fuente del Oro and saw that the Infantes were there, he went on shore in an armed barge, and the Infantes, who saw him come on shore, went to meet him and the admiral went to them and kissed their hands, and each of them stooped and kissed him on the mouth. And when this was done, the admiral asked the Infante En Jaime what he commanded that he should do with the Prince. And the Lord Infante answered: "Go on board the galleys and finish your feast, and We shall be at the palace before you to receive the Infanta, Our aunt. And We shall hold Our council with you and with Our other councillors as to what to do with the Prince and the other persons."

And so the admiral went on board the galleys and, amidst great joy and gladness, he entered the harbour of Messina and came before the palace, chanting the Te Deum all the time. And all Messina answered him, so that

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it was glorious for those who wished the House of Aragon well, but very grievous for the others. And when the Te Deum was ended, the admiral ordered the ladders to be set for the shore at the custom-house, in the harbour. And to this place my Lady the Queen issued forth, and the Infantes ascended the galley and received their aunt with great joy and gladness and, with her, went down the ladder. The admiral had had four ladders set side by side, joined together with wood, so that my Lady the Infanta and both the Infantes who were walking by her side went out by the ladders. And when they came down the ladder, at the foot of it, my Lady the Queen, her sister, and she, ran to embrace each other and remained thus embracing and kissing each other and weeping much, so that no one could part them. It was piteous to behold, and it was no wonder for, since they had seen each other, they had lost King Manfred and the Queen, their mother, and King Conradin and King Enzo, their uncles, and many other illustrious kinsmen. So at last the Infantes and the admiral separated them, and so the two, hand in hand, went up to the palace where the feast made for them was very great; and dinner was made ready and all were received and served very sumptuously. And before eating, the Lord Infante commanded the admiral to put the Prince into the castle of Matagrifon and to command knights to guard the counts and barons, each in his house, and to put the other persons in the common prisons. And as the Lord Infante had commanded, so it was done and fulfilled within two days.

After the feast was over the Lord Infante sent word to all the richs homens of Sicily, and to the knights and the citizens of towns and villages, that, from each place, there should come syndics with full powers. And he gave them a day, two months after the date of the letters, on which they should be at Messina. And he gave them such long notice in order that a messenger could first go to the Lord King of Aragon and return and bring his commands as to what it pleased him should be done with the Prince and with the other persons of importance. The other, lesser, men my Lady the Queen had had set free and had sent to their countries, as she had done with the others.

Muntaner

And at once the said Lord Infante and the admiral apparelled a galley and two knights whom they sent to the Lord King of Aragon and by whom they let him know how they had taken the Prince and put him into Matagrifon, under a good guard; and asked him to command what they should do with him and with the counts and barons likewise; and they sent the name of each in writing. And so the galley went and found the Lord King at Barcelona, who had already heard the news from the leny which the admiral sent them when the battle had been won. And, therefore, he had come to Barcelona, for he thought that there would shortly be other messengers from Sicily.

And when they came to Barcelona, they gave the salute, and so great a number of people had come to the square, their number was infinite. And all responded, so that it seemed the world was crumbling. And at once the messengers landed and went to the Lord King in the palace and kissed his feet and his hand and then gave him the letters they were bringing him and told him their message. And the Lord King received them with great gladness and had great refreshment given to the galley and, that same day, he dispatched it, so that, on the following day, they parted from him and within a few days came to Messina where they found my Lady the Queen and the Lords Infantes and the admiral and gave them the letters which the Lord King was sending them. What he told them, that I cannot tell you; but the events that followed later on, in regard to the Prince and the other persons, showed that all the Lord Infante did with the Prince and the others was by the orders he had from the Lord King. So much wisdom was shown with regard to the Prince that everyone can recognize that it proceeded from the great wisdom which dwelt in the Lord King.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴Prince Charles, afterwards Charles II, the Lamé, was kept in captivity until November 1288, nearly four years after the death of his father.

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CXIV

How Cortes were assembled in Messina and the Prince condemned to death; and how the Lord Infante En Jaime after the sentence of death had been published in all Sicily was moved by mercy and would not carry it out.

After this the day had come when the court was assembled, on the day appointed, and the Lord Infante had a general council proclaimed: that everyone should come to the palace of Messina, as well those of the city generally, as everyone else, and richs homens and knights and syndics and representatives of all the lands of Sicily, and all the learned men. And when they were all assembled, the Lord Infante, who was of the wisest princes of the world, and of those who spoke best (and was so thereafter and is still and will be as long as he lives) rose and said: "Barons, We have assembled you here because, as you know, We hold here, in Our prison at Matagrifon, the Prince, eldest son of King Charles. Now you all know that King Charles, his father, took the spoils of the good King Manfred, Our grandfather and your natural lord, and how he died in battle, and with him King Enzo, his brother. Further, you know how King Conradin, Our uncle, came from Germany to avenge this death and this spoliation, and how, as it came to be God's pleasure he, also, and all his followers were defeated by the said King Charles. And you know that King Conradin came into his hands alive, and you know also that he perpetrated the greatest cruelty, king or son of king had ever done to so great a nobleman as was King Conradin (who was of the noblest blood of the world) when he caused his head to be cut off at Naples. And you can see how God will inflict punishment on him, and how He will take revenge for his great cruelty, for it is you who have suffered most hurt and dishonour by it of all peoples of the world, in the death of your natural lord and his brothers, and the loss of kinsmen and friends. And so, as it is God's pleasure that vengeance should come through you, he has put in your power the dearest thing that King Charles has in the world. Pass judgment on him and give him that sentence

which seems most just to you." And upon this he went and sat down and micer Aleynep, who had been appointed to reply for all generally to what the Lord Infante should propose, rose and said.: "Lord, we have heard well all you have said to us, and we know that all is indeed as you have put it before us, and we are grateful to God and to the Lord King of Aragon that it has pleased him to send us, as governor in his place, so wise a lord as you are. And as it is your pleasure, Lord, that by us vengeance be taken for the death and injury King Charles has inflicted on us, therefore, Lord I say, for myself, let the Prince suffer that death which his father gave King Conradin. And when I have said this, let each of the barons and the knights and syndics rise and, if it seems good to them, let them ratify it by a sentence and let it all be put at once in writing. And what each syndic says, let him say it for himself and for all the community he represents here. And if there is anyone who wishes to say otherwise, let him rise. I say this and confirm it for myself and for all belonging to me." And when he had said this he ceased to speak. And before any one rose, all the people of Messina rose and cried: "He has spoken well, he has spoken well, and we all say: 'Let him lose his head, and we ratify all micer Aleynep has said.'" And upon this the admiral, who knew beforehand how it would be, rose and said: "Barons, as micer Aleynep has said, let each rise separately, rich hom and knight and syndic, and let the speech and sentence of each be ratified by all, and then let it be set down in writing." And he called two notaries of the court of Messina, the oldest there, and two judges, and he told the judges to dictate the sentence and to the notaries to write down what each man said, for a permanent memorial. And so it was done and accomplished. And when all this was done, the admiral commanded it to be read in the presence of all; and when it was read and all had given this sentence, for themselves and for those whom they represented, the admiral asked all jointly if they confirmed this sentence and all answered: "Thus we wish it, and thus we ratify it for ourselves and for all the community of the island of Sicily."

And upon this they rose and went to dine, thinking that on the following day justice would be done. But the Lord Infante En Jaime, after the sentence was given and confirmed, wished to exercise mercy and did

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not wish to repay evil for evil; rather he remembered the words of the Gospel which says that God does not wish the death of the sinner but his conversion. Wherefore he did not wish for the death of the Prince but that, through him, peace and concord might ensue, and especially as he knew that he had no guilt in anything his father, King Charles, had done; but rather he had heard it said, and it was the truth, that he was much displeased at the death of King Conradin. And so also, it was certain that the Prince was a near kinsman of the Lord King, his father, and so he was his likewise.

CXV

How the Lord Infante En Jaime sent the Prince, eldest son of King Charles, to Catalonia to the Lord King of Aragon his father.

On the following day the Lord Infante called the admiral and said to him: "Admiral, fit out the biggest Catalan ship that is here, and four galleys and two armed lenys, and We shall send the Prince to Barcelona, to the Lord King Our father." And the admiral said: "Lord, you say well; it shall be done at once." And so, as soon as the ship and the galley and the lenys were fitted out, they put the Prince on board under a good and well-ordered guard, and they left Messina and had fine weather, so that in a few days they came to Barcelona where they found the Lord King. And at once the Lord King ordered them to put the Prince into the new castle of Barcelona, and he appointed a good guard there.

And so I shall let the Prince be, who is in a good and safe place, and shall turn to speak of the Lord Infante En Jaime and of the admiral.

CXVI

How the Lord Infante passed into Calabria and conquered it and also the Principality as far as Castellabate and captured many other cities and villages.

When the Prince had embarked the Lord Infante commanded the admiral to have forty galleys fitted out, for he wished to pass into Calabria and to conduct the war in such wise that the Lord King, his father, should not be missed. And the admiral was very joyous, when he saw the Lord Infante En Jaime in such good disposition, and so bold and strenuous and, assuredly, he did not hold him back, but rather urged him on and said: "Lord, you say well; make your chivalry and your foot-soldiers get ready; as to the galleys, you can consider them ready." And so the Lord Infante had the host of all Catalans and Aragonese who were in Sicily summoned, except the officials who held the castles.

And in a few days everyone was ready in Messina and the Lord Infante passed into Calabria with as many as a thousand armed horse and about a hundred light horse, and he had numerous almugavars and retainers. And the admiral was ready with forty galleys, of which there were twenty with open poop; and in them went four hundred knights and many almugavars. And so with the favour of God, the Lord Infante went by land and the admiral by sea, taking cities, towns, castles and villages. What shall I tell you? If I wished to recount it all to you in order, as I have already told you at other times, I should not have enough paper. So many knightly deeds and feats of arms were done in each place they took, that in no history in the world would you hear greater nor more marvellous than were performed by the people who were with the Lord Infante and with the admiral. There were a hundred richs homens and Catalan and Aragonese knights in his retinue, of whose prowess and knightly deeds a greater

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romaunt could be made than that of Jaufre;¹⁰⁵ and instead of a hundred, one might say a thousand. And so it was likewise with the foot-soldiers. Of the admiral I need not speak to you; all his feats were marvellous, for he would hold himself to be deserving of death if, wherever feats of arms were performed, he did not excel everyone. What shall I tell you? So great was the capacity and the valour, and the chivalry of the Lord Infante En Jaime that, from the time he passed into Calabria until he returned to Sicily, it was seen that he had conquered all Calabria, failing only the castle of Stilaro which is on a great mountain near the sea. And besides Calabria, he conquered the Principality as far as Castellabate, which is thirty miles from Salerno, and also the island, as you have already heard, and Procida and Capri; and also, towards the sea, he took the city of Taranto and all the Principality and all Cape Leuca and the city of Otranto and Lecce, which is twenty-four miles from Brindisi. And if one were to recount to you the feats performed at Otranto by the noble En Berenguer de Entenza, brother-in-law of the admiral, and by others, it would be marvellous to hear, for they harried all Apulia and the island of Corfu and the despotate of Arta, and Avlona, and Esclavonia. And as the ships which went in and out of Naples paid toll to the galleys of Ischia, which were there for the Lord King of Aragon, so did every ship or leny which entered the Gulf of Venice pay toll in the city of Otranto to those who were there for the Lord King and for the Lord Infante; except those vessels which issued from or entered the city of Venice, because the city and the communes of Venice were at peace with the Lord King of Aragon.

And let none of you wonder why I speak to you thus briefly of these great conquests, for I do this because books have already been made which speak in particular of each of these places and how they were taken; and, besides, the task would take long.

And when the Lord Infante had conquered all Calabria and all the other places he gave the said places to richs homens and knights of his, and to

¹⁰⁵The Provençal poem of Jaufre and Brunisende, dedicated to Pedro II of Aragon. — Bofarull.

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franklins and adalils and almugavars and to heads of the King's retainers, and left all the frontiers garrisoned. And then he returned to Sicily, where my Lady the Queen and the Infanta his aunt, and the Infante En Fadrique and all the people of Sicily had great joy and gladness; for, henceforth, the war was not felt in Sicily, because those on the frontiers in Calabria and the Principality and in Apulia conducted the war and made gain and came to spend it in Messina.

CXVII

How the admiral En Roger de Luria harried the Island of Jerba, and Romania, Scio, Corfu and Cefalonia; and how the Saracens of Jerba were absolved by the King of Tunis for having wished to surrender to the Lord King of Aragon.

Afterwards, when the Lord Infante went to Messina, the admiral, by his leave, went to Barbary, to an island called Jerba which belonged to the King of Tunis; and he laid waste the said island and carried off more than ten thousand Saracen captives, male and female, whom he brought to Sicily and sent, some to Mallorca, and some to Catalonia; and he made so much gain that the expenses of the galleys and the cost of fitting them out were cleared. And afterwards, he made another expedition and went to Romania, and harried the islands of Mytilene and Lemnos and Thermia and Tinos and Andros and Mykonos, and then he harried the island of Chios, where mastic is made, and he took the city of Monemvasia, and returned to Sicily with so much gain that five such fleets as his might have been paid for out of it. And so also he raided the island of Corfu and burnt and pillaged all the region round the castle. And then he harried all Cefalonia and the Duchy. And all who had come with him became very rich; so that when they gambled they would admit no man at the table, unless he had gold coins, even if he brought a thousand marks they would not admit him.

Not much time passed before the admiral again ravaged the island of Jerba and carried off more people than he had done before. The Moors of

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Jerba went to their lord, the King of Tunis, and said to him: "Lord, thou seest that thou canst not defend us against the King of Aragon; but rather, because we trusted that thou wouldst defend us, we have been pillaged twice by the admiral of the King of Aragon, and have lost brothers and kinsmen and wives and sons and daughters. Therefore, Lord, be pleased to absolve us from our allegiance, so that we may put ourselves under his sovereignty and so we shall live in peace and thou wilt act well and mercifully by us. Otherwise, reckon upon it, Lord, that the island will be left uninhabited."

And to this the King of Tunis agreed and he absolved them; and they sent messengers to the Lord King of Aragon and surrendered to him and, for him, to the admiral. The admiral had a fine castle built, which was held and is and will always be held to the greater honour of Christians than any other castle in the world.

Jerba is an island half-way across Barbary; for, if you reckon well, it is as far from Jerba to Ceuta as from Jerba to Alexandria. And also, do not imagine that it is altogether an island, for it is so near the mainland that a hundred thousand horse and as many foot could pass across without the water reaching the girths, if that passage were not fortified and defended by Christians. Wherefore it is needful for whoever is commander at Jerba that he have four eyes and four ears and a strong and firm mind for many reasons; especially as the nearest help of Christians he has is at Messina, and it is five miles from Jerba to Messina. And so, also, because there are neighbours near Jerba, namely Gelinbre and Margam and Jacob Benatia and Bonbarquet and the Debeps and other Arab barons who all have great power of chivalry. And if the commander who is in Jerba closes his eyes in sleep, he will find full well one to wake him to his undoing.

And when the admiral had performed all these deeds he proceeded to have all his galleys repaired, because he heard that the King of France was having many galleys made. And so I must cease to speak to you of the admiral and must turn to speak to you again of the King of France and of King Charles and of their supporters.

CXVIII

How King Charles applied to the Pope and to the King of France, and went to Naples with two thousand knights; and how the said King Charles passed from this life and left the government of the Kingdom in the power of the sons of the Prince who was then in prison at Barcelona.

When King Charles had heard the news, as well of the imprisonment of the Prince as of the battle of the counts and the events of Agosta and all the other damage he had taken and was taking every day, he bethought himself to apply to the Pope and then to the King of France, and proceeded to plot and set on foot all he could against the King of Aragon; and he decided to go to Naples, for he feared greatly it might rebel. And with him came the count of Artois and other counts and barons and knights; there were full two thousand. And they went so long on their journeys that they came to Naples; but they came there at such a time that, certainly, out of all the two thousand knights not two hundred returned to France, for all died in the war in Calabria and at Otranto. On one day alone there died at Otranto more than three hundred knights and so some died likewise in Taranto and, in the plain of Saint Martin, there died more than five hundred. What shall I tell you? They could not meet the Catalans and Aragonese anywhere without being killed or defeated. And this happened through the work of God, Who brought down their pride and exalted the humility of the Lord King of Aragon and of his sons and followers. And you can recognize this in the matter of the prisoners, whom, for the honour of God, they let go free. And it cannot be said that King Charles let go anyone who had come into his power or into that of his followers; but rather, when they took anyone, they cut off his hands and put out his eyes. And this, for a long time, the admiral and the other followers of the Lord King of Aragon suffered and endured; but, at last, seeing this great insolence the admiral resolved to cut off hands and put out eyes also. And when they saw this, they repented, yet not for the honour of God, nor from compassion, but from fear of the admiral. And thus it happens with many

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people, that more is obtained from them by ill-treatment, than by good. Wherefore it would be better for everyone to repent of his evil vice through love or fear of God, than when God casts His anger upon him.

What shall I tell you? Every day such news came to King Charles that it was said there never had been a lord in the world who, after such great prosperity as he had had, saw himself in such sorrow at the end of his life. Wherefore everyone should endeavour to preserve himself from the anger of God, for against the anger of God nothing can last. What shall I tell you? It pleased God Our Lord that he should end his days in this tribulation into which he had fallen and pass away from this life [Jan. 7th 1285]. And it can be said that when he died, there died the most accomplished knight of the world, after the Lord King of Aragon and the Lord King of Mallorca; and I only except these two. And so his territory was left in great trouble by reason of his death and because the Prince who should inherit his land was a prisoner in Barcelona. However, the Prince had many children and, amongst others, he had three grown-up sons, namely, monsenyer En Louis, who afterwards became a minorite friar, and later bishop of Toulouse and died a bishop and, to-day, is a saint, canonized by the Holy Apostolic Father, and his feast is celebrated in all Christian countries. And then there was another son, who was called and is still called Duke of Taranto.

And these three sons, with the count of Artois and with the other barons of noble birth, governed the country until their father, the Prince, came out of prison [1288]; for he came at the peace as you shall hear further on.

And so I must cease to speak to you of King Charles and of his grandchildren who are governing the country and must speak to you of the King of France.

CXIX

How the King of France sent the legate of the Apostolic and the seneschal of Toulouse to the Lord King of Mallorca to arrange their passage through his territory; and how he arranged to invade Catalonia with all his forces by sea and by land.

When the King of France had commanded the galleys to be built, and the victuals to be prepared in the districts of Toulouse and Carcassonne and of Beziers and of Narbonne, and also in the port of Marseilles and at Aigues Mortes and in the city of Narbonne, he sent the cardinal, who was Legate, and the seneschal of Toulouse to Montpellier, to arrange with the Lord King of Mallorca that they might have peaceful passage through his territory. And the Lord King of Mallorca went to Montpellier. And the cardinal admonished him and made him many offers on the part of the Holy Father, and so likewise did the seneschal on the part of the King of France. But their admonitions would have availed very little, had it not been for the agreement the Lord King of Aragon and the Lord King of Mallorca had come to at Gerona; according to the general opinion they had agreed for two reasons especially that the King of Mallorca should let them pass through his territory. Namely, the first reason was that he could not oppose the entrance into Roussillon in any way, and if they entered by force, Montpellier, Roussillon and Conflans and Cerdagne would be lost for ever. The other reason was that, if they did not enter that way, they would enter through Navarre or through Gascony, and would have a better entrance than through Roussillon; it is fully acknowledged in Roussillon that it is a difficult thing to invade Catalonia from that side. And so, for these reasons, the Lord King of Mallorca complied with the exhortations of the Pope and of the King of France. And so the cardinal and the seneschal went joyously to the King of France, for they already considered the point gained. And what they had said to the King of France they said also to Charles, King of the Hat, and sent to tell the Pope who had great joy thereat. And at once, the King of France had payment for six

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months made to richs homens and to knights and retainers and mariners and all other persons, for they had plenty of money and the treasure of Saint Peter, which had been collected for the passage beyond sea, was converted for use against the King of Aragon. Therefore you may imagine what fruit it will bear.

And when the Pope had made the King of France act, and spring had come, the oriflamme¹⁰⁶ issued out of Paris, and it was always estimated that when they came to Toulouse, there were, with the King of France, eighteen thousand armed horse and innumerable men afoot. And by sea came a hundred and fifty large galleys and over a hundred and fifty ships with victuals, and lenys, terides and barges innumerable. What shall I tell you? The forces the King of France was bringing were so great that, amongst them, the power of God was ignored, for all said: "The King of France is bringing forces so great that he will take the dominion of En Pedro of Aragon at once." God was never acknowledged or named among them, but only the power of the King of France. But if you spoke to any man of the Lord King of Aragon and said: "What will become of the King of Aragon and his dominions?" all would answer: "God is mighty and will help him to his right." And so, all these invoked the power of God, and the others did not acknowledge Him in anything. Wherefore you shall hear how Our Lord and true God acted with His power, which is above all other powers, having pity on those who fear Him and showing Himself offended to the proud and those who ignore Him.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of the King of France and of his forces which are at Toulouse and in all the district, and shall turn to speak of the Lord King of Aragon.

¹⁰⁶The Oriflamme (Aurea flammula), the banner of the Kings of France, was originally the banner of the Abbey of St. Denis. It was made, according to the legend, out of the shroud of St. Denis and was of red cloth (hence the name) with five points, at each of which hung a tassel of green silk; it was fastened to a gilt staff. The ancient inventory of the abbey says: "Estandard d'un cendal fort espais, fendu par le milieu en forme d'un gonfanon, fort caduque, enveloppé autour d'un baston couvert d'un cuivre doré, et d'un fer longuet, aigu au bout."

CXX

How the Lord King En Pedro sent his messengers to his nephew King Sancho of Castile asking him for the aid of his chivalry; and how his followers collected at the Pass of Panisars to oppose the entrance of the King of France into Catalonia.

When the Lord King of Aragon knew that the King of France had issued out of Paris and had taken out the oriflamme and was coming with so great a force by sea and by land he, at once, sent his messengers to Castile, to his nephew King Sancho of Castile, and let him know with what forces the King of France was marching against him and that he requested him, by the covenant that was between them, to send him help of chivalry; and that, if he did, he might be sure that he would offer battle to the King of France.

And when the King of Castile had received this message, he told the messengers that they should return; that he would prepare himself in such manner to give aid to the Lord King, his uncle, that he would consider himself satisfied. But the answer was good and the deeds were nought; for, not with one knight or with one man afoot did he give aid; rather did the Lord King find himself totally deceived in him, as he had been in his brother-in-law, the King of France. And so, when he came to need them, he found himself forsaken by all his earthly friends. Wherefore he, as the wisest and most strenuous lord and the most accomplished knight of the world and the wisest, raised his eyes to Heaven and said: "Lord and true God, to Thee I commend my soul and my body and all my people and my dominions. And may it please Thee, as all those have failed me who should have aided me, that Thou, Lord, help me and be my support, mine and that of my followers." And he made the sign of the Cross over them and blessed them; and full of strenuousness and ardour in the love of Our Lord and true God Jesus Christ, he gave the order to saddle and every man to get ready and put on his armour; for he would put on his. So that, that day, he went about in armour in the city of Barcelona and made a great feast and

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rejoicing in honour of God and thus comforted the heart of his followers who wished to use their arms at once against their enemies; for each day, until they came, seemed a year to them.

And when this feast in Barcelona was over, the Lord King sent messengers throughout all Aragon to the Aragonese, to be on the watch that no damage might come to his dominions from Navarre or Gascony. And he sent his letter of summons throughout all Catalonia to the rich homens and to knights and citizens and to the towns, to command them to come armed to the Pass of Panisars on the day indicated, for he intended to oppose the King of France there and prevent his invading his territory. And all, when they had received the command, were at the Pass of Panisars, and there they pitched their tents, and so did the Lord Infante En Alfonso with a great number of knights of Catalonia. And when they were all assembled the Lord King ordained that the count of Ampurias with his followers should guard the Pass of Bañolas and the Pass of La Manzana. The count of Ampurias placed the host from Castellon on the Pass of Bañolas and others he placed on the Pass of La Manzana. And the count, with his knights, went visiting one and the other for more than half a league, and each of these places was so strong a pass that there was no fear anyone could get through. And besides this he put Perthus under the guard of viscount Rocaberti. And the Lord King, with all the other followers, was on the Pass of Panisars. And to each place merchants and others were appointed to bring for sale all that was needed. So that the passes were well guarded and garrisoned.

But I must cease to speak to you of the King of Aragon and his followers and must turn to speak to you of the King of France and of the King of Mallorca.

CXXI

How the King of France tried to get over the Pass of Panisars and of the great damage his followers took; and of the cruel way they behaved to the priests and people of Elne in their rage at what had befallen them.

When the King of France had collected all his followers, and knew that all were furnished with all they needed and that, likewise, his fleet was ready and assembled (and this was in the year 1285, in the month of April) he proceeded to go to Roussillon. And when he entered Roussillon the Lord King of Mallorca issued forth to meet him. And the King of France made a great feast for the King of Mallorca, and so did the King of Mallorca for him and his sons, his nephews, who came with their father; namely monsenyer En Philip, his eldest son,¹⁰⁷ who had great grief and displeasure at what his father was doing, and the other, monsenyer En Charles, King of the Hat, who had great joy thereat, as he was to be King of Aragon. And so they, together, came to Perpignan. And all the host of the King of France was in tents from Perpignan to Boulou. Every day they of the King of Aragon's host raided right up to the tents, killing and taking many and doing them much damage. What shall I tell you? The King of France stayed there full fifteen days, not knowing what to do. But, one day, he decided to go on to the Pass of Panisars and to try and get through.

And, when he came to Boulou, he looked at the place over which he had to pass and saw all the mountain covered with the tents of the host of the Lord King of Aragon, and he cursed him who advised him to pass over it. So, one day, he tried to pass; but so mad an attempt men had never made. Suddenly, more than fifty thousand men were upon them, almugavars and retainers, who attacked their van in such manner that you might have seen them fall and be precipitated down the mountain, man and horse. And they took so much damage that, that day, they lost more

¹⁰⁷Afterwards Philip IV, le Bel, 1285-1314.

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than a thousand horsemen and innumerable men afoot. And when the King of France saw his followers come back thus defeated and roughly handled and he could not assist them, he said: "Ah God, what is this? I have been traitor to myself." And then monsnyer En Philip turned to his brother Charles and said to him: "My fair brother, see now the people of your kingdom, with what honours they receive you!" And Charles answered nothing, so grieved was he; but the King of France, their father, who had heard all, answered very angrily: "Be silent now, Sir Philip, they are doing what they will repent of." "Ah, Sir, Sir," said monsnyer En Philip, "I grieve more for your honour and dishonour and your hurt than will the Pope and the cardinals who have procured this advantage for you and have made my brother King of the wind. For they, at their pastimes and diversions, care little for the peril and hurt which is prepared for you.

And the King of France said nothing, for well he knew that his son spoke the truth; but it was too late to repent. What shall I tell you? All the host had to turn toward Elne in order to be near the course of the river. And when the Lord King of Mallorca saw that the King of France was going towards the city of Elne, he sent his messengers to the people of Elne to tell them to receive the King of France with a procession. And so the bishop of Elne, with all the priests, issued forth to receive the King of France And instead of humbling themselves as they should before the crosses, the French attacked them and cut down all the priests and laymen and children and women, out of rage at what had befallen them. And behold, Lord, what their piety and faith in indulgences was, and how Our Lord and true God could not suffer this great cruelty without avenging it. When this was known throughout all Catalonia, it re-doubled the courage of everyone and they thought it would be better to die fighting against them, than that even one man should surrender to them.

And when this was done, there were full fifteen days when they did not know what to do; and all the fleet was at Colibre. What shall I tell you? The King of France intended to return, but it did not please God that they should escape so easily; but rather, He allowed them to pass on, in order that they should die in the power of their enemies.

How four monks showed the King of France the way into Catalonia over the Pass of Manzana, and how within four days they made a road so that the loaded carts went up by it.

Four monks, who were from Toulouse and were in a monastery near Argeles, went to the King of France, and one of them was the abbot of that place. They, therefore, belonged to that country, as that monastery is affiliated to the monastery of La Grasse, which is in the district of Narbonne; so that the abbot is always of that country. Therefore the sovereigns of Spain would be very wise if they did not suffer, in their dominions, a prelate who is not a natural subject of theirs. And he said to the King of France: "Lord, I and these other monks are natives of your country and your natural subjects. Wherefore, Lord, it would grieve us much that you should return with such great dishonour. And so, Lord, if it is your pleasure, we shall show you where you can pass. And it is the truth that the place is strong; but, owing to neglect, there are no people there who could oppose you. There are, at the most, fifty men and you, Lord, have many people with spades and hoes and picks and axes. Let one of your richs homens go at once with a thousand armed horse, and with many men afoot who are to go in front with the said implements, to make roads. And, in advance of them, some thousand foot-soldiers could go, in order that, if they are perceived, they could deal with the enemy; so that those who are making the roads need not desist from their work. And thus assuredly, Lord, you and all your followers will be able to pass over; for when you have a thousand men up there on the pass, do not fear that any one could take it from you; before they could do so, you and all your chivalry would have gone up." And the King of France said: "Abbot, how do you know this?" "Lord," said he, "because our men and our monks go to that place every day to get wood and lime. Sometimes, when men afoot have to pass into the county, they go this way. And this place, Lord, is called the Pass of Manzana. If you enquire of the count of Foix, who knows this country well, and of En Ramon Roger, you will find it is so." Said the

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King of France: "We shall not enquire of anyone, for We fully trust you; and so, to-night, We shall do all that is necessary."

And at once he called the count of Aymenart¹⁰⁸ who had a good company of horse and foot and the seneschal of Toulouse and he summoned them and bid them be ready at midnight to follow these friars with a thousand armed horse and with two thousand foot soldiers from Languedoc; and to take, incontinent, all there were in the host of men with spades and with hoes and picks and axes and cutlasses and to do what the friars would tell them. And so they did and carried it out. And when midnight came the count of Aymenart and the seneschal with all those people followed the friars and began to make roads. And as soon as they came to the mountain the two friars went in front with the foot soldiers, by the first path, and the abbot and the other friar with men from the monastery who knew all that mountain, remained with those who were making the roads. What shall I tell you? When dawn came the two thousand foot-soldiers were on the top of the pass and had not been perceived by those who were on guard there until they came upon them. But, assuredly owing to the bad watch they kept they were all cut down; for, of fifty who were there, not more than five escaped who raised the cry of alarm and fled towards the host of Castellon at the Pass of Bañolas. And when they of the host of Castellon heard the cry, they all seized their arms; but it happened that, at this juncture, the count of Ampurias had gone to Castellon to settle his villages and castles there; and the greater part of the chivalry and of the most expert men of Castellon had gone with him. However, those who were on guard on the Pass of Bañolas went towards the Pass of Manzana. And when they looked they saw a great congregation of people who had already come up and so they saw that henceforth they could do nothing. They decided to return to the Pass of Bañolas; and, beyond Tornavelles where there were some men, they struck their tents and all went home. And, at once, they sent a message to the Lord King of

¹⁰⁸? Armagnac

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Aragon, at the Pass of Panisars and let him know that the French had gone over the Pass of Manzana.

But the Lord King could not believe it and sent a thousand almugavars in that direction, and they found that the pass was already held by a great number of people. They said: "On no account will we go away without news; we will abide the night and, at dawn, we will attack them and must do them great damage, and we will take three or four alive with us who shall tell the Lord King of Aragon how it has happened." And they all thought it well and that day and night they did not show themselves.

Now I shall return to the hosts of the King of France where all was accomplished as the abbot and the monks had dictated. As soon as some of the chivalry had searched the top, they joyously sent messengers to the King of France to say that they had taken the pass without any hindrance and that the road was made in such manner that the carts could pass, and so, that he should come with all his host. What shall I tell you? When the King of France knew this he was very glad and, at once, proceeded to unfurl the oriflamme, and all the host prepared to go up. And see what power is; within four days they made a road, such as the loaded carts could go up by.

And when next day came, at dawn, the almugavars attacked them and the greatest clamour of the world arose in the host of the King of France, as they imagined the King of Aragon had come. And you might see armed horses and everyone rush down, for all thought they were lost, as they would have been, if only the three thousand almugavars had come. What shall I tell you? The two thousand retainers from Languedoc held firm all the time and took a height and, on it, defended themselves until it was day, for they would not abandon the pass. And when it was day it was seen that those who had done this were few, and there you might have seen feats of arms. But the lances and darts of the almugavars made play. What shall I tell you? The almugavars saw the great force which was there and which was coming up and that, already, there were more than a thousand armed horse. And they collected on a crest of the mountain and took with them more than ten worthy and honourable persons, and killed and hurled down more than a thousand horse and foot; and then they went their way

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and went to the Lord King of Aragon and recounted to him the whole matter and brought him the prisoners who recounted the event to him as it had happened.

And the Lord King sent a proclamation throughout his host, that all should strike the tents and return to their villages and so, at once, they carried out the commands of the Lord King. And he, with the Lord Infante En Alfonso and the count of Pallars and viscount Cardona and viscount Rocaberti and other richs homens and knights of Catalonia, went to Peralada. And when they were at Peralada a message came to them from the monastery of San Quirico (which is in the plain, beyond the mountain of the Pass of Manzana), that the King of France was at the said monastery with all his chivalry. What shall I tell you? The King of France stopped eight days in the said village of San Quirico, for he would not move until all his followers, horse and foot, and the carts and mules had gone over the pass; nor until he knew that his fleet was in the port of Rosas, which is the best port of Catalonia and the largest so that all the shipping in existence could be in it. And this he did in order that victuals could not fail him.

CXXIII

How the King of France marched to Peralada with all his forces and besieged it; and of the prowess in feats of arms of the Infante En Alfonso.

And when all had gone over the pass and were assembled at San Quirico, the host moved on in battle-array, in the order in which all would have to fight; and they marched in good order, in armour, and came straight to Peralada, and set up tents from Garriguella to Garriga, and from Garriga to Valguarnera and from Valguarnera to Puyamilot. And so they were in all that beautiful plain beyond Peralada and, assuredly, the host of the King of France could never be seen so well as it was seen from the town of Peralada. There was not a tent that could not be seen from the walls. When the Lord King of Aragon saw them thus all, he raised his eyes to Heaven and said, "Lord and true God, what is this I see before me? I did not imagine that, in all the world, so many people could assemble in one day." And so, likewise, he saw all the vessels enter the Bay of Rosas, in

infinite numbers, and he spoke thus: "Lord and true God, may it please Thee not to forsake me; rather be Thy aid with me and with my followers." And as the Lord King of Aragon marvelled, so did all who saw this; the King of France himself and those who were with him were full of wonder, for they had never seen themselves thus assembled, for in that plain there is not one tree, but all is fields and arable land. Peralada is such that, on one side, to the middle of the town, is the plain of arable land, and on the other side are the streams which pass near the huerta which is an important one. And it was not wonderful if there was a great congregation of people, for there were more than twenty thousand armed horse in the pay of the King of France and of the Church, and more than two thousand men afoot. Besides, men on horseback and on foot had come, because of the indulgences, for there were indulgences from punishment and guilt, so, for that reason, there were men in countless numbers.

When they had all settled down to the siege and had pitched their tents, and the fleet had taken the town of Rosas, they put their provisions into the houses. And the Lord King of Aragon told the Infante En Alfonso to take five hundred knights and a company of foot and to attack the host. And the Infante En Alfonso had the greatest joy in the world and called the count of Pallars and the count of Urgel and viscount Cardona and En Guillermo de Anglesola and viscount Rocaberti and told them to get ready, for he wished to attack the host at dawn; and all had great joy thereat. And the Lord King called the count of Ampurias (who had come to him as soon as he knew that the Frenchmen had gone over the pass) and the other richs homens, and said to them: "Barons, let us also arm ourselves and our horses and stay at the barriers, so that, if these others need help, we can give it them." "Lord," said the count and the others, "you say well."

In the morning, at dawn, the Lord Infante En Alfonso with the chivalry which had been ordained issued out of Peralada and attacked the host at one angle, as soon as it was daylight. And in the host a thousand armed horse were always on guard. And as soon as they had attacked, you would have seen tents collapse and the men afoot, full two thousand who had issued forth with them, kill people, break coffers, and set fire to huts. What shall I tell you? The shouts were loud, and the thousand armed knights of

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the guard came and then might you have seen feats of arms such that, in less than an hour, they of the Lord Infante had killed more than six hundred men of arms of the thousand of the guard. And not one would have escaped, if it had not been for the count of Foix and the count of Astarach and the seneschal of Mirepoix and En Jordan la Illa and En Roger de Comminge, and all the chivalry of Languedoc who observed this and came along very well armed and in order of battle. And do not imagine that they came along as our knights do, who come at the call, without one waiting for the other; rather these came in good step; like confident and expert knights offering battle they came towards the banner of the Lord Infante. And the Lord Infante, full of martial ardour, wished to attack, to throw himself upon them; but the count of Pallars would not consent to this. What shall I tell you? They would never have prevented him from attacking had not the count of Pallars come and taken hold of his bridle and said: "Ah, Lord, what do you wish to do? do not on any account lead us into a trap." And he courteously made him turn and they collected all their company.

And meanwhile the Lord King had issued from Peralada with the count of Ampurias and with the rest of the chivalry to receive the Lord Infante. What shall I tell you? They returned within the defences of Peralada in good order, and the last who entered with his banner was En Dalmau de Rocaberti who was Lord of Peralada and, together with him, was En Ramon Folch, viscount Cardona, with his banner; for they, together, commanded the rear, And by the mercy of God they entered very joyously, safe and sound, into Peralada without having lost more than three knights and some fifteen men and they had killed more than eight hundred knights and innumerable men afoot. What shall I tell you? They were so active that you might have seen hand-to-hand fights of knights and of men afoot every day; so that everyone marvelled.

And this lasted five days. No man was lost who went out of Peralada through the huerta, but any Frenchman or other man of the King of France's host who entered the huerta did so to his undoing and never came out again otherwise than dead or a prisoner. For the huerta of Peralada is the strongest there is in the world; no man can enter it without losing his

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way, if the inhabitants of Peralada wish him to lose it. No one can know the way across except those who are of the town, born and bred.

And I must recount to you a marvellous thing which is as certain as what everyone beholds with his own eyes.

CXXIV

How a woman of Peralada dressed in a man's gown and armed with a lance and with a sword girded to her side and her shield on her arm, captured a fine French knight in armour.

There was a woman in Peralada whom I knew and saw who was called Na Mercadera, because she kept a shop. And she was a very clever woman and big and tall. And one day, whilst the host of the French was before Peralada, she issued from the town and went to a garden of hers to pick cabbages. And she put on a man's gown and took a lance and girded on a sword and carried a shield on her arm, and she went to the garden. And when she was there she heard small bells and she wondered and at once left off picking cabbages and went to whence the sound came, to see what it was. And she looked and saw, in the trench there was between her garden and another, a French knight on his horse, armed with bells on the poitral, and he was going hither and thither not knowing how to get out. And she, when she saw him, quickly took a step forward and thrust at him with her lance and hit him so hard on the thigh through the skirts that it passed through his thigh and the saddle and pricked the horse. And as soon as she had done this and the horse felt himself wounded, it bucked and reared, so that the knight would have fallen, if he had not been chained to the saddle. What shall I tell you? She took hold of her sword and aimed at another opening and wounded the horse in the head and it was stunned. What shall I tell you? She seized the horse by the reins and cried: "Knight, you are a dead man if you do not surrender." And the knight thought himself a dead man, he threw down the bordon he was carrying and surrendered to her, and she took the bordon, and then pulled out the lance which was sticking in his thigh and so she brought him in to

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Peralada. Of this thing the Lord King and the Lord Infante were very joyous and very content, and they made her relate many times how she had captured him. What shall I tell you? The knight and his arms were hers, and the knight paid a ransom of two hundred gold florins which she received. And thus you can see whether or not the anger of God was upon the French.

CXXV

How the Lord King and the Infante En Alfonso and the richs homens and barons issued from Peralada to fortify the country; and of the great crime the almugavars committed in Peralada plundering and burning it.

When those six days were over all the counts and richs homens and barons said to the Lord King that it was not well that he and the Infante should remain in Peralada, but that they should go and encourage the country; and also that the count of Ampurias and viscount Rocaberti should go and fortify their castles; because, from their castles, they could do much damage to the enemy. Besides, that En Ramon Folch, viscount Cardona, who had offered to aid and defend the city of Gerona should go and settle and garrison the said city and that it would suffice if two richs homens with their companies remained in Peralada. What shall I tell you? All this was ordained, and the Lord King wished the count of Pallars and En Guillem de Anglesola and A. de Cortsavi to remain in Peralada. And En Dalmau de Castellnou was then very young and was always with the Lord King of Aragon, and it might he reckoned that four richs homens remained in Peralada who were amongst the best knights of the world. And later it was ordained that A. de Cortsavi and En Dalmau de Castellnou should go and fortify their places, for there were enough in Peralada with the count of Pallars and En Guillem de Anglesola. And so, in the morning, on a beautiful clear day, the count of Ampurias went to his county to put his castles and other places in order. And viscount Cardona went to Gerona and entered it and cleared the city of women and children, and took into his company many worthy knights who loved him devotedly, and many

worthy citizens, and he garrisoned the city and district of Gerona very well. And so likewise viscount Rocaberti went about fortifying his castles, and so did count Castellnou and En Gesbert also and so, also, the noble En Dalmau de Castellnou with A. de Cortsavi.

And when all this was settled everyone took leave, weeping, of the Lord King of Aragon who prepared to issue forth on the following day. And he had a general council assembled in Peralada and preached to them and said many good words to them, and comforted them and cheered them and urged them to do well and took leave and said that he and the Lord Infante would leave in the morning. And all, likewise, blessed him, weeping, and everyone went to kiss his hand and the hand of the Lord Infante. The notables of Peralada said to him: "Lord, fear not for this place, for it is a strong and fine place and well supplied with victuals and people; and with the favour of God, we shall do so much that we shall hold the King of France back, so that he cannot go on. But if he does, we shall close the barriers and the roads and cut off his supplies of victuals." And the Lord King was very grateful to them for what they had said.

What shall I tell you? The almugavars who were with the Lord King were full five thousand; and the Lord King had ordained that a thousand should remain in Peralada, whereat those who were ordered to remain with their company were much grieved, namely that they must remain inside. And it went to their hearts to think of the gain the others would make from the French in their raids, and they resolved they would remedy the grievance. You shall hear the great crime they committed: that when midnight came and the Lord King and the Lord Infante had issued out of Peralada and might be at Vilabertran or at Figueras, they set fire to the town in full a hundred places and cried: "Flee! Flee!" What shall I tell you? The worthy gentry and the good men who were lying abed and heard the cry of alarm and saw the town ablaze with fire, all ran to save a son or a daughter, and every man his wife or his children; and the almugavars proceeded to steal and plunder everything. What shall I tell you? The whole town was ablaze with fire and, besides the walls, not ten houses remained standing. And it was a great loss, for Peralada was a very ancient town and since the time of Charlemagne and Roland had never belonged

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to the Saracens, but rather it is the truth that Charlemagne built the monastery of San Quirico and endowed it at Peralada, although it is in another territory than Peralada and belongs to the county of Ampurias. And whilst the fire was raging in the town, all the people went out of it; no one remained except a good lady who was called Na Palomera, who went to the altar of Saint Mary, for whom she had a great devotion, and said she wished to die there. And her deeds were as good as her words, for love of Our Lady Saint Mary. And that night the King of France and all the host who saw the great fire, wondered and, all night, they sat their horses in armour. And when day broke and they saw all the town burning, they knew it was all forsaken, and they entered it and put out the fire as well as they could. And those who were good men regretted much that so beautiful and important a place was burnt, and so they were of two minds; the good men put out the fire and the wicked had kindled it. And so they came to the church and found that good woman who was embracing the image of Our Lady Saint Mary. And the wicked men from Picardy, who were the worst men of the host, came and cut down the good woman before the altar, And then they tied their riding-beasts to the altars and they committed many outrages, for which God repaid them well, as you shall hear further on.

And when the Lord King and the Lord Infante and all knew this, that the town of Peralada had been thus destroyed, they were greatly displeased; but the times were such that nothing could be done. Therefore whoever is King of Aragon is always bound to show great favour to the town of Peralada in general and, in particular, to every man who belongs to it; and so likewise, to the lord of Peralada who, as is well known, lost all he had in the service of the Lord King of Aragon. I and others, who lost a great part of what we had in that town, have not been able to return there since; rather we have gone about the world seeking our fortune, amidst much hard work and many perils we have passed through. Most of us have died in these wars of the House of Aragon.

CXXVI

How the count of Castellon with twenty notables went to ask the Lord King to tell them what he thought they should do about Castellon; and how the Lord King bid them go over to the King of France and absolved them from their allegiance.

When the Lord King of Aragon had left Peralada and Vilabertran he took the road of Castellon by Salanca and went to Castellon where he found the count, who did not know what to do when he heard that Peralada had been burnt. Neither did the men of Castellon, for they all knew that, as Peralada was abandoned, they could not hold out against the forces of the King of France. But if Peralada had not been abandoned, they fully reckoned that they could have held out and that, between the two places, they could have done the enemy plenty of harm.

As soon as the notables knew that Peralada had been burnt by the almugavars they went to their lord, the count, and said to him: "Lord, tell the Lord King of Aragon who is coming that, if he and the knights wish to enter the town they can do so. But we do not wish any almugavars to set foot in it; for they would do with us as they did with Peralada. And we pray you to advise us as to what you wish us to do; for, if you wish it, we are ready and prepared to abandon Castellon and follow you with our wives and our children; and we, ourselves, will set fire to the town. We prefer to burn our town and carry away what we can, rather than that the almugavars should plunder us as they have done the worthy men of Peralada who, as they went out with their silver treasures or other goods, or their clothes, had them taken from them as soon as they were outside their gates. And so it should not please the Lord King nor you that they should do this to us." And the count answered and said to them: "Notables, I shall go out to meet the King, and let twenty of you go out too and speak for the whole town; and so we shall see what the Lord King wishes and commands. For I wish that all he desires be done." "Well said, Lord," answered the notables.

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And the count rode at once and went with the twenty notables of Castellon and they found the Lord King, who was near by and drew him to one side and called also the Infante En Alfonso and richs homens who were there. And at once the good men began to say to their lord, the count, what they had told him already. And when the count had listened to them, and they had finished their argument, he said to the Lord King: "Lord, you have heard well what these notables have said to me and I, Lord, shall answer before you, what I answered in your absence; and I answered them thus: What you, Lord, wish to say, and the commands you give them and all the county, is what I wished to be carried out. And if you wish, Lord, that I myself, set fire to the town, it shall be done at once. Assuredly, whilst I have life, I will not depart from your way." And the Lord King answered: "We have heard well what these notables of Castellon have said to you; and We say to you and to them that We are so displeased at the destruction of Peralada that We would give ten times the value of Peralada that this deed were not done; but the times are such that nothing else can be expected from those who did this. And We acknowledge that We and Ours are bound for ever to give compensation to the Lord of Peralada and all the community. We know well that they have not lost their property through any fault of theirs; but rather is this war specially for Our affairs and those of Our sons, and not for anything which concerns them. Wherefore, before God and all the world, We hold Ourselves bound to make restitution. And if God gives Us life and brings Us with honour out of this war, We and Ours shall make full reparation to them and theirs. Then if We hold Ourselves thus bound, how could We wish Castellon to be ruined? All of you may imagine that, on no account, would We wish it. And I grant them that, if Peralada had not been abandoned, Castellon could have held out; that both the towns, where there are many worthy people, and the villages outside could well be held, surrounded by the castles of Our own people; every day they would have given the enemy plenty to do. But since this disaster of Peralada has happened, We know that Castellon cannot hold out against the forces of the King of France. Wherefore I command and consent and tell you that you give leave to the notables of Castellon to surrender to the King of France and I absolve you and them of all you owe

me, and you do the same with them." And so the count turned to the notables of Castellon and commanded. and told them as the Lord King had bidden him. And if you have ever seen weeping and mourning it was there. And it was no wonder, for the parting was hard.

And so the Lord King, and the count with him, and the Lord Infante and all the company went to Gerona. And they of Castellon had a general council assembled and told them what they had done. And before they left the council they summoned the abbot of Rosas and the abbot of San Pedro, and sent them to the host of the King of France and to the cardinal and begged the cardinal to be the mediator between them and the King of France. And he said he would willingly be their mediator. The King of France and he were already more softened than they had been, when they reflected that they had been paying their followers for fully three months and, as yet, they had not obtained one place, neither by surrender nor by force. And this maddened them, for they had imagined that, as soon as they had got through the passes all the country would surrender to them; but they found quite the contrary; when the people came to know them better, they did not esteem them at all. In no kingdom of the world had this happened, except in Catalonia and Aragon and in the Kingdom of Valencia, that so great a congregation of people had marched against them, in spite of interdict and indulgences, and had not surrendered to them. Wherefore they thought themselves deceived in their opinion; they had not expected to have to fight so strong a people.

And so the cardinal became mediator between the notables of Castellon and the King of France, so that the King admitted them under the security and safeguard of the crown of France, agreeing that they were not bound to him for anything more than they had been bound to the count. And besides, they obtained that all the gates should remain closed, except two, and they would let in no one of the host without a permit. And so he had full ten pennons given to them to put on the gates and on the walls as a token of security. And, again, the King of France granted them the great favour that, if peradventure, he should return without conquering the Kingdom of Aragon, when he had retreated over and beyond the Pass of

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Panisars, they should no longer be bound to him by any covenant between them. And so the abbots came to Castellon with this agreement.

CXXVII

How the King of France laid siege to Gerona; and of the great wickedness and cruelty the admiral of the King of France's galleys committed at San Feliú.

When this was done the King of France went to lay siege to Gerona. And the galleys came to San Feliú, but the ships and provisions were all in the port of Rosas for, as Castellon was theirs, they need fear nothing. When the admiral of the King of France's galleys came to San Feliú he found that all the inhabitants had fled to the mountains, and he proclaimed that every man belonging to San Feliú who wished for alms should come, and he would give them alms. And, of the mean people, of the old and the poor, and the women and children many came to San Feliú. And when the admiral saw that no more were coming he had these people put into houses and said he would give them alms. And when they were inside he had the houses set on fire and burnt them all. Behold what his alms were! And you may imagine whether the smoke of this holocaust mounted to Heaven; I shall tell you nothing about the matter for it is too piteous and sad. God be blessed Who, though He allowed much, in the end took righteous vengeance for all.

Now I shall cease to speak of the King of France who has laid siege to Gerona and shall turn to speak of the Lord King of Aragon.

CXXVIII

How the Lord King en Pedro garrisoned Besalú and the castles around Gerona whence his followers always did great damage to the host of the King of France; and of the valour of En Guillem Galceran de Cartella.

When the Lord King of Aragon had set in order and garrisoned the city of Gerona and left there, as chief and head, En Ramon Folch, viscount Cardona and, together with him, many honourable knights and citizens, and he saw that the King of France had pitched his tents and ordained the siege, he departed thence and went to Besalú and garrisoned the town well and also the castles which are around Gerona. The men the Lord King of Aragon had put into the castles and villages gave many bad mornings to the host, and they scattered and destroyed many a fine drove of cattle which was coming from Rosas to Gerona. So that the men of arms got so much from the French and destroyed and annihilated so many and performed so many feats of chivalry and of light troops against them that, as I have told you before in the case of Calabria, I should have too much to do were I to tell you all; wherefore I shall only tell you a summary. I tell you truly that they held the Frenchmen so closely that they could not go to fetch grass or wood without many armed horse pursuing them. And so, likewise, those inside made sorties, but they gave them plenty of bad times, for there was no day on which they did not make them get up from their meals three or four times, nor did they let them have a good sleep. Neither eating nor sleeping did them any good. And it may well be seen that the anger of God was upon them, for they were attacked by so much sickness that it was the greatest pestilence God had ever sent to any people.

And the Lord King had garrisoned Besalú and the other places around Gerona and had left all the almugavars and retainers on that frontier (and do not imagine that there were but a few, rather there were in Gerona full fifty thousand, between almugavars and retainers, and full five hundred knights and full five hundred other horsemen). In such manner did he leave the frontier garrisoned that never was a host in greater straits than

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that of the King of France. Never did followers make so much gain as did those the Lord King had left opposed to the French. And of those within, also, great marvels could be related to you, of their feats against the host of the King of France.

So the Lord King of Aragon had left all this in good order and had left, as chief of all the people, the Lord Infante En Alfonso and, with him, viscount Rocaberti and viscount Castellnou and A. de Cortsavi and En Galceran de Cartella, lord of Hostalés and of Pontons, of whom it can be said that he was one of the most accomplished knights there ever was in Spain; and he proved this full well in Calabria many times, and in Sicily, where he had been. Victory was always obtained with the help of God, by his advice and his dispositions. And of his rich hom, En Guillem Galceran, as great a book could be made relating his prowess, as was made of Lancelot of the Lake. And it could be seen that God loved him, for he became alcaide of Barbary and performed there many feats of arms, and then passed over with the Lord King to Collo and into Sicily, where he fought, as I have told you already, in all the engagements. The Lord King of Aragon made him count of Catanzaro for his prowess. And God showed him so much favour that he bore arms until he was ninety years old, and then came to die amongst his people, in his own house, in his place of Hostalés, in the room in which he had been born.

CXXIX

How En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mayol with the assent of the Lord King of Aragon resolved to capture with eleven galleys and two lenys, twenty-five galleys of the King of France which were at Rosas; and how the Lord King sent to Naples for the admiral.

And so, when the Lord King of Aragon saw that he had thus well ordained the frontier and that the matter of the war was likewise very well settled with expert people, and that they would give plenty to do to his enemies, he went to Barcelona. And when he was at Barcelona he summoned En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mayol and said to them:

“Notables, what have you done?” “Lord,” said they, “you will find twelve galleys and four armed lenys equipped; namely the ten new galleys that you ordered to be made and two old ones which were here, which we have had repaired.”

Said the Lord King: “You have done well; now say what you intend to do with these galleys?” “Lord,” said En Ramon Marquet, “we will tell you. It is the truth that we have had and have our spies in Rosas and Cadaqués. The French hold both these places. And so likewise we have some in San Feliú, and we have learnt for certain that the galleys of the King of France are altogether a hundred and sixty, of which the admiral of the King of France has ordained that sixty, well-armed, should always remain with him at San Feliú. And under his vice-admiral, fifty armed galleys come and go with victuals between San Feliú and Rosas; and they do nothing else but load with victuals many barges and lenys which come with them from Rosas to San Feliú and then return with them. And, besides, they have sent twenty-five to Narbonne and to Aiguesmortes and to Marseilles, to bring victuals, so that the ships and lenys never cease to come and go for any reason. The remaining twenty-five stop at Rosas, well armed and well apparelled to guard the port; and an expert knight called En G. de Lodève is commander of them. And thus, Lord, are the galleys ordained by the admiral of the King of France; and we have thought that if you, Lord, wish it, we shall put out to sea with these twelve galleys and lenys of ours. And when we are off Cape Creus we shall go out to sea and cruise about and at night we shall draw near Cadaqués. And I have arranged with En Gras, who is the principal man in Cadaqués, that two nephews he has, who were brought up with me, should be every night at the point of Port Ligat. And there I shall have news of them, for I have arranged that En Gras has four men who do nothing else but come and go between Rosas and Cadaqués, and who tell him every day what is being done there. And we know that the fifty galleys have left San Feliú to go to Rosas full four days ago and when they are at Rosas they are usually despatched again within five days. And as soon as we have news of all this we shall enter the Bay of Rosas and, at dawn, we shall attack the twenty-five galleys. And when we are at the point of the port, with the favour of God, and with your good luck, we

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shall have them or we shall remain there. For be sure, Lord, that we go there with the determination that either we all remain there and are cut to pieces, or we take them. The mercy of God is so great, and the good right you and we, Lord, maintain, that nothing will make us believe He will fail us, but rather will He humble the pride and wickedness of those bad people. Therefore, Lord, commend us to God and let us go, so that we can depart to-morrow."

And the Lord King was much pleased with the great endeavours of these notables and saw that it was all the work of God, for it did not seem that they were men who would resolve on so great an enterprise. And with a kind countenance and laughing, he answered them and said: "Notables, We are very pleased with you and with your good sense and daring; and it is Our pleasure that it be as you have planned; so, put your trust always in God, and God will bring Us and you honour out of these doings and all others, for such is the power of God. But, Notables, though it grieves Us, We shall have to deprive you of the first galley and of the two lenys, which We wish to send to Sicily to the Queen and to the Infante En Jaime and to the admiral, to let them all know Our position; they will take orders to the admiral to come incontinent with fifty or sixty armed galleys, and you shall send to tell him, on your part and by your instructions, what course he should take and how he should guide himself and that on no account he should tarry. And let him know the dispositions the admiral of the King of France has made, so that with the favour of God, after the galleys have separated, we shall fall upon them. And if they lose the sea, then they will also lose the land and their lives. And now, Notables, you can see if it has happened as We told you; that, because they of the King of France knew that we have few galleys, they divided theirs, which they would not have done if we had had fifty galleys. And so with the favour of God and His aid our plan will succeed. And We wish the galley to go by the middle of the gulf and not to go near Barbary nor Sardinia. And one of the armed lenys is to go by Barbary and the other by Sardinia and so, by one or the other, they will receive Our commands; for both will carry identical letters. And have them all dispatched between now and to-morrow night, so that they can depart. And We shall command Our Chancellor to have such

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letters written as you shall require. And We will now, at once, command the letters to be written which We shall send to the Queen and to the Infante En Jaime, and to the admiral, and We shall bid them give credit to your letters as to Our own; and that what you advise the admiral to do in respect of his coming, that he should do, and make no change in it in any way." "Lord," said they, "do not let it grieve you that you take the galley and the two lenys from us. What you have planned is well imagined and we, with the favour of God, shall do as much without the galley and the two lenys as we should with them."

And so the Lord King summoned the chancellor and ordered his letters and commanded the Admiral to do all that En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol would tell him; and he bid him come at once with fifty or sixty armed galleys and on no account to delay, under penalty of losing his favour. And so the letters were made out that day and all closed and sealed. And besides, En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol wrote to the admiral, in the name of the Lord King and as being also their advice, to shape his course for Cabrera and, when he was at Cabrera, to send a leny to Barcelona, which should, however, give no news of him; but the messenger should go to the house of En Ramon Marquet and there he would find the said En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol who would tell him what to do and what course to take. And if they were not in Barcelona, he would find as good instructions left by them as if they had been there. And so they did. And so the galley and the two lenys assembled and the men took leave of the Lord King and of all their friends and all prepared to follow the course indicated to them. And they went with the grace of God.

CXXX

How En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol took leave of the Lord King of Aragon to go and capture the twenty-five galleys of the King of France which were at Rosas; and how they defeated and took them all.

And when they had departed no one knew why they went, except the Lord King and En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol and the

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chancellor and the clerk who wrote the letters. And En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol embarked in the eleven galleys and two lenys which were left. And you may believe that never were eleven galleys better manned by so many good seamen without knights, for there were none, nor sons of knights. And they took leave of the Lord King, who made the sign of the Cross over them and blessed them and commended them to God's keeping, And they embarked and rowed out to sea, appearing to steer for Sicily. And when they had embarked and were out at sea in such manner that none could see them from Catalonia, and the breeze had become a fine west wind, they hoisted their sails and took their course for Cape Creus. What shall I tell you? In the course of that day and night and the following day they were in the waters of Cape Creus, about twenty-five miles at sea, off the Cape. And when the sun had set, they sailed nearer the land and shaped their course for Cadaqués, the breeze outside, was south-east, so that at the hour of the bona paraula they were at two small islands near Cadaqués.¹⁰⁹

And at once En Ramon Marquet had two cousins-german of En Gras, who were with him, put on shore by one of the lenys, at the point of the harbour of Ligat; and these had already agreed with En Gras what signal they would make when they met his two nephews there. And this En Gras was able to do, for he was lord and governor of Cadaqués for the count of Ampurias, and so he was likewise for the King of France. And what he was doing, he did by the order of his lord, the Count of Ampurias; and so he who is head or chief of a town or of a castle can do as he likes, by night or by day. Wherefore these two nephews of his and these two kinsmen of his who had come with En Ramon Marquet could do their business quite secretly, for they had nothing to fear. And when these kinsmen of En Gras had come to Cadaqués and had made their signal, at once the two nephews of En Gras went to meet them, and together with them went to En Ramon Marquet and to En Berenguer Mallol. And, as God wished to promote the affairs of the Lord King of Aragon and to overthrow the pride of the

¹⁰⁹Masina and Fredosa.

French, their coming was so well timed that there was nothing more to be done. And as soon as En Ramon Marquet saw these two cousins, he said to them: "Barons, you are welcome; what can you tell me of our enemies?" "Lord, be assured that no man could ever have come at a better time than you have. Know that, yesterday morning, the fifty galleys departed from Rosas with many barges and lenys and put out to sea with the land breeze, but changed their course and, yesterday, they were sailing all day, so that we reckon that they have passed Cape Aiguafreda." Now said En Ramon Marquet: "What can you tell us of Rosas?" "Lord," said one of those two cousins of En Gras, "I was at Rosas yesterday and, when the fifty galleys had departed thence, there did not remain more than twenty-five, which certainly are well equipped and well manned with knights and seamen and expert people, and they guard the port, and their captain is a nobleman from Provence, En G. de Lodève." Now said En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mayol: "And at night—where are they?" "Lord," said he, "every night, when they have saluted the sun, they go to the outer point of the port and remain hove to, and so they remain until sunrise next day. And thus they are every day, according to this rule they have; for I have been in the galleys more than ten nights, at several times, with acquaintances I have there, and I saw that they always keep the same order." "Then, Notables, what do you advise us to do?" "We pray you," said they, "as you will go there and fight them, that it please you that we go with you; for, assuredly, if you are determined on it, they will all be yours, with the help of God." "Barons," said En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol, "it is enough that these two cousins-german of yours be with us; it would not be well that you should leave your uncle En Gras. And be sure that, if God shows us favour or mercy, you will have a better part than if you were with us. And so go with good luck, for we shall be at them in the morning, with the aid of God Who will be with us. And greet your uncle from us." "Lord," said they, "you would do us a much greater favour if you took us with you." But En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol said: "We shall certainly not do that, for it is not in battles that men are born, and we do not wish, on any account, that the notable En Gras see you engaged in anything but what is pleasing to him." And with that they commended

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them to God and the two young men recounted to En Gras, their uncle, what they had done and said. And the notable, En Gras said: "Ah, Lord, true and blessed God, Who art truth and justice, aid them and give them victory and defend them from all evil." And when he had said this his two nephews took twenty followers and went along the shore to where they could see the battle.

And the galleys began to row at dawn and they came upon the twenty-five galleys. And two lenys of En Guillem de Lodève, which were on guard, had seen and counted the galleys and, at once, came to him and said: "Lord, get up, and make your followers arm themselves, for you can see from here eleven galleys and two lenys coming; and, assuredly, they are the eleven galleys and two lenys of En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol of which we have had news that they had left Barcelona." And, at once, En Guillem de Lodève had the trumpets and the nakers sounded, and made every man arm. And meanwhile, day broke and the galleys saw each other. And En Guillem de Lodève had the sails unfurled and steered for the eleven galleys which were outside, in order that they should not come near the shore. And he came at them with fifteen galleys lashed together and ten following astern in the intervals between them in such wise that none could escape them. And, assuredly, he ordered them wisely. And En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol had their galleys lashed together with long ropes and they made fast all the oars with long ropes, in order that the enemy should not be able to get between them until they wished them to, and until they loosened the oars and came to a hand-to-hand fight. And so it was done.

And, assuredly, I wish you all to know (and he who tells you this has been in many battles) that on the enlisted cross-bowmen depends the issue of the battle after the galleys tie up the oars. Wherefore always, whoever is admiral or commander of Catalan galleys, will do wisely not to carry tersols in the galleys, but enlisted cross-bowmen, so that the cross-bowmen are rested and keep their cross-bows in good repair and their bolts well feathered. And whilst the galley-slaves row, the cross-bowmen are occupied with their cross-bows, for all Catalan cross-bowmen are people who can renovate a cross-bow and everyone of them knows how to put it

together, and how to make light darts and bolts and how to twist and tie the string, and he understands all that pertains to a cross-bow. Catalans do not consider anyone a cross-bowman unless he knows how to make everything, from the beginning to the end, of what pertains to a cross-bow. And so he carries all his tools in a box, and it is as if he had a workshop. And no other people do this, but the Catalans learn it at their mothers' breasts, and the other people of the world do not. Wherefore the Catalans are the most superior cross-bowmen of the world. Therefore the admirals and commanders of the Catalan fleets should give every opportunity not to lose this singular aptitude which is not found in other people, but should make their men practise it. Therefore it is not necessary that the cross-bowmen row like tersols; or, if they do, they lose their dexterity with the cross-bow. And, besides, the enlisted cross-bowmen do another useful thing; when they see that a sailor in the topmast or a man rowing on his bench is tired and wants to eat or drink, he will come forward and will ply his oar for pleasure, until the other man has done what he wished or is refreshed. And thus all cross-bowmen go rested and fresh and make the crew keep fresh. I do not say that, in a fleet, there should not be ten galleys in a hundred with tersols, in order that these might overtake any galleys they come upon. And so it is enough that we should have twenty-two and no more.

And so the notables, En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol, had experience of this and manoeuvred according to the way Catalan galleys should be manoeuvred. And so the galleys were poop by poop, and the other ten were astern of them, and no one could enter between, on account of the oars which were lashed together; and in bows and stern you might have seen lances and darts flung by the hand of Catalans which went through whatever they reached and, besides, the cross-bowmen shot in such manner that not one dart missed. And they of the galleys of En Guillem de Lodève remained sword or bordon in hand, unable to do anything, or if anyone took up a lance or a dart, he knew so little about it that he would as soon use the staff as the iron. And the battle lasted so long that En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol saw that the decks of the enemy's galleys had been in great part cleared by the cross-bowmen who

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had been dealing mortal wounds, and those who were still left on deck were men of rank, and were more in need of doctors than of fighting. And when they had seen this, they had the trumpet of their galley sounded. It was the signal agreed upon that, as soon as the trumpet of En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol sounded, everyone should ship the oars and go amongst the enemy. And so it was done. And when the galleys were mingled you might have seen thrusts of bordons and swords and blows given with maces; and the enlisted cross-bowmen dropped their cross-bows and rushed at their enemies to fight hand-to-hand. What should I tell you? The battle was hard and cruel after they had come together; but, in the end, the Catalans, with the aid of God Who was with them, were victorious, so that they took all the galleys. And assuredly, there died in the battle, on the side of En Guillem de Lodève, more than four thousand men, and of the Catalans about a hundred and no more.

And so when they had won the battle and taken En G. de Lodève and some other knights (but few had remained alive and they badly wounded), they towed the galleys outside. And when they were outside they came to a point which is near Cadaqués; and there the men went on shore and refreshed themselves, with great joy and gladness at the great booty they had taken. And the two nephews of En Gras, with the twenty followers, came to them; and En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol sent En Gras a thousand gold florins and another thousand to his nephews. And this they did without any of the twenty followers knowing anything about it; rather, as they approached them, they asked for a safe-conduct, as if they had never known each other. And this was done in order that none of the twenty followers should be able to denounce them. And their two cousins who were in the galleys had made much gain; but besides the gain they had made En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol gave them each two hundred gold florins and other things. And so the nephews of En Gras went to Cadaqués, joyous and content, and gave their uncle the thousand florins and recounted the whole event to him. And the notable had great joy and great content thereat; but he did not dare to let it appear at all.

CXXXI

How when the prisoners had been identified and the people of En Ramon Marquet refreshed and they were about to embark, the fifty galleys of the admiral of the King of France having had news of the capture of his galleys overtook En Ramon Marquet but could not capture him.

And when the people of the galleys were refreshed, and had identified all the people they held prisoners, and what they had taken, the trumpet sounded and they proceeded to embark. Now it is the truth that, whilst the battle was going on at Rosas, two armed barges went to the fifty galleys to tell them of the event. They overtook the fifty galleys beyond Cape Aiguafreda, in a creek called Tamariu, which is the landing place of Palafrugell, and they told them this news. And the fifty galleys returned towards Rosas, and when they had passed Cape Aiguafreda they saw the galleys at sea, towing the twenty-five galleys, and they continued on their own course. And En Ramon Marquet was of the best mariners of the world and foresaw all that came to pass; that the men of Rosas would send barges to warn the fifty galleys to return. Wherefore, at night, he put out to sea with the landbreeze, as far as the breeze carried him, so that, if the fifty galleys came upon him as the wind changed, they would come astern. And so it happened. And when the fifty galleys had sight of them, as I have told you before, they pursued their course rowing, for they were well armed. And En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol saw them and thought that, if they towed all the twenty-five galleys, they would not be able to escape. And the breeze veered to out at sea and twenty-two galleys and two lenys set sail and left the others, and held themselves to the wind as well as they could. The fifty galleys who saw this and that the wind had freshened, thought that they could never take them, for they had much the advantage of them, being to windward. And so, with much grief, they returned to Rosas, where they found ships and lenys abandoned. So that, if there had only been more Catalan galleys, they would have burnt and destroyed all the shipping. And so they strengthened the place and left

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another twenty-five galleys there, and the other twenty-five went to San Feliú with those barges and lenys they had left at Tamariu.

CXXXII

How the King of France and all his followers were much displeased when they received the news that they had lost twenty-five galleys; and how the said King was angry with the cardinal because he had plotted and arranged this war.

And when the King of France and the cardinal knew all this they thought themselves dead men; and said the cardinal: "What demons are these who do us so much damage?" Said the King of France: "Cardinal, these are the people of the world most loyal to their lord; for you could cut off their heads before they would allow their lord, the King of Aragon, to lose his dominions. And so, by sea and by land, you may see many such defeats. Therefore I tell you, We and you have undertaken a mad enterprise. And you are partly the cause of this event, for you have plotted and negotiated with Our uncle King Charles; and these people and their feats have caused him to die of grief. God grant that We have not the same fate as he." And the cardinal did not know what to say, for he knew well that what the King of France had said to him was the truth; and so they said no more. And I need not tell you what dread the admiral of the King of France felt when he knew all; however, he arranged that when the fifty galleys went from San Feliú to Rosas he would go there also and would come with eighty-five galleys; and that the twenty-five should remain all the time at Rosas, and so it was done henceforth. Wherefore the admiral, En Roger de Luria, would have to fight against more at a time than the Lord King of Aragon and En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol had expected. And so I must let the admiral of the King of France be and turn again to speak of En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol and of their good seamanship.

CXXXIII

How En Ramon Marquet, with the twenty-two galleys, shaped his course for Barcelona; and how the inhabitants of the city, recognizing him, had great joy and gladness; and how the galleys were repaired and every man was paid for four months.

When En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol saw that the galleys had desisted from their pursuit, they crowded on sail and bore away from the host and steered for Barcelona. What shall I tell you? At the end of that day and night and next day, at the hour of tierce,¹¹⁰ they were in sight of Barcelona. And when they of the city saw them they feared greatly that the twenty-one galleys had been lost; indeed, all were full of apprehension. But the Lord King, who was more concerned than anyone else, came to the shore on horseback, with much chivalry, and looked at the galleys and counted twenty-two big sails and two lenys. And he said "Barons, be of good cheer and joyous, for these are our galleys, bringing twenty-one others; and see their two lenys which they are bringing." And all looked and counted them and were convinced. And meanwhile the two lenys came ashore and went to the Lord King who, they knew, was on the seashore, and told him the good news. And the Lord King had good reward given them for the good news.

And when the galleys were near the land they unshipped their masts and beached the galleys, together with the others, towing them stern foremost and trailing the pennons. And the feast was great which was made in Barcelona, and En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol went to meet the Lord King and kissed his foot. And the Lord King stooped and embraced them and received them with gracious looks and countenance. And they said: "Lord, what do you command us to do?" "I tell you," said the Lord King, "leave to every man what he has taken and make no inquiry

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into it whatever. And the galleys and the prisoners are Ours, and the rest be yours. Divide that yourselves and give what seems right to you to the worthy tersols who were with you." And upon this they kissed his foot and very joyously returned to the galleys, and told everyone the favour the Lord King was granting them. And all began to shout: "Lord, God grant you life." And everyone went openly on shore with what he had obtained.

And when this was done En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol went to the Lord King and said: "Lord, if you think it well we will have the twenty-two galleys pulled on shore and will have them repaired; for all need repairing." And the Lord King said: "You say well, but have at once Our standard set up at the table, and proceed to give every man four months' pay; and when the galleys are repaired, have them fitted out, so that, if the admiral comes, you can go with him." "Lord," said they, "this shall be done, and be of good cheer henceforth, for if the admiral does not come, we, with the aid of God, will destroy them all with these twenty-two galleys." Said the Lord King:—"May it please God that this be done." And so they proceeded to pull the galleys on shore to have them repaired, and to set up a table and pay the men for four months.

And when he had ordained this the Lord King issued from Barcelona and returned to where the Lord Infante En Alfonso and the chiefs and knights and other people were, whom he had left on the frontier; and he went from one to the other with a few men afoot, to see what they were doing.

CXXXIV

How the Lord King of Aragon fought on the day of Saint Mary in August with two hundred almugavars against four hundred French knights who were in ambush with the count of Nevers; and how he defeated them and killed the said count.

On the day in August of Our Lady Saint Mary, as he was going towards Besalú, he happened upon an ambuscade of four hundred French knights, who had been put in ambush because a convoy with provisions was

coming to the host from Rosas. And men on horseback and on foot always attacked them in that place and therefore they occupied it in the night, in order to punish them.

And the Lord King was going along, speaking of how he had seen that his people in every place on the frontier had riches and plenty through the many forays they made every day against the French, killing many and making infinite gain, so that all were cheerful and content. And as the Lord King was going along thus carelessly God, Who does nought but for the best and wished to preserve the Lord King from death or prison, granted that the almugavars, of whom there were about two hundred with him and who were going along the ravines of the mountain, started two or three hares, and as the hares started, the almugavars began to scream and shout loudly. And the Lord King and those who were with him, who were about sixty men on horseback, at once seized their arms, imagining that the others had seen chivalry. And the French who were in hiding imagined that they had been discovered and so, at once, came out of the ambush. And the Lord King, who saw them, said: "Barons, let us act prudently; let us join our men afoot, for there are many knights here who are in ambush waiting for us. And so all prepare to do well for, with the aid of Our Lord and true God Jesus Christ, we shall perform a deed to-day of which the whole world will speak." And all answered: "Lord, do us the grace and favour to go up this mountain, so that your person, Lord, be safe, for we fear nothing, but only for your person; and when you are there, you will see what we are doing." Said the Lord King: "God forbid that We should take another path because of them."

And at once some of the almugavars who were near the Lord King collected round him, but there were not more than a hundred when they attacked. And they broke the lances in half. And the Lord King was the first to rush on, and he attacked the first man he encountered with his lance, in the middle of his shield, in such manner that the man had no need to seek a doctor. And then he drew his sword and lay about here and there, and opened a way for himself, so that none of them, when they had recognised him by his mode of attack, dared to await him for a direct blow. And the others who were with him did so well that no knights could

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perform greater feats of chivalry than they did. Of the almugavars, it is right I should tell you that they went at them with shortened lances in such manner that there was no horse left that was not disabled. And this they did when they had spent all their darts, for you may believe that there was no one who, with his dart, had not killed a knight or a horse. And then, with the shortened lances they did marvels. And the Lord King was now here, now there, now on the right, now on the left, and fought so hard with his sword that it broke all to pieces. And at once he seized his mace, with which he attacked better than any man in the world. And he approached the count of Nevers, who was chief of that company, and with his mace gave him such a blow on the helmet that he felled him to the ground. And at once he turned and said to a gallant youth who never left his side, who was called En G. Escriva and came from Játiva, and who was riding a horse with a fight saddle: "Guillem, dismount and kill him." And the young man set foot on the ground and killed him. And when he had killed him, to his undoing, the sword the count was carrying, which was very richly ornamented, caught his eye and he unfastened it; and whilst he was unfastening it, a knight of the dead count, seeing that this youth had killed his lord, rushed at him and gave him such a blow on the shoulders that he killed him. And the Lord King turned and seeing that this knight had killed Guillem Escriva, gave him such a blow of his mace on his iron cap that his brains came out at his ears, and he fell dead to the ground. And in this place, because of the count who had been killed, you might have seen blows given and taken. And the Lord King who saw his followers so hard pressed, rushed upon his enemies and made room for himself, for he, altogether, killed with his own hand more than fifteen knights; for, believe me, those he reached needed not more than one blow.

And in this press a French knight, seeing that the Lord King was doing them so much injury, came towards him sword in hand and cut his reins so that, for this reason, the Lord King was nearly lost. Wherefore no knight should go to a fight without two pairs of reins, one pair of chain and the other of leather, and those of chain should be covered with leather. What shall I tell you? That the Lord King was helpless; the horse carried him hither and thither; but four almugavars, who were keeping near the Lord

King, approached him and tied his reins. And the Lord King kept this knight who had cut his reins well in mind, and went towards where he was and paid him for this pleasure he had done him in such manner that he could never cut any more reins, but was killed like his lord. And then, when the Lord King had returned into the throng, you might have seen attack and assault; there were richs homens and knights in the company of the Lord King who had never been at feats of arms before, and everyone on this day did marvels on his own account. What should I tell you about it? There was a young knight from Trapani, called En Palerm Abat¹¹¹ whom the Lord King had received in his house in Sicily, who had never found himself present at feats of arms, yet did as much as Roland would have done, had he been alive. And all this came of the great love they had for the Lord King, and of what they saw him do with his own hands; for what the Lord King did was not knight's work but truly the work of God. For not Galahad, nor Tristan, nor Lancelot, nor the other knights of the Table Round, if they had been with as few followers as the Lord King, could have done as much in one day as the Lord King and those with him did against four hundred knights as expert as these were, who were the flower of the French host. What should I tell you about it? The French wished to collect on a height, but the Lord King rushed towards him who was carrying the banner of the count and gave him such a blow on the helmet with his mace that he felled him dead and cold to the ground. And the almugavars at once tore the banner of the host to pieces.

And the French, who saw the banner of their lord on the ground, collected in close formation, and the Lord King went to attack amongst them with all his men. What shall I tell you? The French had seized a hillock and were so close together that neither the Lord King nor any of his followers could penetrate amongst them. Nevertheless the battle lasted until it was vesper-time and dark; and of the French there were not left more than eighty knights. And the Lord King said: "Barons, it is night and

¹¹¹Moisé calls him Palmeri dell'Abbate and Buchon, Palmieri Abbate. Both he and his brother afterwards turned traitors to the cause of Aragon.

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we might hit each other as well as them, therefore let us assemble." And when they were collected on another hill, they saw full five hundred French knights coming with their banners. And if you ask me who they were, I shall tell you that they were three counts, kinsmen of the count of Nevers, who were anxious about him, because he had gone into ambush, and they had not seen him return at midday, when he should have returned to the host. And with the leave of the King of France they went to search for him. And so they saw those knights on a hill and the King of Aragon on another. And at once they went to their countrymen who went out to meet them, and they heard the bad issue of their enterprise and went to where the count and fully six others, kinsmen of his, were lying dead. And they carried them away with great weeping and great cries and went all night until they came to the host. And when they came to the host you might have seen mourning and weeping and cries, so that it seemed all the world was crumbling. And En Ramon En Folch, viscount Cardona, who was in Gerona, sent ten men out to bring back news and they captured men of the host whom they brought inside the city. And when En Ramon Folch saw them he asked what yonder weeping and lamenting was for. And they recounted to him what had happened. And then En Ramon had great illuminations made throughout the city of Gerona.

Now I shall let them be and will turn again to speak of the King of Aragon who said: "Barons, we shall stop here all night and in the morning we will ascertain what chivalry we have lost, for it would be a great dishonour to us to leave the ground thus." "Lord," said those who were with him, "what are you saying? Is what you have done to-day not enough? Shall we perchance have more to do to-morrow?" And the Lord King answered that he would certainly reconnoitre the battlefield for he did not wish any man to be able to reproach him. When it was day, the other almugavars who had been in the mountains, and of his chivalry more than five hundred men on horseback joined him. And the Lord King, with his banner unfurled, went about the ground with those who had been with him in the battle, for he did not wish that anyone else should set foot on it.

And these searched the field and obtained so much beautiful harness¹¹² that they were made prosperous for all time. And the Lord King reviewed his followers and found that he had lost twelve horsemen, and that G. Escriva who died because of the sword he coveted. Wherefore everyone should take care that, whilst he is engaged in battle, he care for nothing but victory; he should covet neither gold nor silver nor anything he sees, but care only to engage his enemies hand to hand. For, if his side wins, he will have booty enough when the booty is collected, and if his side loses he will have little profit of anything he has, for his body will be left there. And so take to heart what I am saying to you, and if you do, God will always bring you out of the field with honour. And so they, likewise, found that they had lost about twenty-five men afoot. And so you may imagine what kind of feat of arms this had been, of so few people against so many knights, that altogether there remained killed more than three hundred French knights, of whom, in the opinion of those who were in the battle, the Lord King alone had killed with his own hand more than sixty. And so they collected the harness and the money on the battlefield; as to the horses it was not worth taking one from the field, for there was not one who had not seven or eight wounds from lances.

And so the Lord King went to Besalú and all along that frontier men were rich and well-to-do, as men became likewise on the other frontiers. What shall I tell you? When the Lord King had inspected all there was there, he came to Hostalrich where the Lord Infante En Alfonso was.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of him and shall turn to speak again of my Lady the Queen and of the Lord Infante En Jaime and of the admiral and of the galleys and the two lenys which the Lord King sent them from Barcelona.

¹¹²Harness is described in an Act of Jaime I: "Item, that every person man or woman who owns property to the value of 25,000 solidos most keep one harness, i.e., a bascinet, with visor and barbiere of iron, and cuirasses and hauberk, pourpoint, brazals, greaves and cuisses of iron, breeches of mail, woollen chausses, one glaive, one axe and one dagger or 'espunto.'" (Barcelona. Archives of the Crown of Aragon.)

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CXXXV

How the galley and the two lenys which the Lord King sent to my Lady the Queen and the Infantes and to the admiral En Roger de Luria assembled at Messina; and how the said admiral departed at once with sixty-six galleys; and how near the Formigueras he defeated the fleet of the King of France and took fifty-four galleys.

When the galleys and the two lenys which the Lord King had sent to Sicily had departed from Barcelona they went the way which had been indicated to them; and they went so long that they came to Messina where they found the Queen and the Lord Infantes and the admiral, and they gave them the letters which the Lord King and En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol sent them. At once the Lord Infante commanded the admiral to equip, incontinent, all the galleys which had been repaired. And at once the admiral had the trumpet sounded, in order that every man should come and take his pay for four months. And every man very joyously took his pay. What shall I tell you? In fifteen days he had fitted out sixty-six galleys which had been repaired; he would not wait any longer. And he made all his men embark very joyously and very cheerfully and took leave of my Lady the Queen and of the Infantes. And he hastened to depart at once, in order to prevent any news of him spreading. Within these fifteen days no sail dared to leave Sicily to go West. And he set his course for Cabrera and had fine weather so that in a short time he came to Cabrera. And when he came to Cabrera he sent one of the lenys the Lord King had sent him to Barcelona. And there it found En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol and they answered at once that he should shape his course for Aiguafreda; that, in those waters, he ought to find eighty-five galleys, at Rosas. And so that he should hasten before they had news of him; that they knew that he should find them in those waters, according to their spies; and so, likewise, that they, with all the galleys they had had repaired at Barcelona, would shortly be with him.

And so the armed leny went away with this answer and En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol made all the men embark and equipped

sixteen galleys which had been repaired. And the armed leny found the admiral out at sea. And when the admiral had seen the letter of En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol, he steered for Cape Aiguafreda, and, at night, beached the vessels at the Formigueras and there stayed for the night. And he had ordained that each galley should have three lanthorns ready, one in the bows, the other amidship and the other astern, in order that, if the galleys of the King of France came in the night, all the lanthorns should be lit at once, so that they should recognise their own galleys, and that the enemy should think that for each lanthorn there was a galley. And by this provision of the admiral the whole success was obtained, for, as he had planned, so it happened; when it was near daylight the fleet of the King of France passed with a lanthorn at the bows, and as soon as the admiral saw the fleet coming, he made all his men arm themselves. And meanwhile he sent two armed lenys to reconnoitre and they soon returned and told the admiral that the whole fleet of the King of France was there. And the admiral steered for them and put himself between them and the land. And when he was upon them, the lanthorns were lighted all at once and they attacked suddenly. And there you might have seen lances and darts fly and enlisted cross-bowmen ply their bows. What shall I tell you? Before it was daylight the admiral, En Roger de Luria, had scattered them all, had taken fifty-four galleys, and fifteen, manned by Pisans, had ran ashore and sixteen, manned by Genoese had, for fear of this happening to them, already gone out of battle together and waited for nothing, but went out to sea and went back to their country. And when it was day the admiral reconnoitred the galleys and saw that they were stranded and found that they were of Pisans and had run aground. And the galley-slaves of the admiral carried out of them all that they could find and then set them on fire.

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CXXXVI

How on the day of the battle En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol were with the admiral who delivered to them all the galleys he had taken; and how the said admiral took twenty-five more galleys of the King of France which were at Rosas and how he attacked and took Rosas.

And when this was done, the admiral shaped his course for Rosas. What shall I tell you? On that day on which the battle was fought, at the hour of vespers, En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol were with the admiral. And the admiral delivered to them all the galleys he had taken and told them to go by Pálamos and San Feliú and to take all the shipping they would find there to Barcelona, together with the galleys, and to make haste at once and he would go to Rosas to take the shipping which was there and the twenty-five galleys and the victuals that were on land; and that he would not depart thence until he had taken Rosas.

And so En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol did what the admiral had commanded. And at once they went to Pálamos and to San Feliú and took all the shipping which was there. And then they landed at San Feliú and burnt all the victuals there, so that they of the King of France who had remained all fled. And En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol sent ten men, in separate groups, to Hostalrich, to the Lord King of Aragon to let him know this good news; and then they went to the city of Barcelona and in the same way about all the country. And when they had done this they said: "Let us await the admiral here; although he told us to go to Barcelona, yet it is much better we should enter the city together with him, and that he should have the honour to whom it is due." And so they did and their proceeding seems good.

And when En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol had departed from the admiral, he shaped his course for Rosas. And they of Rosas imagined that it was their own fleet and the twenty-five galleys, striving who should sail fastest, issued forth with great clamour. And the admiral had the banners of the King of France set up to draw them well out, in

Muntaner

order not to lose the men by their running ashore. And when they had approached the admiral ordered his crews to row hard and he pulled down these banners and put up those of the King of Aragon. And they who saw this wanted to turn, but the admiral En Roger de Luria attacked them. What shall I tell you? He took them all with all the men. And then he went to the port of Rosas where he found more than a hundred and fifty vessels, between lenys and ships, and terides, and took them all. And then he landed where there were full five hundred French knights with many pack-mules, who had come for victuals. And he attacked amongst them and dispersed them and killed more than two hundred knights; and the others, with all the people who could follow them, fled towards Gerona where they found that the King of France had heard already his ill chance; and they brought more bad news.

Then the admiral fought the town of Rosas and took it and garrisoned it well, because of the victuals that were in it. And when he had done this he went towards Barcelona and found En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol at San Feliú, and they told him how they had awaited him, and he was very content. And so the admiral sent from there to Barcelona all the shipping, as well galleys as other lenys and ships and terides. He saw well that the sea was his and that he need fear nothing.

CXXXVII

How the admiral and En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol returned to Rosas and the great joy that all the people of Castellon had, which they dared not show because of the children of the King of Mallorca who were in Paris.

And with En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol, together with all the armed galleys, he returned at once to Rosas; for he thought that the King of France would not be able to tarry at the siege and that it would be well that he, with the seamen, should be at the Pass of Panisars, and that they should have their share of the booty and of the men. And as he had planned, so he did; he came to Rosas and from Rosas to the gates of

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Castellon, and do not ask me if the people of Castellon and of all the country were joyful. The joy at Peralada was infinite, and in Roussillon it was as great, although they dared not let it appear, because the King of France had two sons of the King of Mallorca in Paris, namely the Infante En Jaime, the eldest, and the Infante En Sancho, who came next to the Infante En Jaime. For this reason the Lord King of Mallorca and his people dared not let it appear that they were pleased at the favour God had shown to the Lord King of Aragon.

Now I shall cease to speak of the admiral, who is ready to go to the Pass of Panisars, or where he would hear that the King of France would have to come out with his followers, and I shall speak again of the Lord King of Aragon. However, be sure that he sent word to Sicily by an armed leny of all that had happened to him and of the situation of the Lord King of Aragon and of where the King of France was.

CXXXVIII

How the Lord King of Aragon went to the Pass of Panisars to annihilate the French and how the King of France left the siege of Gerona ill and before he died begged the Infante En Philip to return to France; and how the Lord King of Aragon granted him the favour of passing through safe and sound.

When the Lord King of Aragon heard this news he went at once to the Pass of Panisars with all his people, horse and foot, who were on the frontiers, in order that neither the King of France nor any man of his host should escape him. And when the King of France knew all this he raised the siege of Gerona,¹¹³ ill and distressed as he was, and went to the plain of

¹¹³Desclot alone among historians attributes the raising of the siege to sickness mused by a plague of flies sent by God to chastise the arrogance of the French. In course of time, the legend of St. Narcissus arose and became deeply rooted in the belief of the people. A seventeenth-century Life of the Saint says he sent the flies from his grave, and they killed 2,400 horses and 40,000 men. No early records mention this plague of flies;

Peralada and there he collected all his followers. And, assuredly, he did not find that in all the host he had three thousand armed horse, and of men of arms afoot none, for all had died, some in feats of arms and some by sickness; indeed he held himself for lost. And do not ask me about the cardinal; willingly would he have absolved the Lord King from punishment and guilt if he would allow him to leave his territory in full security. What shall I tell you? The King of France was so full of grief that his illness grew worse and he summoned his sons to his presence and said to mosenyer En Philip: "You have been, throughout, wiser than We; if We had believed you We should not be dying now (for We shall be dead before the night is over) nor would so many good people have died, and will die yet, through Our fault. Wherefore We give you Our grace and blessing and beg you on no account to let any injury be done to those people of Castellon who have surrendered to Us, nor to those other places around here; but rather absolve them of all they are bound to Us for and let all return to their lord as they were before. And again, I advise you to send secretly a messenger to your uncle, the King of Aragon, to ask him for a passage, that you may pass safely, you and your brother and my body. I am certain that, if he wishes it, not one of you will escape, but you will be killed or taken prisoners. But we know that the King of Aragon wishes you so well (and he knows you love him) that he will not deny you and so you will act for the good of my soul and of yours. And again, Son, I beg you to grant me a favour." "Lord," said he, "whatever you ask shall be done. Ask what you please, for I am prepared to fulfil it." "Son," said he, "you say well; God's blessing and mine be upon you. Do you know, Son, what it is I ask of you? That you bear no ill-will to your brother Charles who is here, for having taken the realm of his and your uncle; for you know well that the guilt is not his; that the guilt was all Ours and your uncle's, King Charles's. Rather, I pray you that you love him and honour him as one good brother should love the other, for you are sons of one mother,¹¹⁴ who

an ancient inscription on a stone under a window of the prison at Gerona attributes the raising of the siege to famine, "per fam perderenla."

¹¹⁴Isabel, daughter of Jaime II of Aragon.

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issued of one of the greatest kingly houses of the world, of kings that are of the most accomplished knights of the world. Therefore you should love him dearly. And again I pray you that you endeavour and make every effort that the House of Aragon be at peace with the House of France and with that of King Charles, and that the prince, your cousin,¹¹⁵ come out of prison. If you obtain this there will be peace."

And upon this he held him and kissed him on the mouth and did the same to Charles and made them kiss each other. And when he had done this he raised his eyes to Heaven and sent for the body of Christ and received it with great devotion, and then Extreme Unction was administered to him. And when he had received all the Sacraments that a good Christian should receive, he crossed his hands on his breast and said: "Lord and true God in Thy hands do I commend my spirit." And so he passed away gently, and made a good end in the year 1285, at the end of the month of September. And if you ask me where he died, I will tell you that he died in a house of En Simon de Vilanova, knight, which is at the foot of Pujamilot near Vilanova, at less than half a league from Peralada.

And when the King of France was dead, King Philip commanded that his death be kept secret; however, he sent his secret messengers to the Lord King of Aragon, his uncle, who was at the Pass of Panisars and let him know that his father was dead, and begged him earnestly to let him pass with his followers; that it was better for him that he should be King of France than any other man. And when the Lord King of Aragon received this message, it is said he at once let it be known to his brother, the King of Mallorca, who was at Suelo,¹¹⁶ two leagues distant from where the host was, and told him to issue forth with his chivalry and followers from Roussillon to meet his nephew, King Philip of France, and receive him at La Clusa, in order that the almugavars and seamen who were already at

¹¹⁵Charles II of Naples.

¹¹⁶Bofarull thinks there never was a place called Suelo, and that Boulou is meant, called in the Chronicle Voló and Vélo. The 'S' he takes to be the Mallorcan article "s," prefix of 'u' which was interchangeable with 'v.' Voló was, in the time of Pedro III, under the sovereignty of the King of Mallorca.

the Pass with the admiral En Roger de Luria, should not annihilate the Frenchmen; and that, beyond Perthus and the pass he, himself, would forbid his men, as much as he was able, to go near the oriflamme. And he would tell his nephew, the King of France, to go always close to the oriflamme, he and his brother; and in this way they would prevent their followers from doing the Frenchmen the great hurt they might do them.

And as the Lord King commanded so it was done and accomplished; and so he made it known to his nephew, the King of France. And when monsenyer En Philip, King of France, heard that the Lord King of Aragon would safeguard him and his brother and also those who would pass on close to him, and that he had ordained that the King of Mallorca should meet him at La Clusa. with his chivalry, he considered what he should do and called the cardinal and his brother and said to them: "I have had an answer from the King of Aragon, Our uncle, and he lets me know that he will give a safe-conduct to myself and my brother and those who will go near me with the oriflamme. But of the others he cannot assure the safety, for his followers are such that no one can rule them; so I see that We shall lose a great many of the men belonging to Us." Answered the cardinal and said: "Lord, as he is doing you this favour, proceed to go on, for your person alone and your brother's are more important than all the rest. And so do not let us delay, but let us go on, and all those who will die here will go to Paradise."

CXXXIX

How King Philip of France, with his brother and with the body of his father and with the cardinal and the oriflamme issued out of Catalonia; and of the damage the almugavars did, killing people and breaking coffers.

And monsenyer En Philip summoned his barons and formed a vanguard of five hundred armed horse in which the count of Foix was, and then came he, with the oriflamme, and with his brother and the body of his father, and with the cardinal; and with them went about a thousand armed horse. And then, after that, came all the pack-mules and the lesser people

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and the men afoot. And in the rear came all the rest of the chivalry which had been left, who might be about fifteen hundred armed horse. And so they moved from Pujamilot and intended to go that same day to junquera; and that same day the admiral with all the seamen came to the Pass of Panisars. And God knows what sort of night the French had, for no one took off his armour, nor slept; but, rather, all night you might have heard laments and groans. The almugavars and retainers and seamen attacked them on the flanks and killed men and broke coffers; you would have heard a greater crashing from the breaking of the coffers than if you had been in a wood in which a thousand men did nothing else but split wood. Of the cardinal I tell you that, after he left Peralada, he did nothing but pray; this he did as far as Perpignan for every moment he expected to have his head cut off; and thus they spent all that night. And next morning the Lord King of Aragon had an order proclaimed, that every man should follow his banner and that, on pain of death, no man should attack until his banner went to the attack and the trumpets and nakers were sounded. And so everyone collected around the banner of the Lord King of Aragon.

And when the King of France was ready and his van was passing through Perthus, the Lord King of Aragon let them pass, but all his followers cried: "Let us attack Lord, let us attack!" But the Lord King kept them back and would not have it on any account. And then came the oriflamme with the King of France, his nephew, and with his brother and with the body of their father and with the cardinal, as you have heard already had been ordained; and they proceeded to pass through the said village of Perthus. And so likewise then the followers of the Lord King of Aragon cried in a loud voice: "Lord, for shame! Lord, let us attack!" But the Lord King held them back still, until the King of France had passed and those who went with him near the oriflamme.

And when the pack-mules and the lesser people began to pass, do not imagine that, when the followers of the Lord King saw it, the Lord King or another could hold them back; so that a cry went through the host of the Lord King of Aragon: "At them! At them!" And then every man rushed upon them, and you would have seen breaking of coffers and plundering of tents and goods and of gold and silver and coin and dishes and such

riches that every man who was there became wealthy. What shall I tell you? It was well for him who passed first, for of the pack-mules of the men afoot or of the knights of the rear not one escaped, but all were killed and the goods plundered. And, when they began to attack, the shouts were so great that they were heard four leagues off. The cardinal, who heard them, said to the King of France: "Lord, what is that? We are all dead men." Said the King of France: "Believe me, Our uncle, the King of Aragon, has not been able to hold his followers back; he has had enough to do to let Us pass. You could hear already, when Our van was passing, that they all cried 'Lord, let us attack!' And you saw him restrain them with a hunting spear he was holding in his hand. And then, as we were passing, they cried: 'Lord, for shame! let us attack!' And then again he laboured even harder to contain them. And when we had passed and his followers saw the pack-mules, which caught their eyes on account of the goods, he could no longer contain them. Wherefore you may count upon it that, of those who were left, not one will escape. And so let us go on."

With that they passed Perthus and over a pass which is above a sloping bank which is there. They saw the Lord King of Mallorca with his chivalry and many men afoot from Roussillon and Conflans and Cerdagne, and he was on that pass with the royal banner unfurled. And the cardinal, who saw them, approached the King of France and said: "Ah, Lord, what shall we do? See the King of Aragon, who has already got ahead of us." And the King of France, who knew that it had been thus ordained by the King of Aragon and by the King of Mallorca, said to him: "Fear not, for that is Our uncle, the King of Mallorca, who is coming to escort us." And then the cardinal was very joyful, but he did not hold himself for over secure. What shall I tell you? The King of France went towards the King of Mallorca and the King of Mallorca went to meet him, and they embraced and kissed; and afterwards he kissed mosenyer En Charles and afterwards the cardinal. And the cardinal said to him: "Ah, Lord King of Mallorca, what will become of us? Shall we die now?" And the King of Mallorca, seeing him so altered that he looked as if he were dead already, could not help smiling and saying: "Sir Cardinal, fear not; on Our head we assure you that you are safe and sound." And then he held himself for secure and never in his life

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had he such joy. And they went on, and the shouts and cries of the followers of the King of Aragon were so great in the mountains that all the world seemed crumbling. What shall I tell you? They went on at a good trot, where they could trot, until they had passed La Clusa, for none thought themselves safe until they were at Boulou. And that night the King of France and all his company remained at Boulou; but the cardinal went on to Perpignan, and there was no need for them to wait for the rear they had left behind, for the followers of the King of Aragon had sent them all to Paradise.

And next day the King of France, with the body of his father, and with his brother and with the King of Mallorca, who did not part from them, went to Perpignan; and there the King of Mallorca entertained them all for eight days, and every day he had masses said for the King of France. And a procession went out every day for the obsequies of the corpse which they absolved, and, night and day and as long as they were on his territory, the Lord King of Mallorca had a thousand big wax tapers burning at his expense. Indeed he showed so much honour to the body of the King of France and to his sons and all who were with him and to the cardinal, that the House of France should for ever be greatly beholden to him; and the House of Rome as well. What shall I tell you? When they had been at Perpignan eight days and had recovered well, they went on, and the King of Mallorca accompanied them until they were out of his territory and entertained them. And then he parted from them and returned to Perpignan and the Frenchmen went on in such a condition that, of their number, not ten in a hundred escaped; the others all died of diseases and illnesses' And the cardinal went on in such apprehension that fear never left him until, within a few days, he died and went to Paradise, to those he had sent there by his indulgences. What shall I tell you? They returned in such a state that, as long as the world lasts, they will not hear Catalonia mentioned in France and all its provinces without remembering it.

And so I must cease to speak to you of them and must again speak to you of the Lord King of Aragon and of his followers.

CXL

How the Lord King of Aragon returned to Peralada and settled all the country and granted many gifts and favours; and bid the admiral give back Rosas to the count of Ampurias with all the victuals and wine which were there; and how the Lord King went to Barcelona where great feasts were made.

When the oriflamme had passed, as you have heard already, and the followers of the King of Aragon had killed or taken all those who had remained behind and had obtained a world of riches, the Lord King returned to Peralada and ordered and repaired the town and made every man return to it and granted them many gifts and favours. And he did the same likewise, afterwards, at Gerona. And the admiral went to Rosas. And the Lord King commanded the admiral to give up Rosas to the count of Ampurias and to give him whatever victuals and wine were there (the value of it was very great), to do this and then to go to Barcelona. And so, likewise, the Lord King, when he had put in order the city of Gerona, went to Barcelona and commanded that every man should return home. And so all returned to their lands, joyous and content and rich. And the Lord King and the Lord Infante En Alfonso went to Barcelona, and also all the rich homens, except those who were from Ampurdan and from the mountains and from the ports.

And when the Lord King and the Infante En Alfonso entered Barcelona, it pleased God that, that same day, the admiral with En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol should enter it too, with all the galleys. And the feast was very great in Barcelona; none like it had ever been made in any city. On the following Sunday, the Lord King threw three stylets at the target in each course and the Lord Infante En Alfonso as many; and the others were at martial exercises. The cheerfulness was such that all the world must needs rejoice. But the rejoicing began every morning with God, as every morning a procession was made through all the city praising and glorifying God for the grace He had done them and so, until the dinner

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hour, they gave all their time to God, praising and giving thanks, and after dinner they returned to their sports. What shall I tell you? The feast lasted eight days.

CXLI

How the Lord King of Aragon sent the Infante En Alfonso to Mallorca with a great force of knights and almugavars to take the city, because the Apostolic was planning that the King of France should have the island of Mallorca, which the Lord King En Pedro wished to defend.

And when the feast was over the Lord King called the Lord Infante En Alfonso and the admiral and said to them: "Infante, We wish that you prepare, incontinent, to cross over to Mallorca with five hundred knights, and besiege it, and the admiral will go with you. And the matter will be so ordained that, a few days after your arrival, the city will be surrendered to you, and all the island; and Ibiza the same. And do not delay, rather let it be done at once." And the Lord Infante answered: "What you command will be done; behold me ready. Settle who you wish should go with me."

And the admiral, who was a very wise knight, said to the Lord King: "Lord, your pardon; be pleased to forgive what I wish to ask you." Said the Lord King to the admiral: "Speak in all safety." "Lord, then, may it please you to tell the admiral what it is that moves you to send us to Mallorca?" Said the Lord King to the admiral: "Well said, and it is my pleasure that the Infante and you should know it. It is the truth, of which we are certain, from letters we have from friends of ours in Genoa and in Venice and in Pisa, that the Pope wishes to arrange that the King of France shall have the island of Mallorca, belonging to Our brother, by surrender or by force. And the pressure he can use is that the King of Mallorca would fear what the King of France would do to his two sons (whom he holds in Paris) who are his eldest sons. If he will not give up the island to him voluntarily, he would tell him he will cut off the heads of his two sons unless he gives it up; also, that he will take from him Montpellier and Roussillon and Conflans and Cerdagne. And so in short, I do not think that he can dare to

say no; wherefore it is necessary that We should protect Our brother on this occasion, and Ourselves and Our country. Through Mallorca, the whole of Catalonia might be lost, by the help of the communes who greatly covet it and would willingly join in and help the Pope and the King of France with money. We have let Our brother, the King of Mallorca, know this and he is of the same opinion. Wherefore he has commanded some of the notables of the city to pretend they are being forced to do it, but that, incontinent, in a few days, they should surrender the country to the Infante. And so you will have the city soon and the King of Mallorca, Our brother, will be out of danger and we shall not be under any suspicion. But if once the forces of the King of France and of the communes entered in, the King of Mallorca could never go there again. And to him it is the same if we have it or he; when peace is made and he has his sons back in his territory, We shall at once surrender it to him." And the admiral said: "Lord, you have planned very wisely both for yourself and for the King of Mallorca, and I say to you that the only thing I was afraid of in this war was that the island of Mallorca might be against us." "Then, Admiral," said the Lord King, "prepare to go to Salou in the galleys and there have lenys fitted out to carry all you require; the Infante shall go anon to Tarragona and We shall send him richs homens and knights to the number of five hundred knights by whom he will be well accompanied. And We wish that En Conrado Lansa go with you, who is a fine speaker and very wise. And you shall ordain that he goes into the city to speak to the notables and En Asberto de Mediona likewise, who has seen and heard much. And act in such wise that Our followers do not touch even a cabbage and destroy nothing; for it is ordained that, when you have been there a few days, the city will surrender to you, and afterwards all the island. But it is best it should not be done at once, but rather that it should appear to be done by force, so that the Frenchmen cannot entertain an evil suspicion against Our brother, the King of Mallorca. His peril touches Us as nearly as if it were Our own, and that of his sons as if it were Our sons' peril. Therefore it is needful for Us and for him that We do Our business wisely, considering the people We have to contend with. God in His mercy help Us in it, and may it please Him that they deal with such good faith with Our brother the

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King of Mallorca, as he does and will do, and it will please Us if they never find in him anything but truth and all loyalty. For he and I were born of such parents that it would not be seemly that We should be found to be otherwise, by friends or by foes. However many enemies a man may have, it should not weaken his loyalty. And so prepare to go at a suitable hour."

And the admiral took leave at once of the Lord King and went to embark and set his course for Salou with all the galleys; and En Ramon Marquet and En Berenguer Mallol did likewise in their galleys. And the Lord Infante also, at the end of four days, had taken leave of the Lord King, his father, who blessed him and gave him his grace and his blessing; and he went to Tarragona. And the Lord King sent him the chivalry and two thousand almugavars. And this was done in order that it should appear that they had been able to take the city and the island by force. If he had gone over with few followers it would be very evident that they surrendered with the consent of the King of Mallorca and they would have run great risks by that, as has been said before.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of the Lord Infante and of the admiral who are preparing to embark and I will turn to speak to you again of the King of Aragon.

CXLII

How, having read the letter of the Lord King of Aragon, the King of Mallorca sent an armed barge with secret letters to the noble En Ponce Saguardia, governor in Mallorca; and how the Lord King En Pedro prepared to go to Játiva to set his nephews free and make Don Alfonso King of Castile.

And as soon as they had departed from the Lord King, he, with his own hand, wrote a letter to the King of Mallorca. What he wrote to him you can all imagine, according to the words you have heard before. And when the King of Mallorca had received the letters of the Lord King of Aragon, his brother, he sent an armed barge to Mallorca with letters he wrote with his own hand to the noble En Ponce Saguardia, who was his deputy in

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Mallorca; and so likewise he sent secret letters to other notables of Mallorca. What he told them I do not know, but you can all imagine it.

And when the Lord King of Aragon had had an answer from the Lord King of Mallorca he departed from Barcelona, joyous and content, to go to Salou, to help the Lord Infante and to send him off quickly. And then he purposed to go to the Kingdom of Valencia to bring Don Alfonso and Don Fernando of Castile,¹¹⁷ his nephews, out of Játiva and to make Don Alfonso King of Castile, in order to revenge himself upon his nephew, King En Sancho of Castile, who had so failed him in his need and had not kept what he had promised him. And so he wished to revenge himself in such manner that all the world might take warning from it.

CXLIII

How the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon leaving Barcelona to go to Játiva began to sicken with a cold; and how he was seized with fever at Vilafranca de Panadés where he made his will and received the precious body of Jesus Christ.

And when he had departed from Barcelona, as he rose very early in the morning, he caught cold and with this cold came a burning fever, so that he suffered much on the road, in such manner that he had to stop at San Climent. And they sent at once to Barcelona to maestre A. de Vilanova¹¹⁸ and others, and they had his water taken in the morning and examined it, and all said that he had taken cold, and that it was nothing. And, that day, he rode and went to Vilafranca de Panadés and when he arrived there the illness grew worse, so that he had a great deal of fever. And when the fever was alleviated, he summoned his clerk with whom he transacted his secret affairs, and made his will, well and in regular form that day; and then, on

¹¹⁷The de la Cerda princes.

¹¹⁸Arnaldo de Vilanova. His fame as a physician and a philosopher was widespread; by some he was considered a heretic and a wizard for his opinions and his scientific knowledge, which were in advance of his time.

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the following day, he examined it and, on the day after, again. And when he had examined it all and had it all done according to his wish, he had it published and had as witnesses prelates and richs homens and knights and franklins and townsmen. And when this was done he confessed many times to the bishop and to the abbot of Santas-Creus and to Preachers and Minorites, and cleared his conscience and then received the Saviour very devoutly, weeping, with tears overflowing his eyes, in the presence of all whom the chamber could hold. And all who were there wept likewise. And when he had done this and the illness increased every hour, the news of it went through all the country and reached the Lord Infante, who had already embarked.

And when he heard it, he thought it advisable to go to his father. And when he came to him and the Lord King saw him, he said to him: "Infante, who has given you this advice to come to Us? Are you a physician who could advise in Our illness? We are well aware that you know you are not, and so We do not need you. And if it please Our Lord and true God that We pass from this life at this juncture, then, as little are you wanted, for We have made and published Our will already. Therefore return and embark at a suitable hour, for your going is for the advantage of God and of your Kingdom and for that of Our brother, the King of Mallorca, and delay might cause great damage."

And upon this the Lord Infante kissed his feet and his hands and the Lord King kissed him on the mouth and gave him his blessing and made the sign of the Cross over him more than ten times. And, at once, he left and went to embark at Salou, by the favour of God.

CXLIV

How the Lord Infants En Alfonso went to the island of Mallorca and how he besieged the city and a few days later entered into parley with the notables.

And as soon as he had embarked the wind blew from the land and they put on all sail and in a short time came to the island of Mallorca and landed

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at Porrassa and, there, landed all the horses; and the Lord Infante with all the chivalry and all the almugavars went to pitch his tents at Torres Lavaneras and the admiral went there with all the galleys.

And when all were on land, the Lord Infante had a proclamation made that, under pain of death, no one should pillage or do any hurt or damage whatever to the huerta, nor to anything there. And when this was done, within a few days, they entered into parley with each other, so that En Conrado Lansa went into the city many times for the Lord King of Aragon, to speak with the governor and with the notables; and anon he went from the city to the Lord Infante and anon returned to it.

Now I shall let them be who are at their parleys and shall turn again to speak of the Lord King of Aragon.

CXLV

How the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon had his testament read out a second time in the presence of the archbishop of Tarragona and eight bishops; and how he left the Infante En Alfonso universal heir of the Kingdom of Aragon and of Catalonia and of the Kingdom of Valencia, and the Lord Infante En Jaime, King of Sicily.

And when the Lord Infante had departed from the Lord King, on the following day, the Lord King wished that his testament should be read out again in the presence of the archbishop of Tarragona¹¹⁹ (who was there with full eight bishops, all natives of the territory of the Lord King of Aragon), and of abbots and friars and men in orders and richs homens and knights and citizens and townsmen. And when all were in the presence of the Lord King, the testament was so loudly read that all heard; and he left, as his executors, the archbishop of Tarragona and the bishop of Barcelona and the abbot of Santas Creus, and richs homens and knights, all worthy and wise

¹¹⁹Bernardo de Olivella

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and discreet and good Christians; and he disposed that all wrongs that, to their knowledge, he might have done should be righted.

And he disposed that his body should be buried in the monastery of Santas Creus, which is a very eminent monastery of monks, and is about six leagues from the said place, Vilafranca. And he left the Lord Infante En Alfonso absolute heir of the Kingdom of Aragon and of Catalonia and of the Kingdom of Valencia; and he left him all the rights belonging to the crown of Aragon, and the county of Barcelona and the Kingdom of Valencia, in all the four quarters of the world. And, besides, he left the said Lord Infante En Alfonso an injunction, commending to him my Lady the Queen, his mother, that she should all her life be Lady and Queen and that she should never lose his love, and that he love her and honour her as one having the best lady and the most virtuous mother there is in the world. And, besides, he left him the Lord Infante En Pedro, who was his younger brother, to give him advice, and a mode of life becoming a king's son; besides, he left him his sister, my Lady the Infanta Violante, to whom he was bound to give, as husband, a king of high lineage. Besides, he left the Kingdom of Sicily, with all the rights pertaining to it in the four quarters of the world, to the Lord Infante En Jaime, who came after the Lord Infante En Alfonso in years; and he left a clause that, if the Lord Infante En Alfonso should die without children of a legal marriage, that he make over the Kingdom of Aragon and of Catalonia and the Kingdom of Valencia, with all the rights belonging to all three, to the Lord Infante En Jaime, in the same way as he was leaving it to the Lord Infante En Alfonso. And, if peradventure, the said Lord En Jaime should die before the Lord Infante En Alfonso, that the Kingdom of Sicily should remain to the Lord Infante En Fadrique; and that he left the said Lord Infante En Fadrique in the power of the Lord Infante En Jaime, to establish him in such mode of life as becomes a king's son. And, again, he directed likewise that my Lady the Queen should always, during her life, be Lady and Mistress and Queen, and that he love and honour her, as he had directed the Lord Infante En Alfonso. And so likewise concerning the Infanta my Lady Violante, their sister; that he was bound to give her for husband a king of high lineage. And then the

will contained many other things I need not relate, as they do not concern my matter.

And when the will was read and published the Lord King asked all, as loyal vassals, to tell him whether it seemed good to them. And all praised it as, assuredly it was wisely and perfectly made and with great deliberation, as it became him to do who was the wisest Lord of the world and the most experienced in all matters, And when this was done and published, the Lord King was well comforted, and everyone thought that he was much better. But next day, which was the eve of the blessed Saint Martin, the illness increased, and all that day and night he suffered much anguish. And next day, the day of the blessed monsenyer Saint Martin (a very gracious and worthy knight of God) Our Lord wished to call to His Kingdom this Lord King En Pedro, King of Aragon, the most accomplished knight of the world and the wisest and most generous of all men ever born, one who had more graces in his person than any man that ever was.

Besides, he left four sons, the wisest and most accomplished in arms and all feats that were in the world, and the most courteous and the best nurtured. And he left two daughters, one who was Queen of Portugal and the other, who was a maiden. And besides, all his life, he took vengeance of all who had done him and his sons a wrong, and overcame all his enemies, and increased the Holy Catholic faith and multiplied it; and he killed or vanquished many wicked Saracens. What shall I tell you? You will find in no legend whatever that God ever showed so much favour and mercy to any king. And again, his sons were of an age to reign, so that the House of Aragon needed not to delay even one day in prosecuting what he had begun. God saw that he was not wanted, such good sons had he; and so He wished, that day, to put him in the company of the baron, Saint Martin; so that death came to him.

And when the King knew that his end was near he took leave of all, commended to them my Lady the Queen and his children, and then he made the sign of the Cross over them and blessed them.

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CXLVI

How the Lord King En Pedro of Aragon passed from this life and was buried in the monastery of Santas Creus; and how the executors sent a galley to Mallorca to the Lord King En Alfonso of Aragon and to Sicily to the Lord King En Jaime, King of Sicily.

And when this was done he had a crucifix given to him, which was opposite to him, and he received it in his hands weeping with great devotion and said many good orisons. And when he had done this he lifted his eyes to Heaven and made the sign of the Cross three times and then embraced the crucifix and crossed his arms over it and said: "Father, Lord, the true God Jesus Christ, in Thy hands I commend my spirit. And may it please Thee, by the Holy Passion Thou didst suffer, to receive my soul in Paradise with the blessed monsenyer Saint Martin, of whom all the Christians of the world celebrate the feast to-day, and with the other blessed saints."

And when he had said this he lifted his eyes to Heaven and his soul left his body, in the year 1285, the day of Saint Martin [Nov. 11]; and he went to the other saints in Paradise, as if he were an infant going to join the angels in Paradise. God, in His mercy, wished it to be thus and so we must all be of opinion that he is with the blessed Saint Martin and with the other saints in Paradise, for no Christian ever made so good an end as he did, nor with greater contrition.

And when the Lord King had passed from this life you might have seen mourning and weeping and cries, such as never had been made or heard. And whilst all were weeping the executors, those who were in that village, had already had a galley equipped at Barcelona, when they saw that the Lord King was ill. And as soon as he had expired, they chose a wise and good knight and gave him two authentic copies of the will of the Lord King and commanded him to embark at once, at Barcelona, in the galley he would find apparelled, and to set his course for Mallorca and to go where he would find the Lord King En Alfonso, King of Aragon. And when he

came to where he was, that no man should go on shore but only he, and that he let no man approach the galley. And when he was there, that he speak in private with the said Lord King and with the admiral and tell them the death of the Lord King and give them one of the copies of the testament. And as soon as he had done this, that he embark and go to Sicily, and that he set his course for Sicily before any other man. And, when he was in Sicily, that he tell my Lady the Queen and the Lord King En Jaime, King of Sicily, and the Lord Infante En Fadrique the death of the Lord King and that he give the Lord King En Jaime the other copy of the will. And the knight said that he was ready to do what they commanded. And he went to Barcelona and found the galley ready for embarkation, and at once they rowed hard and departed.

Now I shall cease to speak of the galley and shall turn to speak of the Lord King of Aragon. As I have told you already, the mourning was great throughout all the land, for messengers went to all parts. And on the following day there came more than a thousand people, and from Tarragona and from all the country of Panadés more than five thousand, so that so many people assembled that there was not room for them at Vilafranca nor for two leagues around. And next day, with a great procession, they carried the body to Santas Creus and there they celebrated the Holy Office very solemnly, for he had been absolved and had sworn obedience to Holy Church. And there were sermons and all the ceremonies it was fit to celebrate for such a lord. And you might see there, from the time he had passed from this life until he was buried, more than ten thousand people, each holding a large taper. And when the Lord King had been buried all went back to their lands and everywhere they found great lamenting and great weeping. God, in His mercy, have his soul, Amen. Dead is he who would have been another Alexander in the world, if he had only lived ten years longer.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of him, and shall turn to speak again of the messenger who is going in the galley to Mallorca and Sicily.

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CXLVI

How the death of the Lord King En Pedro became known in Mallorca and in Sicily; and of the laments and weeping of all the people of Messina.

When the galley had departed from Barcelona, within a few days it was at Mallorca, where it found the Lord King of Aragon En Alfonso at Torres Lavaneras; and the knight did all the executors of the Lord King had commanded and even more, for he went on shore in the most beautiful garments he had; and this was wisely done; wherefore, as the notable says: "Send a wise man and do not tell him what to do." Wherefore every lord, city or town should endeavour, when sending a messenger, to send the wisest they can, for a good messenger does honour to his lord or his community and brings what he has to do to a good issue.

And when he had spoken with the Lord King and with the admiral, he embarked and steered for Sicily and in a short time he came to Sicily and found my Lady the Queen and the Lord En Jaime, King of Sicily, and the Infante En Fadrique at Messina and told them the news and did all he had been commanded to do. And when the death was published and the testament was read at Messina, you might see mourning and weeping throughout all Sicily and all Calabria; for full eight days there was nothing but weeping.

CXLVIII

How the Infante En Jaime was crowned King of Sicily at Palermo and of the great feasts that were made there; and how he had twenty galleys equipped and made En Berenguer de Sarriá commander thereof.

And when the mourning was over, the Lord King commanded throughout all Sicily and Calabria that, on a fixed day, every man should be at Palermo for the [1285] feast, for he would be crowned King of Sicily and of all the dominion. And the letters went out to all parts and when

they had gone out the Lord King and my Lady the Queen and the Infante En Fadrique went to Palermo; and when they were there the feast began, a very great feast, and the day came when the Lord King En Jaime was crowned with the crown of Sicily, in so good an hour and under such favour of God that there never was a king so gracious or so fortunate for his people, and is still and will be for many years, if it be God's pleasure. After he was crowned, if the people of Sicily and Calabria had sown stones, they would have reaped fine wheat and oats. Indeed there were, in Sicily and in Calabria, twenty castles of richs homens, each of whom lived at greater expense than a king, and all had riches enough. And his court was rich, and full of treasure and of all goods, wherefore he can be called En Jaime the Fortunate.

And when the feast was over, he returned to Messina and at once had twenty galleys equipped and made captain thereof a knight he loved much, called En Berenguer de Sarriá. There were two brothers of that name, one the said En Berenguer de Sarriá who was the elder, and the other En Vidal de Sarriá, about each of whom, as I have told you before concerning En G. Galceran, a book might assuredly be made, of their prowess and of their deeds of chivalry and of arms; and especially of the said En Berenguer who was and has been and is still the most splendid knight that ever was in Spain. And he has had a lord who has acknowledged it fully, namely this Lord King of Sicily who, at a later time, made him a noble, as you shall hear further on in due place and time.

CXLIX

How the noble En Berenguer de Sarriá harried all the coast of Amalfi as far as the fief of Rome where he captured galleys, lenys and barges.

As soon as the twenty galleys were equipped and he had made En Berenguer de Sarriá captain thereof, he ordered him to embark and set his course for Naples, to know what was being done there; and then, to turn to Scicli and to sail along the coast as far as the fief of Rome; and when he had returned, to pass into Calabria, for he wished to let his enemies know that

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the King of Aragon was not dead, but rather that, whereas formerly they had to fight one King, henceforth they would have to fight two, who were one heart, one body and one mind.

And when the King had said this, En Berenguer de Sarriá took leave of him and of my Lady the Queen and of the Infante En Fadrique and embarked at a suitable hour, in the keeping of God. And he coasted along all Calabria and came to Cape Palinuro, and from Cape Palinuro he put out to sea and set his course for the coast of Amalfi; and this coast is inhabited by the worst people and the greatest pirates there are in the world, especially a village called Positano. And he thought that, if he harried the coast of Amalfi he would do four good things for the service of the Lord King of Sicily and his people, and of the Lord King of Aragon and his people as well. One was that he would avenge the damage these people had done in the former wars; the other, that, as they would be destroyed they could thenceforth do no more evil; another, that it would be the greatest deed of arms and the most useful done in those parts for a long time.

And, as he had decided on doing, so it was done and accomplished; and before dawn of day he landed there and had all his followers on shore near the city of San Andres of Amalfi; and he ravaged all the mountain country. And so he stayed there four days and sacked and burnt Mayori and Minori and Ravello and Positano and all the villages that were on the mountain. And he stayed with raised banner and went on burning and pillaging all he found, and he surprised the wicked inhabitants of Positano in bed, so that all came to the same end; and he burnt galleys and lenys drawn up on shore and left not one there, nor in any place on the coast.

And when he had burnt and pillaged all, he embarked and went to Sorrento and did the same there; and he would have done the same at Castellamare, had it not been for much chivalry which had come from Naples. What shall I tell you? He entered the port of Naples and took away ships and lenys and burnt some and then he sailed along the coast as far as the fief of Rome and took ships and lenys and galleys which he sent to

Sicily. And when the Apostolic¹²⁰ knew the great alarm there was along all the coast and at the mouth of the fief of Rome, where En Berenguer de Sarriá had taken all the lenys that were there, he asked what this commotion was. And they said to him: "Holy Father, it is a knight of Sicily, called En Berenguer de Sarriá, who has come with twenty Sicilian galleys and has burnt and pillaged all the coast of Amalfi and the port of Naples and has harried all the coast and from here, from the fief of Rome, has taken away galleys, lenys, and barges, and nothing can stand up against him." "Ah, God," said the Pope, "what is this? He who fights against the House of Aragon has to fight against so many devils, for each of these knights of Catalonia is a devil incarnate and nothing can resist them, neither by land nor by sea. Would to God that they were reconciled with the Church, for they are people with whom We should conquer the world and put down all infidels; wherefore I pray God to send peace between them and Holy Church. And God forgive Pope Martin who cast them out of the Church. But if We can, We will shortly reconcile them, if it please God, for they are most valiant and worthy people. It is not many days since they have lost their lord, who was the most accomplished knight of the world, and I believe that his sons, who thus begin, are the same."

CL

How the Lord King En Jaime of Sicily passed into Calabria to wage war; and how he took it all easily except the castle of Stilero.

And when En Berenguer de Sarriá had done all this, he returned with much booty to Sicily, where he found the Lord King who was very pleased with what he had done; and so were all the Sicilians, because of the great hurt those wicked men had done them daily. And as soon as the galleys were at Messina, the Lord King crossed into Calabria with a great retinue and went to visit all his territories; and, as often as he rode into territory

¹²⁰Honorius IV.

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which was not yet his, all surrendered to him, so that assuredly, if the admiral had been at Naples at that time with his fleet, the King would have gone there straight. What more should I tell you about it? He easily took all Calabria, except the castle of Stilero, as I have told you already; but he took Taranto and the Principality and Cape Leuca and Otranto, which is a fine city and an archbishopric, extending from this side of the Principality as far as San Hilario, nearly thirty miles. And when the Lord King had conquered what was around him, he went about Calabria, disporting and hunting, for it is the healthiest province of the world and the most fruitful in all restoratives and has the best waters and the best fruit of the world. And there were, in Calabria, many propertied richs homens, knights, natives of Catalonia and Aragon and of the country itself. And so the Lord King went from banquet to banquet and from diversion to diversion. And whilst the Lord King went about thus, disporting, En Berenguer de Sarriá came to Messina with the galleys and he had made much gain in this expedition also.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of him and will turn to speak of the Lord King of Aragon.

CLI

How the Lord King En Alfonso of Aragon on hearing of the death of his father hastened in such manner that in a short time he took Mallorca and Ibiza and returned to Barcelona where a feast was made for him.

When the Lord King of Aragon had had the message of the death of his father, he had his affairs hastened in such manner that, two days after he had received [1285] the message, the city of Mallorca surrendered to him, and the noble En Ponce Saguardia entered the Order of the Templars. And then, two days after the city had surrendered, the death of the Lord King En Pedro was published and the will read and you would have seen the greatest weeping and crying and lamenting of the world. Shall I tell you more about it? The mourning lasted full six days, during which no man did any work in the city. And when the mourning was over, the noble En

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Ponce Saguardia surrendered to the Lord King and the Lord King had him and all his company, who wished to go with him, taken safe and sound to Colibre and from Colibre they went to Perpignan. And the Lord King of Mallorca received him very well and always showed him much honour. And so he should, for he always served him very well and he was of the best knights of the world.

And when the Lord King En Alfonso had sent En Ponce Saguardia away, he left, as procurator of the city and of the island, Gesbert de Mediona, and he left a good company with him. And then he took leave of the city and of all the notables from outside who had come there, and he went and set his course for Ibiza.

Now it is true that, whilst he was besieging the city of Mallorca, he had sent to Ibiza, to know the intention of the inhabitants, whether they would surrender to him. And the notables of Ibiza promised him that, what the city of Mallorca would do, they would do also. Wherefore he went to Ibiza and, at once, the notables received him with great honour and he entered the castle. And he stayed two days and left there a very wise and expert knight, called En Lloret, as castellan.¹²¹ And he took leave and went to Barcelona and there a great feast was made for him. And from Barcelona, he sent into all his dominions a message to richs homens and citizens and townsmen that they should be with him at Saragossa on a fixed day.

CLII

How the admiral En Roger de Luria harried all the coast of Provence and sacked Serignan and Agde and Vias without any women or child under fifteen, or man over sixty years old being killed.

When the Lord King had sent his letters to all parts, to say what day he assigned for them to be at Saragossa because he wished to celebrate his

¹²¹'Castellan' is used, in Aragon, only when the warden is a knight of the Order of St. John of Aragon.

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coronation feast, the admiral came to him and said: "Lord, you have given fifty days for every man to be at Saragossa at your coronation feast; but to me, it means much that the companies of the galleys should be thus idle. And therefore, by the leave of God and yours, I shall go and ravage the coast from here to Marseilles and I shall act in such wise that, with the help of God, I shall soon be back, in time to be at Saragossa for your coronation." Said the Lord King to the admiral: "You say well."

And when he was at sea, off Cape Leucate, he went to the beach of the grau of Serignan and there, at dawn, set his followers on shore, and he went forth with about a hundred men on horseback; and when it was day they were at Serignan and they sacked all Serignan and all the country. And the alarm went through all the district and reached the city of Beziers which is at a distance of two leagues. And the host of Beziers went forth and came to Serignan, and there were thirty thousand men, counting those from other places who joined the host of Beziers.

And the admiral said to his followers "Barons, this is the day on which the House of Aragon and its followers will earn honour and glory for all time in all this district. I see that these are a people easy to kill; they have never seen a raging man. Therefore let us attack full and straight; you will see they will only show us their backs. And the raid shall be royal: what each man takes shall be his own. Yet I command every man under the penalty for treason, that he take neither goods nor horse until the battle is ended." And to this they all agreed. And meanwhile the host approached, thinking they had nothing more to do than to tie up prisoners.

With that, when they were so near that the darts could make play and the cross-bows be drawn, the trumpets and nakers sounded. And the admiral with the horsemen, attacked the horsemen of the other side, of whom there were full three hundred, some French, some of the country. And the almugavars, of whom there were full two thousand, proceeded to send their darts of which not one missed but every one killed a man or wounded him mortally; and the cross-bowmen discharged their weapons all together. So that, so great was the effect made by the admiral and his company at the beginning, shouting "Aragon! Aragon!" that the enemy all turned together, those on horseback as well as those afoot. And the admiral

and the others were upon them. What shall I tell you? The pursuit lasted to within a league of Beziers and would have lasted as far as the city, but it was vesper-time and the admiral feared they would not be able to return to the galleys by daylight, and they were on the worst beach there is, East or West. And so he rallied his followers and made them return. And thus returning, they searched the field. And they need not be asked about the great gain they made. And when it was night, they came to the beach in front of the galleys and they burnt and sacked all Serignan, except the church of Our Lady Saint Mary of Serignan.

And they of Beziers and of the other places assembled at Beziers, and they had lost so many people that they saw well that, if the admiral returned next day, they could not defend the city against him, if they had not men from outside with them. And so they sent out the cry of alarm that night throughout all that district to men to come and defend the city of Beziers, for they had lost the greater part of their people. And they could say so truly for, out of ten, not two returned, and so all died, whilst the admiral, when he reviewed his company, found that he had lost not more than seven of the men afoot. In the morning many people came to Beziers, but the admiral had no care of that, but, before midnight, he and his followers embarked and went to the grau of Agde, so that he was there at dawn and landed his followers. And the light galleys and armed lenys went tip by the canal of Vias, and the large galleys went to the city of Agde and in each of these places they took all the lenys and barges they found.

And the admiral, with half of the men on horseback and half of the almugavars, and with a great number of the slave crews, went to the city of Agde and took it and sacked the whole of it; but he did not allow any woman or any child to be killed, but the men over fifteen and under sixty were all put to the sword, and the others were spared. And he pillaged and sacked all the city except what belonged to the bishopric, for he never allowed any damage to be done to the Church, nor any man to dishonour a woman. Those two things the admiral always held to, that he did not consent to any damage to the Church, nor that even the value of a button be taken from her, and so likewise that no woman whatever be dishonoured, or despoiled, or her person touched. Wherefore God counted

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it to him for a merit and gave him many victories and granted him a good end.

And his other company went to the town of Vias, some by land, some up the canal, and they likewise laid all waste and took everything there was, lenys and barges of which there were many up the canal. And so, likewise, the alarm went through all the district. And they of Sentiberi¹²² and of Lupia and of Giga came down to the sea, but when they came near Agde news met them that they of Beziers had been taken on the previous day. And when they heard this they prepared to turn back, but they did not make so much haste that the horsemen and the almugavars did not overtake more than four thousand and kill them with their lances, and then returned to Agde and stayed there four days, pillaging and ravaging all the district.

And when they had done this, the admiral made all his followers embark and he set his course for Aiguesmortes and he found ships, lenys and galleys, and all he found he took and sent to Barcelona. And then he went to Cape Spiguera and when he was in those waters he was out of reach of news and all men of that district thought he had gone to Sicily. And at night he went out to sea with the landbreeze as far as he could, so that next day he could not be seen from the land. And on the following day, when a breeze sprang up, he shaped his course for Cape Leucate and landed at night, and found there, of barges and lenys, full twenty, loaded with valuable goods, and he took them all and sent them to Barcelona. And at dawn of day he entered by the grau of Narbonne, and found there lenys and galleys and he took them all down to the sea. What shall I tell you? His gain, and that of all who were with him, was infinite; and they would have made much more had it not been for the haste he was in to return to Catalonia, to be in time for the coronation of the Lord King. And so he came out of the grau of Narbonne, with all the shipping he had taken, and set his course for Barcelona.

¹²²St. Hubert, according to Lanz.

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Now I shall cease to speak to you of the admiral En Roger de Luria and shall speak of the Lord King of Aragon.

CLIII

How the Lord King En Alfonso of Aragon went to Santas Creus where he had the sarcophagus of his father absolved and fifty masses said daily for a time.

When the admiral had taken leave of the Lord King at Barcelona, the Lord King left the city and his first journey was to go to Santas Creus, and there he summoned the archbishop of Tarragona and all the bishops of his territory and all the other prelates, so that there were well over three hundred crosiers, and ten friars of every order in his dominions. And there he and all his people mourned, and he had masses said, and a sermon was preached and, with a great procession, he had the sarcophagus of the good King En Pedro, his father, absolved, and this took place daily for ten days. And when this was over, he, to do honour to the soul of the Lord King his father, gave presents and many favours to the monastery, in order that, for a time, masses should be said daily for the soul of the good King, his father, namely fifty masses. And when he had done this he took leave of all and went to Lérida where a great feast was made for him, the greatest feast any people could make for their lord. And when the Lord King went to Saragossa everyone repaired there to await the day appointed.

But I must let the Lord King be and speak to you again of the admiral.

CLIV

How the admiral En Roger de Luria went to Tortosa with the fleet and left his nephew En Juan de Luria as head and chief of the fleet whilst he was at the coronation of the Lord King.

When the admiral had come out of the grau of Narbonne with all the shipping he had taken there, he steered for Barcelona and, in a few days, he

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was at Barcelona. And when he was there a great feast was made for him and he stayed eight days. And then he went with the fleet to Tortosa and when he was in the city of Tortosa, and the galleys came to the city, he left there, as head and chief, his nephew En Juan de Luria who was a very accomplished and expert knight. It could not be imagined that there could be in any part of the world in those days, a knight as young as he was, more just nor more wise nor more expert in arms.

And he commanded him to set his course for Spain¹²³ and to give his followers opportunity to obtain gain from the Moors who were not at peace with the Lord King of Aragon, so that they should not grow lazy whilst he was at the coronation of the Lord King.

CLV

How the Lord King En Alfonso of Aragon was crowned at Saragossa and of the feasts and sports that were held; and how En Juan de Luria burned and pillaged many places in Barbary; and how the admiral embarked to pass into Sicily.

With that En Juan de Luria, with the fleet, shaped his course for Valencia and the admiral went by land to Saragossa, with much chivalry and many good seamen he brought with him. And the Lord King received him with a very kind countenance and showed him great honour and had great joy of what he had done.

And the admiral, at once, had a very high stage erected, for he was, after the Lord King En Pedro and the King of Mallorca, the most dexterous knight thrower of daggers of an knight in Spain, and En Berenguer de

¹²³Almost up to the final expulsion of the Moors, "Espanya" usually denoted the country occupied by them in the peninsula. This is seen in several documents, for instance, in the treaty of peace between Count Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona and King Alfonso VII of Leon, II of Castile, in which Ramon Berenguer says: "Item ego Ramiundus comes convenio tibi regi Sancio ut omnem honorem tam Ispanie quam christianorum quem per patrem vestrum imperatorem teneo..."

Entenza, his brother-in-law, was very dexterous too. I have seen them both throw there. But assuredly the Lord King En Pedro and the King of Mallorca carried off the palm of throwers of all times, and each of them threw three daggers and one orange, and the last stylet was as big as the staff of a lance. And the two first always threw well over the stage. And after that he had a round platform made and the seamen had two armed lenys made, of those flat ones used on the river; on them you might have seen battles of oranges, of which they had over fifty loads brought from Valencia. And so you may be sure that the admiral made this a noble feast in all ways. What shall I tell you about it? The feast was very great and the Lord King En Alfonso was crowned amidst great joy and content. And the feast lasted more than fifteen days, and no one did anything but sing and rejoice and attend sports and diversions.

And when the feast was over, the admiral took leave of the Lord King and went to Valencia and he visited his castles and towns and villages, which he possessed there, very good and important ones. And he sent an armed leny to En Juan de Luria to bid him come. And the armed leny found him in Barbary where he had made a raid between Tunis and Algiers, had penetrated inland and taken over three hundred Saracens and burned and pillaged many villages, and taken many Saracen lenys and terides. And when En Juan de Luria received the message of the admiral, his uncle, he went and in a few days was at Valencia. And when he was at Valencia, the Admiral received him, cheerful and content, and commanded him to equip the galleys, for he wished to go to Sicily. And, as he commanded, so it was done. And when the admiral had done what there was to do in Valencia he embarked by the favour of God and shaped his course for Barbary; he went along the coast and took all the Saracens he could find.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of the admiral, who is going along Barbary and shall turn to speak of the Lord King who is at Saragossa.

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CLVI

How the Lord King En Alfonso of Aragon decided to take revenge for the breach of faith committed by King En Sancho of Castile against the Lord King En Pedro, his father, and to bring the sons of the Infante En Fernando of Castile out of the castle of Játiva, and make one of them King of Castile.

When the Lord King of Aragon had concluded the feast he gave the admiral letters to carry to my Lady the Queen, his mother, in Sicily, and to the Lord King En Jaime and to the Lord Infante En Fadrique, his brothers. And he summoned the Infante En Pedro, his brother, before his presence and that of all his council and said to him: "Brother, our father, King En Pedro, left Barcelona with the wish and intention, if God carried him safe and sound to Valencia, to take the sons of the Infante En Fernando of Castile out of Játiva; and he wished to make Don Alfonso, the eldest, King of Castile in order to be avenged on his nephew, King En Sancho of Castile who had offended against him so greatly, for in his greatest need he failed in all he had promised him. And as it has not pleased God that he might have vengeance in his lifetime, We will avenge him, We who should take over the works as well as represent the person of the Lord King, Our father. Wherefore I now wish two knights to be appointed to go to King En Sancho and defy him in Our name for the reason aforesaid. And you, Infante, apparel yourself at once with five hundred knights of Catalonia and as many of Aragon and with two hundred light horse of the Kingdom of Valencia, in such wise that, when the messengers have returned from Castile, you be ready to invade Castile and burn and lay waste all the places that will not surrender to Us for Don Alfonso, the son of the Infante En Fernando of Castile. And you shall take with you twenty thousand men afoot, good almugavars. And when this is done, We will go to the Kingdom of Valencia, and We will take these Infantes out of Játiva, and We will assemble Our hosts and together with them invade Castile; and We shall do so much that the Infantes shall be Kings of Castile, with the help of Our Lord Jesus Christ Who helps the right."

And when the Lord King had spoken, the Lord Infante En Pedro rose and said: "Lord, I have heard well what you have said to me, wherefore I thank God that He has given you this wish and intention, that you will take the revenge which the Lord King, our father, intended to take, and that you now show the valour and the great worth which are in you. Wherefore I, my Lord Brother, offer myself to act and speak in these matters and in all others you command me to do according to your wish, for in nothing will you, at any time, find me failing you. And so, arrange to settle all your other affairs which you have to do, and send the challenges, and I will provide myself with richs homens and knights of Catalonia and Aragon and of the Kingdom of Valencia, and will invade Castile with the company you, Lord, command and with many more. And be assured, Lord, that I shall enter into Castile in such good heart and mind and with such followers that, even if I knew that King En Sancho was marching against us with ten thousand men, we would fight him."

And upon this the Lord King took the hand of the Lord Infante En Pedro who was near him, but a little lower, and kissed him and said to him: "Infante, such an answer did I expect of you, and such faith have I in you."

CLVII

How, the council over, the Lord King En Alfonso of Aragon decided to defy King En Sancho of Castile and sent two knights with the challenges; and how the Infante En Pedro prepared to invade Castile.

And when the Lord King had said this, they of the council rose, and he who rose first said: "Lord, praised and thanked be Our Lord the true God, Who has shown so much favour to your dominions in so well providing them with good and valiant and bold Lords, full of worth; we are always going from good to better, so that we should all be cheerful and content. It is the truth that this is the first enterprise that you, Lord, have undertaken since your coronation; and it is the greatest enterprise ever undertaken by any Lord, for four reasons. The first is that you are declaring war against

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one of the powerful lords of the world and against your nearest neighbour. The other, that you are already at war with the Roman Church and with the House of France and with the forces of King Charles, so that one may say, with all the world. The third is that you may count on it that, when the King of Granada sees you engaged in such arduous affairs, you may believe that he will break the truce he made with the Lord King, your father; and so, likewise, that all the communes of the world as the Church is against you, will be against you too. And so, Lord, reckon that You will be at war with two of the greatest powers in the world. But, nevertheless, as you have set your heart on this, and maintain truth and righteousness in all things, count on it, that God, Who is truth and righteousness, will be on your side, and as He brought your father, the Lord King, victorious and with great honour out of the war so, if He pleases, He will bring you and us all. And I say to you, for myself and for all my friends, that I offer myself as long as I have life and all I have, and that I shall not fail you; rather, Lord, I beg you to reckon on me in the straitest place you see or know, and take for your assistance all I and my friends possess. Again, take my sons and my daughters and use them as hostages as need may be, wherever you please."

And when this rich hom had spoken, another rose and spoke similarly. What shall I tell you? One by one they all rose and each offered himself fully, as the first had done. And upon this the Lord King gave them many thanks and spoke many good words to them. And at once, they chose two knights, one Catalan and the other Aragonese, whom the King sent to Castile [1289] with the challenges. And at once the Lord Infante, before he left Aragon, had five hundred knights written down to go with him. And I shall not say to you five hundred, for if he wanted two thousand he could have had them. It was not necessary he should ask any; rather, all came to offer themselves to him and to beg that it be his pleasure that they should go with him. But he wanted no more, only as many as the Lord King had ordained. And when this was done they went to Catalonia and there, also, all the richs homens and knights of Catalonia came and offered themselves to him. And so, in a few days, he had the full complement of five hundred knights and many retainers. And of the Kingdom of Valencia I need not tell

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you, for, as if it were to gain indulgences, they went to where he was, to offer themselves to him. And so he had all the company he needed in a short time, the best arrayed ever seen following a lord. And to all he assigned a day on which to be at Calatayud in Aragon.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of the Lord Infante and shall turn to speak of the Lord King.

CLVIII

How the Lord King En Alfonso of Aragon received the crown of the Kingdom of Valencia and took his cousins out of Játiva; and how he decided to invade Castile in person with all his men; and how as he was marching to Castile there came a message to him from the count of Ampurias that the French wished to invade Ampurdan.

It is the truth that when the Lord King had ordained all the matter of the Lord Infante and had sent his messengers to the King of Castile to defy him, he went to the Kingdom of Valencia, and when he entered the city a great feast was made for him. And on the day assigned, all the barons of the said kingdom came there, knights and townsmen. And when they and many other people, were all assembled, he received the crown of the Kingdom of Valencia with great solemnity.

And when the feast was over, he took out of Játiva when he was there (for he went there as soon as the feast was over) out of the castle of Játiva, Don Alfonso and Don Fernando, sons of the Infante En Fernando of Castile; and he had a beautiful banner made, with the device of the King of Castile, and he apparelled many men, horse and foot, with whom to invade Castile on one side with Don Alfonso, whilst the Infante En Pedro invaded Castile on the other.

And whilst this was being arranged, it pleased God that the Lord Infante En Pedro fell seriously ill, and a letter came to the Lord King in which the richs homens and knights let him know that they were already all at Calatayud and asked him to command what they should do. And when the Lord King heard this he was much displeased, but he agreed that

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it was better that he should go to Calatayud himself and take Don Alfonso and Don Fernando there, and that they should make an invasion all together from there. And so he sent to tell them to await him.

And, at once, he went to Calatayud with all the people he ordered to follow him, and in a few days he was there with many followers. And he found the Lord Infante En Pedro had not recovered, rather had he grown much worse. He at once proceeded with the invasion, and he had full two thousand armed horse and five hundred light horse and full a hundred thousand men afoot. And he ordained that Don Alfonso of Castile should command the van, and that his banner should be the first. And this he did because all the barons and cities and towns of Castile had sworn fealty to the Infante En Fernando, father of Don Alfonso, after the death of Don Alfonso, King of Castile. And therefore the King Philip of France had given his sister, my Lady Blanche, to the Infante En Fernando to wife, otherwise he would not have given her, if he had known that the sons of this marriage would not be kings of Castile. And in this order they penetrated eight journeys into Castile, and went straight to where they knew that King Don Sancho, their uncle, was. And, assuredly, King Don Sancho had made preparation, for he had with him full twelve thousand armed horse and innumerable men afoot. And when the Lord King of Aragon knew that he had so much chivalry with him and that there was not more than a league from one host to the other, he sent him a message to say that he had come to avenge the wrong he had done to the good king, his father, and to make Don Alfonso, his nephew, king as he should be. Wherefore, if he was what a king's son should be, let him come out to do battle with him.

And when King En Sancho heard this he was very sorrowful; but, nevertheless, he thought that all the Lord King had sent to say to him was true and that no man would go to war against him and his nephew, rather that everyone would defend them against all men. The Lord King of Aragon awaited him in that place four days, for he would not leave it until King En Sancho had departed. And then he returned, taking and sacking towns and villages which would not submit to Don Alfonso of Castile. However, a fine village called Seron, which is near Soria, and many other villages surrendered to him. And he, at once, made them swear fealty to

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Don Alfonso as King of Castile, and so he left Don Alfonso in those places which had surrendered to him and he left him full a thousand horsemen and many afoot who were almugavars and seamen, and he left with them all they needed, and also ordained that, if he needed help from the men on the frontiers of Aragon, they should give him aid at once. And, assuredly at that time, he would have torn all Castile from King Don Sancho, had not a message come to him from Ampurdan, from the count of Ampurias and from Viscount Rocaberti, in which they informed him that a great gathering of the people of Languedoc was preparing to invade [1287] Ampurdan in the name of the King of France and so, that they craved of his mercy to come and help them. And so the Lord King, for this reason, had to leave Castile, and he left the said Don Alfonso of Castile and Don Fernando in the places which had surrendered to him, thus ordained and strengthened as you have heard already. What shall I tell you? They ever remained thus.

From the time the Lord King of Aragon had entered Castile until he returned to Aragon and Catalonia was nearly three months. And so you can imagine that there is no other king in the world who would, out of his goodness, do so much for another as he did for those two Infantes. And when he was in Calatayud he found that the Lord Infante En Pedro was much better and he took him with him to Catalonia and gave him the same power in his territory which he had himself, because he loved him more than anything in the world. And he did well to love him, for he was very wise and handsome and accomplished in all matters.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of the Lord King and of the Lord Infante who are in Catalonia, and shall turn to speak of the admiral.

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CLIX

How the admiral En Roger de Luria on the way to Sicily ravaged Barbary and harried the island of Jerba and Tolmetta and won the battle of Matagrifon and fought with the French at Brindisi and took the bridge from them and arrived at Messina where a great feast was made for him.

It is the truth that when the French were defeated and left Catalonia, the Lord King En Pedro went to Barcelona and gave the admiral, to him and his men, the island of Jerba; and also, he gave him fine and important castles and villages in the Kingdom of Valencia. And so the admiral was cheerful and content for many reasons. No man could have been more cheerful than he was were it not for the death of the Lord King En Pedro which grieved him much. And so you have heard already how he took leave of the Lord King En Alfonso, how he returned to Saragossa, and then how he went to the Kingdom of Valencia to visit his places, and then how he embarked and went along the coast of Barbary. And as he went along Barbary, he sacked villages and took ships and lenys, and, as he took them, he sent them to Valencia, to his deputy. And he went thus, coasting along all Barbary until he came to Jerba, and at Jerba he settled and ordered the island, and he raided all Ris, which is on the mainland; and they of Ris submitted to him and promised to pay what they of Jerba were paying and that they would be his subjects like they of Jerba.

And when this was done and he had refreshed his followers, he shaped his course for Tolmetta, sailing along the coast and so, likewise, he took many well loaded barges and captured many slaves, male and female; and he took ships and lenys laden with spices, coming from Alexandria and Tripoli, and he took all this. And when he was beyond Tunis he sent everything to Messina. What shall I tell you? He took Tolmetta and pillaged all the city, except the castle which is strongly walled and is held by Jews, and he attacked it one day. And on the following day he had prepared his scaling-ladders to fight and to scale the walls, but those inside held a parley with him to make a compact, and gave him a large sum in

gold and silver, so that he saw that this was better than to burn and pillage them; for, once he had burned the town, no one would ever inhabit it, and now he reckoned that he would have a tribute from them every year.

And when he had done this, he departed from Tolmetta. Then he shaped his course for Crete and landed at Candia and there refreshed his men; and then he went scouring Romania and pillaged many villages; and then he passed through the Straits of Setull and landed at the port of Quaglio and came afterwards to Coron, and the Venetians gave him many provisions at Coron and at Mochon, and then he came to the beach of Matagrifon¹²⁴ and there he landed. And the people of the country came to meet him, on horseback as well as on foot, in such numbers that there were full five hundred French knights and many men afoot and they offered him battle. And so he had the horses taken out of the galleys; they were about a hundred and fifty, and they came in armour and apparelled in battle array. And it pleased God to give the victory to the admiral, so that the Frenchmen and the men of the country were all killed or taken prisoners, wherefore the Morea has since that time been much depopulated of expert people. And when he had done this he went to the city of Clarenza and rested his followers and took much treasure out of it.

And then he departed thence and went to sack the city of Patras and then he pillaged Cefalonia and the Duchy and all the island of Corfu, which he had already pillaged once before. And then he set his course for Apulia and landed at Brindisi. And at Brindisi he thought he had been betrayed; for on the day before his arrival a great number of French chivalry, of whom Lestandart was chief, had entered the city to guard it and the district, for fear of En Berenguer de Entenza who was holding Otranto and was raiding all that country. And when the admiral had landed with all his followers, the chivalry issued forth from Santa Maria del Casal of Brindisi. And the admiral, seeing so much chivalry (for there were full seven hundred French horsemen) thought he had been betrayed. However, he commended himself to God and collected his followers and

¹²⁴Akova.

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attacked the Frenchmen so strenuously that he made them turn back towards the city, so that the pursuit went as far as the bridge of Brindisi, and there might you have seen knightly feats of arms, on both sides. And the almugavars, who saw this press and that the French held their own so strongly, broke their lances short and then went amongst the enemy and proceeded to disembowel horses and to kill knights. What shall I tell you? They took the bridge from the French and would have entered the city with them, had it not been that the admiral's horse was killed, and when they tried to raise him you might have seen blows of darts and lances and, on the side of the French, blows of bordons. What shall I tell you? In spite of the enemy, they raised up the admiral and one of his knights dismounted and gave him his horse. And when the admiral had mounted, then might you have seen strenuous fighting. In the end the admiral's men took the bridge from the French and would have entered with them had they not closed the gates. And so the admiral returned to the galleys, cheerful and content, and they searched the field and found that altogether they had killed four hundred knights and innumerable men afoot. And every man had plenty of booty and, assuredly, King Charles had to send them reinforcements from elsewhere for, of those who were left, En Berenguer de Entenza and those who were with him in the city of Otranto need have no fear.

After all this the admiral went to the city of Otranto where great honour was shown him and a great feast made. And there he refreshed his followers and gave four months' pay, in the name of the Lord King of Sicily, to all knights and footsoldiers who were with En Berenguer de Entenza. And then, departing from Otranto, he came to the city of Taranto and there, also, he paid them and then went to Cotrone and to Castella and to Gerace and to Amendolea and to Penteditille and to the castle of Santa Agata and to Reggio. And then he went to Messina, where he found the Lord King En Jaime, King of Sicily, and my Lady the Queen, his mother, and the Lord Infante En Fadrique. And do not ask me if a feast was made for him, for the like had never been made for him anywhere. And my Lady the Queen had great pleasure in seeing him and received him and showed him much greater honour than she used. And above all Doña Bella, his

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mother, had great joy and content in seeing him. And also the Lord King of Sicily showed him great honour and gave him castles and villages, and gave him such power that he did and undid, by sea and by land, whatever he wished. And besides the Lord King of Sicily thought much of his company.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of the Lord King of Sicily and of the admiral and shall turn to speak of the Lord King of Aragon.

CLX

How the Lord King En Alfonso of Aragon summoned his hosts in Catalonia with pay for four months; and how he entered Roussillon with them to see whether the Frenchmen had invaded Ampurdan.

When the Lord King of Aragon was at Barcelona and knew that a great many men of Languedoc were preparing to enter Roussillon and Ampurdan, he summoned his host in Catalonia at pay for four months and proclaimed that every man should be, on a fixed day, in the town of Peralada. And all the richs homens and knights and citizens and townsmen came to Peralada on that day, very handsomely apparelled. And the Lord King, before he departed from Peralada, sent the Infante En Pedro to Aragon, as Governor and Chief, in order that, if anyone wished to invade Aragon from Navarre, he should prevent it. And when he had done this and had all his hosts at Peralada, he entered Roussillon. And when he was at Boulou he heard that no stranger had entered there and he went to Colibre by the slopes of the mountains, and from Colibre he returned to Ampurdan. And so I shall not tell you that they of Languedoc decided to invade Catalonia; rather, when they knew that the Lord King of Aragon was in Roussillon, each of them returned to his village or to his property.

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How the Lord King En Alfonso of Aragon held a tournament at Figueras, of two hundred against two hundred; and how he fought viscount Rocaberti and En Gisbert de Castellnou.

And when the Lord King was back at Peralada he discharged every one, and all returned to their villages; but the Lord King, seeing that he had not been able to fight with his enemies, commanded a tournament to be held at Figueras. So there were four hundred knights in the tournament, that is, two hundred on the side of En Gisbert de Castellnou and two hundred on the side of viscount Rocaberti; they were the chiefs on each side. And here the most beautiful feast was made and the finest feats of arms done that had ever been done in a tournament since the time of King Arthur. And as soon as this was over the Lord King returned to Barcelona; and you might have seen every day round tables and tourneys and martial exercises and jousts and other diversions and sports, so that all in the country went from amusement to amusement and from ball to ball.

CLXII

How messengers from the Pope and from the King of France and from the King of England came to the Lord King En Alfonso of Aragon to sue for peace and for the release of King Charles who was in prison.

And whilst they were thus enjoying themselves, micer Bonifacio de Salamandrana came to the Lord King on a mission from the Pope, who sued the Lord King for peace, and the King of France did likewise, and they begged to have King Charles, who was in prison, delivered to them that a marriage might be arranged between the Lord King and the King of France's daughter.

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And during these parleys, micer Jean de Grailly¹²⁵ came to Barcelona on the part of King Edward of England to tell the Lord King of Aragon he wished to form closer ties with him through a marriage; namely, that the Lord King of Aragon should marry the daughter of the King of England, who would then become mediator between him and the Holy Church of Rome and the King of France and King Charles, and settle a good peace with him. What shall I tell you? When micer Bonifacio knew the message of micer Jean de Grailly, and micer Jean knew his, they approached each other and came to an agreement. Micer Bonifacio found that the Lord King of Aragon had rather approach the King of England than King Charles, and so he thought that, in this way sooner than in any other, they would obtain peace and get King Charles out of prison; and so he negotiated chiefly with micer Jean de Grailly about the marriage with the daughter of the King of England. What more news should I tell you of it? The negotiations were conducted in many ways, so that it would take long to write it. Micer Bonifacio and micer Jean de Grailly agreed that micer Bonifacio should return to the Pope and to the King of France, and micer Jean to the King of England, and each should report what they had negotiated and been able to do and that, on a fixed day, they should meet at Toulouse, to know what their masters had replied. And so they took leave of the Lord King of Aragon and went, each as had been agreed.

CLXIII

How the Lord King En Jaime of Sicily prepared to pass into Calabria and the Principality with all his hosts and to conquer Naples and Gaeta.

After the admiral had returned to Messina, as you have heard already, he had all the galleys repaired. And one day the Lord King of Sicily called the admiral and all his council and said: "Barons, We have been thinking

¹²⁵Jean de Grailly, captal de Buch, of the House of Foix, seneschal of the province of Bordeaux for Edward I.

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that it would be well done if We equipped eighty galleys and if We, with a thousand armed horse and thirty thousand almugavars, marched against Naples and if We can take the city, to hold it and wield authority whilst King Charles is a prisoner in Catalonia. And if We can take Naples, that We go and besiege Gaeta, for if we could take the city of Gaeta it would be worth more to Us than Naples.”

And the admiral and the others praised this enterprise much, so that they, incontinent, ordained all they needed for it. And the admiral set up the banner by the table and the Lord King had the names written down of all those who were to go with him. And when this was ordained the Lord King convoked Cortes at Messina and assigned a day to the richs homens and knights and syndics of cities and towns of all Sicily and Calabria, on which to be at Messina. And when the day had come, my Lady the Queen and the Lord King and the Lord Infante En Fadrique came to Messina and were all assembled in the church called Santa Maria la Nova. And the Lord King preached to them and spoke many good words; he told them that he wished to go to the Principality and that he was leaving My Lady the Queen to them as Lady and Mistress in his place, and that he left the Infante En Fadrique to them, who would reign over and govern all the Kingdom with the council; and that he commanded them to look upon him as if it were himself. And when he had said this, with many good words suitable to the times, he sat down. And the barons of the country rose and told him that they were ready to do all that he commanded and so likewise said the knights and citizens and townsmen. And when this was done the council separated.

And, a few days after, the Lord King passed into Calabria with all his followers, and then the admiral had all the galleys and other lenys and terides and barges collected, to carry provisions and all that was wanted, and when it was done and all ready the admiral departed from Messina with all the fleet and went to Calabria, to the palace of Saint Martin, where the Lord King was with the chivalry which had come over from Sicily, and with those richs homens and knights and almugavars he had sent for from Calabria; so that all were with him on the day he had assigned to them. And so the Lord King embarked, by the favour of God, with all the

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followers who were to go with him on the journey and he set his course for the Principality.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of him and shall turn to speak of his enemies.

CLXIV

How the count of Artois, hearing of the preparations made in Sicily, went to Naples and Salerno with all his forces and with succours from the Apostolic.

And when his enemies heard of the preparations made in Sicily, they thought at once that they were against Naples and Salerno. And so the count of Artois and many other barons in the Kingdom who were for King Charles, came with all their forces to Naples and Salerno, and there was much chivalry, for the Pope had sent great succour in men and money. And they so reinforced these two cities that they could not be taken till all had been killed.

Now I shall turn to speak to you of the Lord King of Sicily who, when he had embarked, went visiting all his places on the coast, as far as Castellabate, which is thirty-four miles distant from Salerno, as I have told you already.

CLXV

How the Lord King En Jaime of Sicily set his course for Salerno and the admiral sailed along the coast of Amalfi and carried off all the ships and terides from the port of Naples and besieged Gaeta.

When he had visited Castellabate he steered for Salerno and there might you have seen a great cry of alarm, so that it seemed that all the world was crumbling. The admiral beached the ships, poop foremost, on the shelving rocks which are before the city. And there the cross-bows did great damage; and they stopped there all that day and night. And on the

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following day, departing from Salerno, they sailed along the coast of Amalfi, and the admiral landed almugavars who burned and sacked many places which had been built up again since En Berenguer de Sarriá had pillaged them all. And departing thence they steered for Naples. And at Naples you might have seen ringing of bells and chivalry issue forth; it was wonderful, what a number of people went to the seashore; nevertheless there were not so many people nor knights that the admiral did not take away whatever ships and terides there were in the port; and so they remained before the city three days. Then they steered for Ischia, and there they landed and reconnoitred the castle and the town and the admiral prized it highly when he had reconnoitred it. And then he left Ischia and set his course for Gaeta and there he landed all the horses and all his followers and besieged the city by sea and by land and erected four catapults which shot into the city all day. And, assuredly, he would have taken it, but, two days before he came to the city, full a thousand horsemen of King Charles had entered it and so they held it strongly. What shall I tell you? The siege was very close and they so distressed the city that they within had plenty of ill fortune. And also they of the King of Sicily overran all that country every day and penetrated inland, three or four marches, and made the most royal raids of the world, and carried off persons as well as goods and silver and gold which they took from towns and manors which they burned and plundered; and, of beasts, they carried off so many that they would kill an ox solely for the hide, or a sheep for the liver. They were so rich in all kinds of meat, it was altogether wonderful that a country could feed so much cattle as this host consumed.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of the Lord King of Sicily, who is besieging Gaeta, and I shall turn to speak to you of the Lord King of Aragon.

CLXVI

How the Lord King En Alfonso of Aragon had an interview with the King of England and married the daughter of the said King of England; and of the great feasts and dances and sports made.

When micer Bonifacio and micer Jean de Grailly had departed from the Lord King of England, each of them went to where it had been ordained. What more should I tell you about it? They went to and fro so much, one to the King of England and the other to the King of France, that they brought the matter to a good issue namely to this; that the Lord King of Aragon should have an interview with the King of England at a place called Oloron, which is in Gascony. And the interview [July 1287] took place. And, on the day assigned, the King of England, with the Queen, his wife, and the Infanta, his daughter, came to the said place, Oloron, and so likewise came the Lord King of Aragon, and with him the Lord Infante En Pedro and many richs homens and knights and citizens and townsmen, who all came richly arrayed and apparelled in fine clothes and beautiful harness. And, so likewise, came micer Bonifacio de Salamandrana and micer Jean de Grailly. And the feast was very great which the King of England made for the Lord King of Aragon and the Lord Infante En Pedro and for all their followers. What should I tell you of it? The feast lasted full ten days before they began to speak of any affairs.

And when the feast was over they began to parley and, finally, the Lord King of Aragon was betrothed to the Infanta, daughter of the King of England, who was the most beautiful and graceful damsel of the world. And when the betrothal had been settled the feast began again, much greater than it had been before. And the Lord King of Aragon had a very high stage set up and always threw three daggers so marvellously that the English and the other people admired it much and the ladies likewise were full of admiration. And afterwards they had jousts and martial exercises and then round tables. And so likewise you might have seen knights and ladies dance and sometimes the two Kings with the Queens and with

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countesses and other great ladies; and the Infante and the richs homens on both sides danced. What shall I tell you? This feast lasted full a month, and one day the Lord King dined with the King of England and on the next day the King of England dined with the Lord King of Aragon.

CLXVII

How the King of England negotiated to get King Charles out of prison and how the said King Charles, being in prison, had a vision bidding him seek for the body of my Lady Saint Mary Magdalen which he found in the place he had seen in the vision.

Then, when all this feast was over, the King of England sat in council with the Lord King of Aragon and with micer Bonifacio de Salamandrana and with micer Jean de Grailly to discuss the matter of getting King Charles out of prison. And upon this each side had said and spoken much, for and against, and in the end the matter ended in this, that a hundred thousand silver marks were given incontinent to the Lord King of Aragon, which the King of England lent to King Charles. And it was ordained that King Charles should come out of prison and that he should swear, on the word of a King, that, within a fixed time, he would arrange a peace between the Church and the King of France and himself and the Lord King of Aragon and the Lord King of Sicily; and that, until that time, King Charles should be replaced in prison by three of his sons and twenty sons of richs homens.

And the King of England became responsible for the fulfilment of all this. And so the Lord King of Aragon wished to do all these things in honour of his father-in-law, the King of England; and he, incontinent, made King [1288] Charles come out of prison. And there were many who said that, when King Charles was out of prison, he would not send any of his sons. But they who said so did not say well; for, assuredly, this King Charles the Second, who had been and was at that time a prisoner of the Lord King of Aragon, was one of the generous lords of the world and one who was always displeased at the war with Aragon; and he was one of the

pious lords of the world and one of the most upright. And this was shown clearly in the grace God did him that, in a vision, he was bidden to seek at St. Martin in Provence the body of my Lady Saint Mary Magdalen. And in that place, as came to him in a vision, more than twenty lance staves underground, he found the body of the blessed Lady, Saint Mary Magdalen. And so every one may know and suppose that, if he had not been so worthy and just, God would not have made such a revelation to him.

And so, when he came out of prison, he had an interview at Perpignan with the Lord King of Mallorca who showed him much honour.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of King Charles and shall turn to speak of the Lord King of Aragon, and of the King of England.

CLXVIII

How the Lord King En Alfonso of Aragon departed from Oloron accompanied by the King of England; and how King Charles had an interview with the King of Mallorca and with the King of England.

When all this was accomplished, the Lord King of Aragon departed from Oloron and took leave of the Queen of England and of the Queen Infanta, his affianced bride. And at the parting many presents of jewels were given on both sides. And afterwards the King of England accompanied the Lord King of Aragon until he had returned to his dominions, and then they took leave of each other, like a father and son, and each went to his own country.

And when King Charles had had an interview with the King of Mallorca, he had an interview with the King of England and gave him many thanks for what he had done for him. And before he parted from him, he paid him the hundred thousand silver marks that the King of England had given to the Lord King of Aragon for him. And the King of England begged him to send at once to the King of Aragon the hostages he had promised for him; and King Charles promised him that he would not fail to do so on any account; so they took leave of each other. And the King

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of England returned to his country and prepared to ordain and to treat of the peace between Holy Church and the King of France and the King of Aragon, his son-in-law.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of the King of England and shall turn to speak of King Charles who went to Provence to negotiate what he had promised the King of England.

CLXIX

How King Charles sent his three sons with twenty sons of nobles of Provence to the Lord King of Aragon as hostages; and how he asked for succour from the King of France and the Apostolic because he had heard that the King of Sicily was besieging Gaeta.

And at Marseilles were three of his sons (monsnyer En Louis was there and also monsnyer En Ramon Berenguer who was his fifth son). And these three, with twenty sons of noblemen of Provence, he sent to Barcelona, to the Lord King of Aragon, to be kept there in prison in his place. And the Lord King of Aragon received them and sent them to Ciurana, and there they were kept as King Charles would have been, had he been there.

And when King Charles had accomplished all he had to do, he went to France and had an interview with the King of France and asked him for succour of chivalry, because he had heard that the King of Sicily was holding Gaeta besieged. And the King of France gave him all the succour and aid he asked, as well of men as of money. And so he departed with much French chivalry and went to the Pope and asked him, likewise, for succour, and the Pope did all he asked; and with all these forces he came to Gaeta. And there came to him there his son, Charles Martel, who was his eldest son, with great forces, so that there were so many followers, their number was infinite. However, if the admiral and the other barons who were with the Lord King of Sicily had consented, assuredly, he would have offered them battle; but they did not consent on any account, rather they threw up strong fortifications where they were at the siege.

And King Charles besieged the Lord King of Sicily and so, likewise, in the same manner, the Lord King of Sicily was holding the city of Gaeta besieged and discharged the catapults into the city, and so likewise the city cast at the King of Sicily. And King Charles came, who besieged the siege of the Lord King of Sicily and cast at the said besiegers with catapults and the besiegers for the Lord King of Sicily cast at the besiegers for King Charles. And so you might see daily feats of arms performed by the followers of the Lord King of Sicily against those of the city and the host of King Charles, which were miracles to behold. What shall I tell you? This lasted a long time. And King Charles saw that this matter turned greatly to his hurt and that, in the end, the Lord King of Sicily would take the city; and, if he had the city, all the Principality and the Terra di Labor would be lost. And he sent messengers to the Lord King of Sicily at the siege and asked him for a truce and he informed him by his letter that he asked him for a truce for a time, because it was against his conscience to be thus opposed to him and besieging him, for he had promised and sworn to the Lord King of Aragon that, when he was out of prison, he would endeavour as much as he could, to establish peace and love between them and that, what he had promised he wished to fulfil, if God gave him life, and that peace would be much better discussed during a truce than during war.

And when the Lord King of Sicily heard this letter, which King Charles had sent him, he knew that it was the truth he was telling him; and again, as he knew the great worth of King Charles, he knew that he would endeavour to establish peace and love, therefore he consented to the truce. And so the truce was agreed to, in such manner that King Charles should go away, and then the Lord King of Sicily, after King Charles had gone away with all his followers, would embark with all he had at the siege. And so it was fulfilled; King Charles went to Naples with all his host, and then the Lord King of Sicily embarked at his convenience and came to Sicily, to Messina, where a great feast was made for him, and the admiral dismantled the galleys. After this the Lord King of Sicily went visiting his dominions and all Calabria, and the admiral with him. and they disported themselves and hunted. And he maintained all the country a long time in peace and justice.

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Now I shall cease to speak to you of them and shall turn to speak of the Lord King of Aragon.

CLXX

How the Lord King En Alfonso of Aragon resolved to conquer Minorca and sent to tell his brother the Lord King of Sicily; and sent to tell the admiral En Roger de Luria to come with forty armed galleys; and how the admiral came and proceeded to conquer Minorca.

When the Lord King of Aragon had departed from Oloron and returned to his country he thought it would be to his shame that Saracens should have the island of Minorca; and so that it would be well that he should cast them out of it and conquer it and thus deliver his uncle, the King of Mallorca, from trouble; and that it would be better to give up the island of Minorca to him inhabited by Christians, rather than leave the Saracens there. And so he sent his messengers to the almojarife of Minorca to tell him to prepare to leave the island; or otherwise, if he did not, that he assured him that he would take it from him and would kill him and all his people. And the almojarife made him a very cold answer; and so the Lord King thought that he would avenge the treachery of the almojarife towards the Lord King, his father, when he let it be known in Barbary that the Lord King was going there, whereby En Bugron had lost his head and Constantine had been lost, as you have heard already. And he, at once, sent his messengers to his brother, the Lord King of Sicily, to tell him to send him the admiral with forty armed galleys; and he let him know that he wanted them for the said expedition to Minorca. And so he sent letters to the admiral to tell him to hasten and to come at once to Barcelona with the galleys. And as the Lord King of Aragon had sent to tell his brother, the Lord King of Sicily, and the admiral, so it was done; the admiral equipped forty galleys and came to Barcelona. And he came there at the feast of All Saints and found the Lord King who had got ready the chivalry which was to go with him and the almugavars, so that there were, of expert people, full five hundred knights with armed horses and full thirty thousand

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almugavars. And they embarked, by the grace of God, at Salou and came to the city of Mallorca where they all arrived fifteen days before Christmas. And the winter was so severe that no man had ever seen so hard a winter, with wind and rain and squalls. What shall I tell you about it? The winter was so severe that it was as if they had been in the sea of Azof, for there were galley slaves who lost the tips of their fingers owing to the cold.

But I must tell you a fine instance and miracle which happened in that evil time, which I and all the other men have seen; and I wish to relate this to you in order that each of you guard against the wrath of God.

CLXXI

Recounts the great miracle which happened to an almugavar who was from Segorbe because he would eat meat on Christmas Eve.

It is the truth that there were, in a company, twenty almugavars who came from Segorbe and that district, and were lodged in the portico of Saint Nicholas of Porto-Pi. And on Christmas Eve, ten of them went to get beasts to eat on Christmas Day and they brought four sheep and had them killed; and when they were killed, they hung them up in the portico. And one of the companions, who was from Segorbe, and had gambled and lost, took a quarter of a sheep in his rage and put it on the spit. And it is the custom of the Catalans that all men fast on Christmas Eve and do not eat until night. And so these almugavars went to provide themselves with cabbages and fish and fruit to eat; and when, at vesper time, they came to the said lodging in the portico of Saint Nicholas of Porto-Pi, they saw, near the fire where they were to dine, the quarter of the sheep on the spit. And they wondered and started back and said: "Who is it who has put this quarter of a sheep thus near the fire for us?" And the almugavar said he had put it there. "And why have you done this?" said they. "Because," said he, "I want to eat meat to-night, to disgrace tomorrow's feast." And they reproved him greatly, but thought that, though he spoke so boldly, he would not do it. And so they prepared their supper and laid their table. And he took a napkin and sat down on the other side of the fire and spread

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his napkin, and all began to laugh and to whisper, for they thought he was doing it for a joke. And when they had sat down and began to eat, he took his quarter of mutton and set it down in front of himself and cut off a piece of meat and said: "I wish to eat this meat to disgrace the feast of to-night and of to-morrow." And at the first bit he put into his mouth there appeared to him a man so tall that his head touched the roof of the portico, who threw a handful of ashes in his face which made him fall to the ground. When he was on the ground he cried:—"Saint Mary defend me!" three times, and he lay there as if he were dead, his limbs powerless and his eyesight gone. And his companions lifted him up and put him on a blanket and he remained like one dead well up to midnight.

And as the cock crowed he recovered speech and asked for a priest. And the priest of the said church of Saint Nicholas came and he confessed very devoutly. And on the morning of Christmas Day, at his prayer and entreaty, they carried him to the church of Our Lady Saint Mary of Mallorca; and he had himself set down before the altar and everyone came to see him. And he was so weak that he could not move any of his limbs nor help himself and he had completely lost his eyesight. And, weeping, he begged the people to pray to God for him, and before all he declared his sins and trespasses with great contrition and great grief; every man and every woman was full of compassion for him. And it was ordained that in the said church, which is the cathedral, *Salve Reginas* should be said until he died or recovered. What more shall I tell you about it? This lasted until the day of Epiphany, when the cathedral was full of people. And after the sermon, the preacher begged all the people to pray to Our Lady Saint Mary, that she entreat her blessed, dear Son that on that holy day He manifest His miraculous power on yonder sinner; and he told them all to kneel down and the priests sang the *Salve Regina*, and when they had sung it, the man gave a great cry and all his limbs were convulsed, so that fully six priests had to hold him. And at the end of the *Salve Regina*, with a great creaking of all his bones, he recovered his sight in the presence of all, and his limbs came back, each in its place, straight and sound. And so he and all the people gave great thanks to God for so great a miracle that God and Our Lady Saint Mary had manifested to them.

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And so the good man went away, sound and straight. Wherefore each of you who hear of this miracle, which was so manifest and public, profit by it and fear the might of God and endeavour to do well and take care to do nothing, by act or word, against the name of God and of Our Lady Saint Mary, nor of that of His blessed saints, nor against the feasts that are ordained by the Holy Roman Church.

CLXXII

How the Lord King of Aragon and all his fleet met with a great storm as he was going to conquer Minorca; and how he conquered all the island and in what manner; and how the admiral on returning to Sicily met with a storm and ran as far as Trapani.

Now I shall turn to speak to you of the Lord King of Aragon who, after he had kept Christmas in the city of Mallorca, made every one embark and set his course for Minorca. And when he was twenty miles out at sea, near the island of Minorca, he encountered a great storm which scattered all his fleet, in such manner that he landed at the port of Mahon with only twenty galleys. And the almojarife of Minorca, who had prepared himself well for defence and had had great succours from Barbary, came to the stern of the galleys with all his forces, so that he was there with full five hundred horsemen and forty thousand afoot. And the Lord King was with the galleys in echelon at Conejo Island. And that storm lasted full eight days during which none of his men could join him, and then the weather improved and soon they came to the port of Mahon, now two galleys, then three ships; thus all assembled as they could.

And when the Lord King of Aragon saw that two hundred armed horses had arrived, he landed the horses and all his followers landed. And the almojarife, who saw what forces had arrived, went to the castle of Mahon and there assembled all his forces. And then the Lord King to whom full four hundred armed horses and a part of the almugavars had come, said to the admiral and to the other richs homens who were there that he would not await more of his followers, but the admiral and the

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others entreated him not to do that, but to await all his knights. But he said that the winter was very severe and the galleys were suffering great hardship and that he would not endure this on any account, so he went to where the almojarife was.

And the almojarife with all his forces came down in order of battle, to a fine plain which is near the said castle of Mahon. And when the hosts were near each other the Lord King attacked in good order with all his followers and the almojarife likewise attacked the King of Aragon. And the battle was cruel, for the men of the island were good men of arms, and there were Turks there, brave men whom the almojarife had in his pay. And the battle was so cruel that all had enough to do; but the Lord King, who was of the most expert knights of the world, attacked here and there and no knight escaped him whom he could reach with a blow, so that all his arms broke except the mace, with which he did so much that no man dared to stand up to him. And so, by the favour of God, and by his prowess and that of his followers, he won the battle; the almojarife fled into the castle with about twenty of his kinsmen, and all the others died.

And so the Lord King had the field searched by his followers and then went to besiege the castle to which the almojarife had retreated; and meanwhile the whole of the fleet of the Lord King had arrived. And when the almojarife saw the great forces of the Lord King, he sent him his messengers and begged him that, in his kindness and mercy, he let him go to Barbary with twenty of his kinsmen who were with him, and their wives and children, with only their clothes and with provisions to last them so far, and he would surrender the castle of Mahon and the town of Ciutadella.

And so the Lord King, in order to have the whole island without further hindrance, granted this; and so the almojarife surrendered the castle to him and the town of Ciutadella and all the other places in the island and gave him all the treasure he had. And the Lord King chartered for him a ship manned by Genoese, which had come to Mahon on account of the storm and was going to Ibiza to load up with salt. And on board that ship he put the almojarife with about a hundred persons, men, women and children, and he paid the ship and had many provisions put in. And they left the

port at such a time that the ship encountered a storm and was destroyed off the coast of Barbary and not one person escaped. And so you see when Our Lord wishes to destroy a nation how easily He does it; wherefore everyone should beware of His wrath, for you see how the wheel of fortune turned suddenly against the almojarife and his race who had ruled that island for over a thousand years.

Then, when the Lord King had sent away the almojarife and his dependents, he went to Ciutadella and had all the women and children of the whole island taken, and the men who had remained alive, of whom there were very few, for all those in the battle had died. And when the women and children and men of the island were all taken, there were full forty thousand. And he had them bound, and made En Ramon Calbet, a franklin of Lérida, their chief and master for their sale. And En Ramon appointed other officials under himself, and sent the greater number of prisoners to Mallorca, and some to Sicily and to Catalonia and to other parts. And at each place there was a public auction of the people and of the goods which were found belonging to them.

And when this had been settled the Lord King ordained that a strongly walled town should be built at Mahon, by the harbour. And he left, as procurator of the island, En Pedro de Lebia, a burgess of Valencia, and gave him full powers to give all the island to Catalan inhabitants and to people it with worthy people. And he did so assuredly, for the island of Minorca is inhabited by as worthy Catalans as any place could be.

And when the Lord King had settled all his officials in the island and given orders to people it, leaving En Pedro de Lebia, who was a very worthy and wise man, as head and captain of all, he departed from Minorca and came to Mallorca where a great feast was made for him on the occasion of his arrival. And he visited all the island of Mallorca with the admiral and with Galceran de Anglesola and other richs homens who were with him. And then he departed from Mallorca and sent all the fleet to Catalonia with the admiral; and the Lord King, with four galleys, went to visit Ibiza where a great feast was made for him. And there he stayed four days and then went to Catalonia and landed at Salon; and from Salon he went to Barcelona, where he found the admiral who had already landed

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with all the fleet. And the admiral took leave of him and then returned to Sicily.

As he was returning he encountered so great a storm in the Gulf of Lyons that all the galleys were separated, and there were some which ran to Barbary and others to the Principality, and the admiral was in great danger at that time. However by the aid of God Who had helped him in many places, he was able to repair the damage, and he ran to Trapani where he was safe and sound, and then, in a few days, he recovered all the galleys. And when all were at Trapani he went to Messina where he found the Lord King and all his followers who were making a great feast. And at Messina he dismantled the galleys and followed the court of the Lord King, as one without whose knowledge the Lord King did nothing. And they lived with great cheerfulness, disporting and visiting, with the court, all Calabria and the Principality of Taranto and the places they had in the Principality.

And so I must cease to speak to you of the Lord King of Sicily and must turn to speak to you of the Lord King of Aragon.

CLXXIII

How the Lord King En Alfonso of Aragon sent his messengers to negotiate the peace with King Charles at Tarascon where peace was arranged as suited the Lord King of Aragon and to the great honour of the Lord King of Sicily; and how the Lord King En Alfonso fell ill of a tumour.

When the Lord King came to Barcelona, where a great feast was made for him and great honour shown him, he went to visit all his dominions. And when he was in Aragon he had an interview with Don Alfonso of Castile and Don Fernando, his brother, and gave them much out of his own wealth. And he found that they were very well and were waging war with the King Don Sancho, their uncle, and were gaining territory from him daily.

And so he went visiting all the frontiers and every day urgent messengers came to him from the Pope and the King of France and the

King of England to treat of peace between them. And this the King of England incited, because he wished that the marriage between the Lord King of Aragon and his daughter should take place the following year; therefore he pushed negotiations on with all his power. And, indeed, King Charles did also, because he had promised it. King Charles and the King of England conducted the negotiations so strenuously that the Pope sent a cardinal to Provence, to Tarascon, with King Charles to treat of peace with the Lord King of Aragon. When they came to Tarascon they sent their messengers to the Lord King of Aragon to ask him to send his, to treat of peace with them.

And the Lord King came to Barcelona to ordain the said treaty. And when he was at Barcelona he convoked his Cortes, that all should be at Barcelona on a day assigned; and as he had commanded so it was done. When the Cortes were assembled, and all were at the royal palace, he told them that King Charles and the cardinal were at Tarascon and had requested him to send messengers to treat of peace with them; and as he did not wish to do anything without the advice of his barons and knights and citizens and townsmen, they should arrange about the messengers, who they should be and with what power they should go; and that, what they arranged, he and all others would hold for well done and settled. And before they separated, it was agreed that the messengers should be twelve; namely, two richs homens and four knights and two learned men and two citizens and two townsmen. And it was settled how many townsmen and how many squires each should take with him and that, as everything had been ordained, so it should be fulfilled; and so it was. And they gave power to forty men, richs homens and knights and citizens and townsmen, to arrange and settle this matter. And again, it was ordained that no one should leave Barcelona until the messengers had gone to and returned from Tarascon, in order that they should know what had been done; and so it was agreed.

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And when all this was agreed these forty men assembled twice daily in the house of the Preachers¹²⁶ and treated of and ordained the matter. And as they ordained every day, so they reported to the Lord King, and he amended what seemed to him should be improved, as a most wise and expert Lord; and his mind was full of true charity and justice and all other wisdom. The messengers were elected and it was settled in what manner they should go, to the honour of the Lord King and of all his dominions; they were given the written clauses and powers, and they were nobly arrayed and a major-domo was assigned to them, as was suitable for what they represented.

And they departed from Barcelona and, what with led horses and their own mounts and those of their companions and squires and the pack-mules, the animals they took with them were altogether a hundred. And all the messengers were worthy and honourable and wise. And they went on their journeys until they came to Tarascon. And the Lord King remained at Barcelona with all the court, and if ever you saw games and diversions, then might you do so, round tables as well as dagger throwing, martial exercises and jousts and dancing of knights and citizens and townsmen and members of every guild of the city, exerting themselves in all games and diversions. No one thought of anything save only to rejoice and divert himself and to do all God and the Lord King wished.

And when the messengers came to Tarascon they were well received by King Charles and by the cardinal and by the ambassadors of the King of France who were there, and especially by the four messengers of the King of England who were there. And he who would know the names of the messengers, and all that the cardinal said to them in the name of the Holy Father, and again all they answered, and all that was done from their arrival until their departure, let him go to the Gesta En Galceran de Vilanova wrote of it, and there he will find it all in due order, and also everything En Maymo de Castellaulí, amongst the others, replied, who was one of the said messengers of the Lord King of Aragon. And if you ask me

¹²⁶The Dominicans.

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why I name En Maymo de Castellaulí more than any of the others, I tell you it is because he answered in a more manly way and more as becomes a knight than any other; and if any good was done, it was done by the words he spoke.

And so I need say no more about it. The parleys between them lasted a long time and, in the end, they took their leave and returned with what they had done and found the Lord King at Barcelona and there, before the whole Cortes, they gave the message they were bringing, with which the Lord King and all his council were content. A peace was arranged, as honourable and as good as the Lord King and his followers required and also greatly to the honour of the Lord King of Sicily.

So the marriage of the Infanta, daughter of the King of England, with the Lord King of Aragon was to have been celebrated in a few days. But Our Lord the true God wished to give another turn to all that had been arranged at Tarascon. But everyone can understand that Our Lord the true God is all righteousness and truth, wherefore no one knows nor can understand His secrets. And where man fears, in his feeble understanding, that something God does ends in harm, it turns to great good. Wherefore no one should be troubled by anything God does. And so it is needful that, in this matter, we all take comfort in this and praise and thank God for all He gives us. Because, when the feast at Barcelona was at its height, with the greatest cheerfulness and the greatest disporting, it happened to please God that the Lord King En Alfonso should fall ill with a tumour which formed in his groin. But he did not on that account, refrain from dagger throwing nor from martial exercises, for he was bolder in feats of arms than anyone in the world. And so, as he neglected this tumour, fever supervened, which attacked him so severely for full ten days that any man would have died.

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CLXXIV

How the Lord King En Alfonso of Aragon passed from this life owing to a tumour which formed in his groin.

And when he felt thus worse he made his will with as great care as any king could make it; and once or twice he had it read and examined. And he left the Kingdom to the Lord King En Jaime, King of Sicily, his brother, and his body to the Minorite Friars of Barcelona. And so, with great contrition for his sins, he confessed many times and received Our Saviour and received Extreme Unction. And when he had thus received all the sacraments of Holy Church, he took leave of everyone, had the crucifix given to him and adored it very devoutly, with sobs and tears, and he crossed his arms over the crucifix on his breast and raised his eyes to Heaven and said:—“Into Thy hands, Father Lord Jesus Christ, I commend my spirit.” And he made the sign of the Cross over himself and blessed himself and then all his people and all his dominions. And, embracing the crucifix, he said many good orisons and passed from this life in the year of Our Lord Jesus Christ 1291 on the 18th of June. And if ever you saw great mourning in a city it was then, from those who had lost a good lord. And as he had commanded, he was carried in a great procession to the Minorite Friars and there he was buried. God in His mercy keep his soul. And we can have no doubt whatever that he is with God in Paradise, as one who went there virgin. For he had never known a woman; rather his intention was to come virgin to his wife and so he would have no intercourse with any other woman.¹²⁷

¹²⁷This is not borne out by the words of a codicil in which Alfonso provides for his son by a woman called Dulcie.

CLXXV

How the count of Ampurias and other richs homens were elected to go to Sicily to bring the Lord King En Jaime of Sicily to Catalonia; and how my Lady the Queen his mother and the Infante En Fadrique his brother remained as heads and chiefs of Sicily and all Calabria.

And, when the body had been buried, the will was read and, at once, four galleys were equipped and the count of Ampurias and other richs homens and knights and citizens were elected to go to Sicily to fetch the Lord King En Jaime. And so it was done; the count of Ampurias and the others who had been elected at once embarked to go to Sicily, to bring the Lord King En Jaime to be lord of Aragon and of Catalonia and of the Kingdom of Valencia. And meanwhile the barons and richs homens and knights and citizens and townsmen ordained that the Lord Infante En Pedro should reign and govern the dominions with the council which was given him, until the said Lord King En Jaime had come to Catalonia. And the Lord Infante En Pedro reigned and governed the Kingdoms as wisely as any wise lord could.

And soon the count of Ampurias and the others who were going with him had embarked and they went, now with one wind, now with another, now rowing, now sailing, so that, in a short time they landed at Trapani, and they heard that my Lady the Queen and the Lord King En Jaime and the Lord Infante En Fadrique were at Messina. And when they came to Messina they went on, without unfurling a banner, to the custom house and there they landed, without chanting the Te Deum. And when they were before my Lady the Queen and the Lord King and the Lord Infante, the count, weeping, told them the death of the Lord King En Alfonso. And if ever you saw mourning and weeping it was there. What shall I tell you? For two days the great mourning lasted. After these two days the count begged my Lady the Queen and the Lord King to have a general council assembled. And at once the Lord King convoked a council and everyone was assembled in Santa Maria la Nova. And the count of Ampurias, in the

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presence of all, had the testament of the Lord King En Pedro published, in which there was a clause, that if the Lord King En Alfonso died without children, the Kingdom of Aragon should devolve upon the said Lord King En Jaime, as also Catalonia and the Kingdom of Valencia, as you have heard already. And then he had the testament of the Lord King En Alfonso published and he, likewise, left all his dominions to the Lord King En Jaime, his brother, King of Sicily. And when the testaments had been read, the count and the other messengers who had come requested the Lord King that it might please him to go to Catalonia and take possession of his dominions. And the Lord King answered that he was ready to go, but that he would set in order the island of Sicily and all Calabria and all the other territory in the way they should be left and then he would go. And the answer pleased all.

And at once the Lord King commanded the admiral to have thirty galleys equipped; and soon the admiral set up a table and had thirty galleys manned and got ready. And at once the Lord King sent throughout all Calabria and the other territories to richs homens and knights and to syndics of cities and towns to come to him at once at Messina; and as he commanded by his letters, so they all came to him at Messina. And when they were at Messina he preached to them and said many good words to them and commended my Lady the Queen to them, to guard her and to look upon her as their head and sovereign; and so, likewise, he commanded them to hold, as head and chief and lord, the Infante En Fadrique as if it were himself, and to do all he commanded and wished, as they would for him. And they, incontinent, promised him this and he made the sign of the Cross over them and blessed them all and took leave of them, and they, weeping, kissed his hands and his feet and afterwards they likewise kissed the hands of the Infante En Fadrique. And when this was done they took leave and all returned to Calabria and to the other places, much grieved at losing the Lord King; but all had great joy in the increase of honour that had come to him, and also in the good chief he had left them, namely the Lord Infante En Fadrique, his brother.

How the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon embarked at Trapani to pass into Catalonia and disembarked at Barcelona, where he had masses celebrated for the soul of King En Alfonso, his brother, and at Santas Creus for the Lord King En Pedro, his father; and how he was crowned at Saragossa and promised succour to Don Alfonso of Castile.

And when this was done the Lord King took leave of all the community of Messina and gave them the same orders that he had given to the men of Calabria. And then he went to Palermo where, likewise, he had summoned all his Sicilian barons, and knights and syndics of cities and towns. And when they were all assembled he spoke many good words to them, as he had done to the others, and gave them the same orders. And when he had done this he took leave of all and went to Trapani.

And meanwhile the admiral had arrived with the galleys, and my Lady the Queen and the Lord Infante En Fadrique were there and all the barons of Sicily. And there the Lord King En Jaime took leave of my Lady the Queen, his mother, who gave him her blessing, and then he took leave of the Lord Infante En Fadrique and kissed him more than ten times, as one he loved much for many reasons; namely that they were brothers having the same father and the same mother, and that the Lord King, his father, had commended him to him, and also that he had brought him up and he was, at all times, obedient to him, as a good brother should be towards another, wherefore he loved him with all his heart. And so he left him as governor and lord of all the Kingdom. And he took leave thus of all and embarked by the favour of God, and the count of Ampurias and the other ambassadors with him and the admiral, who did not leave him. And they put out to sea and God gave them fine weather. In a few days they came to Catalonia and landed at Barcelona, by the favour of God; for it was truly a favour of God when the Lord King En Jaime came to his people as King and Lord. On that day peace and [1291] good will entered all the dominions and territories of the Lord King of Aragon. As he was gracious

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and fortunate for the Kingdom of Sicily, so has he been fortunate and full of all graciousness towards the Kingdom of Aragon and all Catalonia and towards the Kingdom of Valencia and all his other places.

And it is not necessary to tell of the feast which they made for the Lord King En Jaime of Sicily when he had landed at Barcelona. However, before the feast began, he made everyone assemble at the monastery of the Minorites and rendered his tribute, as well of weeping as of masses and of holy offices he caused to be said over the body of the Lord King En Alfonso, his brother. And when he had done this, which lasted four days, then the feast began, so great that it seemed the world was crumbling. And this feast lasted fifteen days. And when this feast was over, he departed from Barcelona and went to Lérida and Saragossa, and in each place a great feast was made for him But however, when he had left Barcelona, the first place he went to was Santas Creus, and there likewise he rendered tribute to the body of the Lord King, his father, and then went on his way as I have told you already to Saragossa and there the feast was, without comparison, the greatest ever made, and there he was crowned in due time.

And then, when the feast of the coronation was over, he had an interview with Don Alfonso of Castile, who came to see him in Aragon, and the Lord King gave him some money out of his own, and Don Alfonso begged him, in his grace and mercy, not to forsake him; for, that the Lord King En Alfonso had died was a great calamity to him; if he had only lived two years longer, he understood he would have made him sovereign of all Castile; wherefore, if he had no help from the Lord King En Jaime, he considered his cause lost. And the Lord King comforted him and said that he might be sure that he would not forsake him, rather would he give him all the help he could. And when this was done Don Alfonso was very joyous and content with the Lord King and returned to Castile, to Seron and other places of his.

CLXXVII

How the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon came to Valencia and was crowned with the crown of the Kingdom and how messengers of King En Sancho of Castile came to him begging for peace which he concluded between him and the King of Castile and his nephews.

Then the Lord King of Aragon went visiting all Aragon and afterwards came to the city of Valencia where, likewise, a great feast was made for him, and he received the crown of the Kingdom. And whilst he was visiting his territories, there came to him very honourable messengers from King Don Sancho of Castile, his cousin-german, and they greeted him very respectfully in the name of King Don Sancho, his cousin-german. And he sent to let him know that he had great joy in his arrival and that he begged him, as being his dear cousin, whom he loved much, that it might please him to make peace with him; and that he was prepared to support him against all men in the world; and that King En Alfonso had waged war against him and had almost taken his dominions from him and wished to give them to his nephews, who had not so good a right to them as he had, so that he had wondered much at it, and that it did not seem to him he had failed in anything towards him. And so he begged him not to do as King En Alfonso, his brother, had done, but to remember the great obligations that were between them.

The Lord King of Aragon answered the messengers very courteously, having been, and being the most courteous and best nurtured lord in all things any lord has ever been; and he said that they were welcome. And then he said that King Don Sancho should not wonder at anything the Lord King En Alfonso had done in this; King En Alfonso had acted as a good son, "who wished to avenge the great fault King Don Sancho had committed against the Lord King, Our father; and I tell you that We are of the same mind; but as he asks for peace, it is Our pleasure that he have it." And the messengers answered:—"Yes, Lord; and one thing he proposes, that, according to your judgment, he will make reparation to you for all he failed in towards the Lord King, your father. And the reparation shall be

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what you, Lord, wish, either in gift of cities, castles or towns or villages or in rendering you all the honours that in your judgment he should render you." And the Lord King answered that, as he spoke so well, he held himself satisfied and that he wished for no cities, castles or other places from him; thanks be to God, he had so many kingdoms and such good ones that he did not want his places; but it was enough for him that he repent of what he had done. Nevertheless, he wished him to give part of the land of Castile to those Infantes, his nephews, namely to Don Alfonso and Don Fernando; he would not on any account forsake them. And the messengers said that upon this they would depart.

And so they returned to the King of Castile. And when they were before their lord, the King of Castile, they recounted to him all that the Lord King of Aragon had said and told him of the great worth and wisdom there was in him. And the King of Castile was very content and commanded them to return to the King of Aragon to say that he was ready to do all he commanded. What should I tell you about it? Messengers went so many times from one to the other that peace was granted on both parts. Don Alfonso and Don Fernando wished to be at peace with their uncle, King Don Sancho, and they were content with what the Lord King of Aragon had arranged that the King of Castile should give them, and they renounced the Kingdom. And so the interview between the Lord King of Aragon and the King of Castile was arranged and all endeavoured to come to the interview as splendidly as they could.

When the Lord King of Aragon was at Calatayud with a great following of richs homens and prelates and knights and citizens, he heard that the King of Castile was at Soria where, also, he had taken the Queen and the Infante Don Juan, brother of King Don Sancho, and many other richs homens; and the Lord King, who knew that the Queen was at Soria, out of his courtesy and in honour of the Queen, wished to go to Soria before they came to Calatayud. And when the King of Castile knew that the King of Aragon was coming, he went out four leagues to meet him; and there the Lord King of Aragon and all his followers were received with great honour and when they came to Soria nothing was done but feasting and rejoicing.

And when the feast was over, the Lord King wished to return, and he begged the King of Castile and the Queen to come with him to Calatayud, and they said they would do so willingly. And so, all together, they came to Calatayud where the Lord King entertained the King of Castile and the Queen and all who were with them from the day they entered Aragon until the day they left it and returned to Castile. And, assuredly, I can tell you for certain that, of whatever provisions and things a man can have or can name, the Lord King had such large rations given that no one could eat all; rather you might have seen in the squares two diners worth of bread given for one diner, and a sucking-pig, or kid, or sheep, or oats, or dried or salt fish, which in other places would cost two sueldos, bought here for six diners. And therefore you would find all the squares full of runners who came there, so that all the Castilians and Galicians and many other people who were there wondered.

And one day the Lord King dined at the lodging of the King of Castile with the King and the Queen, and on the next they dined in his lodging. The feast made everyday was so great that it was a marvel to behold. What shall I tell you about it? The two Kings stayed twelve days together at Calatayud and during those days peace was made and signed between them. And, besides, peace was made between the King of Castile and his nephews; he gave them so much territory in Castile that they held themselves satisfied and were grateful to the Lord King of Aragon, as well they might be, for, if it had not been for him, they would have had nothing.

And so, when they had been thirteen days at Calatayud in great harmony, and peace and love they departed thence and the Lord King accompanied the King and Queen of Castile until they were quite out of Aragon. And the Lord King of Aragon entertained everyone, as I have told you already, until they were out of his dominions, and no man would ever perceive that the rations diminished any day, rather they increased and improved daily. And when they came to the parting of the Kingdoms, they took leave of each other with great concord and love and graciousness, which God had established amongst them. And the King and Queen of Castile went away, content and joyous at the peace they had made with the Lord King of Aragon, and also at the peace with their nephews; for the

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King had been in great fear that his Kingdom would be taken from him, as would have been done if the Lord King of Aragon had wished it. But the Lord King of Aragon wished rather to arrange peace and love between them, because of the great obligations there were between them and towards himself.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of the King of Castile and must turn to speak to you of the Lord King of Aragon and Sicily.

CLXXVIII

How the Lord King of Aragon and Sicily maintained all his Kingdom in peace and curbed factions which he would not allow in cities nor towns and especially curbed the faction of the Garidells and the Carbons and the Puixs at Tortosa.

With that, when the Kings had parted and had taken leave of each other, the Lord King went about all his territories, cheerful and content, settling and improving, so that in a brief time he had settled all his country in peace and concord. Since his coronation he has thus held, and he still holds, his territory in peace and righteousness, so that anyone can go about by night or by day with a load of coin on his back, without meeting anyone who would injure him. And so likewise there is peace and concord between all his barons who had always been accustomed to fight each other; and also he did away with factions, which could no longer exist in the cities nor in the towns. At Tortosa, which is a fine city, there had long been great factions of the Garridells and the Carbons and the Puixs. And in order to punish them he made an agreement with En Guillerm de Moncada who owned a third of Tortosa, and made an exchange with him and also with the Templars. And when all the city was his he stopped the factions, some by agreement, some by force, in such manner that now Tortosa is quieter than any other city of Catalonia. And so it was done likewise in many other places.

Now I shall cease to speak of the Lord King of Aragon who is going about thus, settling his dominions, and I wish to tell you of the round table

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the admiral En Roger de Luria held at Calatayud when the Kings came there, which was one of the most wonderful things ever done.

CLXXIX

How the admiral En Roger de Luria held a round table at Calatayud; and how the Lord King En Jaime of Sicily and Aragon and the King of Castile visited him, which was a great honour.

It is the truth that when the Kings were at Calatayud, as you have heard already, the Catalans were asking everyone: "Which is the admiral of the King of Aragon to whom God has shown so much favour?" And he was pointed out to them with a hundred or two hundred knights following him, as two or three men might follow another man; and they never tired of gazing. And the admiral, in honour of the King and Queen of Castile, had a round table cried at Calatayud, and set up a platform for jousts and had a wooden castle made at the top of the lists, from which he would issue at the approach of a knight. And on the first day of the round table he, all alone, wished to hold the castle against any man who wished to break a lance; and the Lord King of Aragon was there and the King of Castile and the Infante Don Juan, brother of the King of Castile, and Don Juan, son of the Infante En Manuel, and Don Diego de Viscaya and other barons from all the territories and dominions of Castile, and richs homens of Aragon and Catalonia and of the Kingdom of Valencia and also from Gascony, and many other people who had come to see the jousts, and especially to see what the admiral would do, for all the world was speaking of him.

All that plain of Calatayud, where the round table was held, was so full of people that they could not all stay there; so that, if it had not been that it was winter, men could not have tarried there, but at that season there was little rain. And when the kings and all the people were there, there came a knight challenger, very beautifully arrayed and with a fine countenance, ready for a joust. And as soon as they of the wooden castle saw him, they sounded a trumpet and, at once, the admiral issued out of the castle,

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likewise finely and nobly arrayed, and he looked a very handsome knight. And if anyone asks me: who was the knight challenger? I say it was En Berenguer A. de Anguera, of the city of Murcia, who was very brave and bold and one of the handsomest knights of Spain, and he was of the company of the King of Castile, and tall and stately and well-made. And this I can tell you likewise of the admiral, who was one of the best riders and handsomest knights of the world.

What shall I tell you? The umpires brought two very large staves to the said En Berenguer A. de Anguera and he took the one he liked, and the other they gave to the admiral. And then the umpires placed themselves in the middle of the sheet, and gave the signal to each to advance and they prepared to advance towards each other; and he who saw these two knights advance, may well say that they were knights of great valour, for never could knights advance better according to what was suitable to each, nor in a more manly fashion. And En Berenguer A. de Anguera hit the admiral so great a blow on the front quarter of the shield that the staff came to pieces, and the admiral so hit him on the visor that the helmet flew off his head to a distance greater than the length of two lance staves, and the lance broke into more than a hundred pieces. And as the visor was hit the helmet came down so hard on the face of the said En Berenguer A. de Anguera that it crushed his nose, so that it has never been straight since, and the blood was flowing down the middle of his face and between his eyebrows so that every one thought he was killed. However he was so good a knight that, though he received so great a blow, he was nothing daunted. Both kings, who loved him much, ran to him, fearing he was killed when they saw him all covered with blood and his nose all cut and crushed. And they asked him how he felt, and he said that he felt well, that he was not hurt; and they picked up his helmet. But they commanded the round table should be stopped, for they did not wish more to be done, for fear a quarrel should ensue. And so the admiral, in his armour, returned to his lodging with his trumpets and nakers; and all the people followed him, Castilians as well as others, and said he was well worthy of the favour God had shown him in many places; that he was one of the most accomplished

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knights of the world. And so this triumph was his and a fame which spread through the land of Castile.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of the admiral and shall speak to you of the affairs of the Lord King of Aragon and Sicily.

CLXXX

How the admiral En Roger de Luria returned to Sicily and passed into Calabria with the Lord Infante En Fadrique and they governed the country with truth and justice.

When the Lord King had settled all his affairs concerning Castile and had settled all his country, he commanded the admiral to return to Sicily and to remain with the Lord Infante En Fadrique, and to have always fifty galleys in good repair and fitted out, so that nothing more was wanted but that the men should go on board if necessary; and that he go with the Lord Infante to visit all Calabria and the other territories of the Kingdom, and that they should govern the land with truth and justice. And, as the Lord King commanded, so it was done; the admiral went to the Kingdom of Valencia and visited all his towns and castles and then he came to Barcelona from Valencia by sea, with all those galleys he wished to take from Valencia. At Barcelona he embarked and took leave there from the Lord King and he embarked and went to Sicily. And he passed by Mallorca and Minorca and then coasted along Barbary and took ships and lenys and plundered Saracen towns and villages. And with great gain and great cheer, he returned to Sicily and found at Palermo my Lady the Queen and the Infante En Fadrique who received him with great joy and cheerfulness.

And he gave them all the letters he had from the Lord King. And when they had seen the letters and knew of the peace the Lord King had concluded with the King of Castile, all who were in Sicily and throughout the dominion were very content. And the admiral, with the Lord Infante En Fadrique, went visiting all the territories in all Sicily; and then they

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passed into Calabria and did the same. And when they were in Calabria, there came a message to them that Charles Martel¹²⁸ the eldest son of King Charles, had passed away from this life; great [1295] mourning was made for him by all who loved him, for he was a good lord. And there remains a son of Charles Martel, who was, and is still, King of Hungary; and a daughter called my Lady Clemencia, who became afterwards Queen of France. And the Lord Infante En Fadrique sent news of the death of Charles Martel to the Lord King of Aragon.

CLXXXI

How King Charles proceeded to treat for peace with the House of Aragon and how for this purpose the Apostolic sent a cardinal with King Charles to the King of France to beg him to make peace between the House of Aragon and King Charles; which monsenyer En Charles would not grant unless King Charles gave him the county of Anjou.

When King Charles knew the death of his son he was much troubled; and so he should be, for he had been very accomplished and brave. And, assuredly, as he was a good Christian, he felt in his heart that God would not send him such tribulations if it were not that he allowed war to go on between himself and the House of Aragon, and so he tried by all means to make peace with the Lord King of Aragon.

And, at once, he went to the Pope and said to him that he begged him to treat fully and ordain a thorough peace between Holy Church and the House of France, and between him and the King of Aragon; that, as for himself, he would do all that he could for this. And the Pope answered that he spoke well and with great wisdom; he who considered the power the King of Aragon had now, saw that he possessed all the world, besides having all Spain at his orders; and, so also, he might have the King of

¹²⁸Charles, eldest son of Charles II of Naples, the Lame, and of Maria of Hungary, was crowned King of Hungary by the Pope. He never left Italy. His successor, Charles Robert, reigned in Hungary until his death in 1307.

England on his side, if he so wished, and besides all Languedoc; wherefore it was absolutely necessary to treat for peace. And so the Pope sent for micer Bonifacio de Salamandrana and commanded him to work in these matters of the peace. And he answered he would do so willingly and that, with the favour of God, he would bring it to a good issue; and upon this he got ready. The Pope sent a cardinal to France, to the King of France, together with King Charles and micer Bonifacio, through whom he begged and advised him to make peace with the House of Aragon at the same time as King Charles; and that he, on the part of Holy Church, was prepared to do all they wished for this purpose.

And so King Charles and the cardinal and micer Bonifacio parted from the Pope and went to the King of France and found him in Paris, and his brother, mosenyer En Charles, with him, who had himself called King of Aragon. And when they had spoken with the King of France and with mosenyer En Charles, the King of France said that peace would please him much and that he would offer, for the sake of peace, all he could offer; but mosenyer Charles answered the contrary, and said that he would not give up the Kingdom of Aragon on any account; about this there was great strife between King Charles and him. But in the end they came to an agreement with the King of France, who approved it, that King Charles should give mosenyer Charles the county of Anjou, which he possessed in France and which is a very important and beautiful county. And everyone can imagine that it was important and beautiful as his father King Charles,¹²⁹ who was the son of the King of France, had been invested with it. And mosenyer Charles gave up to him the right he had to the Kingdom of Aragon, which had been given him by Pope Martin, and agreed that King Charles could do as he wished with it. And so it was accomplished and done, because that had been the thing which had prevented peace more than anything in the world. And so let no one say that the peace concluded with the King of Aragon cost King Charles little, as you shall

¹²⁹Charles I of Naples, son of Louis IX.

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hear further on, rather it cost him the said county, which is a valuable property.

And when this was done King Charles and the cardinal and micer Bonifacio came to Provence, with full powers from the King of France and mosenyer Charles, his brother; and from Provence, they sent micer Bonifacio to Catalonia, to the Lord King of Aragon, with a message. What should I tell you about it? The messenger went so long from one to the other, that all his object was [June 1295] attained and peace was granted by each of the parties. And that, in short, was the way peace was concluded; if I wished to recount it all, it would make a larger book than this one. When peace was concluded, the Pope revoked the sentence Pope Martin had pronounced against the King of Aragon, and absolved him and all who had been and were his supporters, of guilt for all the men they had killed and for all they had taken, in any manner, from their enemies, in the widest sense that could be. And on the other hand, mosenyer Charles of France, and King Charles for him, renounced the grant which had been made to him of the Kingdom of Aragon, and besides he agreed there should be peace and concord with the King of France and his supporters and with the Holy Roman Church and with King Charles. And again, King Charles gave his daughter, my lady Blanca who was his eldest daughter, to the Lord King of Aragon to wife. And the Lord King of Aragon gave up the Kingdom of Sicily in this manner: that the Pope gave him Sardinia and Corsica in addition; but he was not bound to surrender Sicily to King Charles nor to the Church, but was to abandon it altogether, and the Church or King Charles would take possession of it if they wished; and he was not bound to do anything else. On the other hand he surrendered to King Charles his sons, whom he held in prison, and the other hostages.

And so the messengers finally came to the Lord King of Aragon with this peace; saying that this the two Kings would do, and he should do what has been said before, and that he should hold a council upon this, but that they could do nothing more in the matter. And upon this the Lord King assembled Cortes at Barcelona; and during this parliament, King En Sancho of Castile died of illness and left three sons. The eldest, whom he [1295] left King of Castile, was called Don Fernando, the other Don Pedro and the

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other Don Felipe; and he left one daughter. And when the Lord King of Aragon knew the death of the King of Castile, he had displeasure thereat, and commanded the anniversary to be kept, as was proper for him.

CLXXXII

How the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon confirmed the peace between himself and King Charles and the House of France, and how the marriage of the said Lord En Jaime of Aragon with my Lady Blanca, daughter of King Charles, was celebrated; and how the eldest son of King Charles and the eldest son of the King of Mallorca renounced the Kingdoms and entered the Order of mosenyer Saint Francis.

And, when the Cortes were assembled the Lord King held a council with his barons and prelates and knights and citizens and townsmen, and in the end peace was granted, [1295] in the manner you have heard already. And the messengers returned to King Charles and to the cardinal¹³⁰ whom they found at Montpellier, and they signed all the clauses of the peace; and, at once, all together, with the Infanta my Lady Blanca, whom they took with them very splendidly and well accompanied, they came to Perpignan. But when they came to Perpignan, the Lord King of Aragon and the Infante En Pedro with him, and a very distinguished assembly of chiefs of Catalonia and Aragon were at the city of Gerona; and the Lord King sent the noble En Berenguer de Sarriá, his treasurer and councillor, to Perpignan with full power to sign the treaty of peace and of the marriage, and to see the damsel.

And when the said noble came to Perpignan, he was well received by King Charles and by the Lord King of Mallorca and by all. And when he had seen the damsel he was very well satisfied, so that he at once signed everything for the Lord King of Aragon, as well the treaty of peace as that of the marriage. Then, when the Lord King of Aragon knew of this, he

¹³⁰This cardinal was, according to Menescal, Guillermo Ferris.

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returned and brought with him the sons of King Charles and all the other hostages. And when they were at Gerona, the Lord King with all his chivalry and all the distinguished ladies and damsels of Catalonia went to Figueras. And on the other hand, King Charles and the damsel and the cardinal and all the other people went to Peralada and the King and his company lodged between Peralada and Cabanés, at the monastery of San Feliú. And the Lord King of Aragon sent King Charles his sons and all the other hostages, and the Lord Infante En Pedro accompanied them until they were with their father. And if ever you have seen great rejoicing, it was there, between King Charles and his sons, and all the barons of Provence and of France rejoiced in the same way over their sons, who had been hostages and whom they had recovered. But greater than all was the joy my Lady Blanca had of her brothers, and they of her.

What shall I tell you? There were so many people from one part and another at Peralada and at Cabanés and at the monastery of San Feliú and at Figueras and at Vilabertran and at Alfar and at Vilatenim and at Vilasegur and at Castellon de Ampurias and at Vilanova, that all that district was full of people. And the Lord King had full rations of everything given to everyone, stranger or friend. And there was solace and rejoicing amongst them when the Lord King of Aragon went to see King Charles and the Infanta his wife, and the Lord King placed on her head the most beautiful and rich crown a Queen had ever worn. And from that hour she was called Queen of Aragon. What shall I tell you? The jewels given on one part and on the other were costly, and it was ordained that, with the favour of God, they would hear mass at the monastery of Vilbertran and there celebrate their marriage. And the Lord King had a hall of wood made there, the finest that had ever been made of wood, and the monastery is a splendid place and beautiful and important. And as they had ordained, so it was done; they all came to the monastery of Vilabertran. And there there was great cheer and a great feast, for many reasons. One reason was the

marriage, which was celebrated in due time;¹³¹ it may well be said that so worthy a husband and wife had never before been joined [1295] together. I can tell you of the Lord King En Jaime, King of Aragon, that he is the most generous lord and the most courteous and the wisest and the most accomplished in arms that ever was, and one of the good Christians of the world. And of my Lady the Queen, my Lady Blanca, it can be said likewise that she was the most beautiful lady and the wisest and the most pleasing to God and to her people who ever came to any kingdom, and the best Christian. The fountain of grace and of all virtues was in her. Wherefore God sent her His grace; there never was a husband and wife of any condition who loved each other as much. Wherefore one may call her what all the people of Catalonia and Aragon and of the Kingdom of Valencia called her, namely, the blessed Queen, my Lady Blanca of the Holy Peace, for blessed peace and good luck came through her to all the country. And as you shall hear further on, she had many sons and daughters who were all worthy before God and the world.

And when the marriage was celebrated the feast lasted full eight days, when all remained together; and afterwards they took leave of each other, and King Charles and his sons returned. And when he came to the Pass of Panisars, the Lord King of Mallorca came to meet him and they entered Suelo and from Suelo they went to Perpignan. And the Lord King of Mallorca kept them there full eight days, and in those eight days monsenyer Louis, son of King Charles, and the Infante En Jaime, eldest son of the King of Mallorca, became such intimate friends that it is said they

¹³¹Jaime II married four times; his wives were Isabel of Castile, Blanca of Naples, Maria Princess of Cyprus, and Elisenda de Moncada. Only Blanca bore him children, five sons and five daughters: Jaime, who became a Knight of St. John of Jerusalem; Alfonso, who succeeded him; Juan, who was successively archbishop of Toledo, of Tarragona and patriarch of Alexandria; Pedro, to whom he gave the county of Prades; Maria, who married Don Pedro of Castile, son of Sancho IV; Constanza, who married Don Juan Manuel of Castile; Isabel, who married Duke Frederick III of Austria; Blanca, who became a nun and was prioress of the Convent of Sixena; Violante, who married in 1337, Philip, Despot of Romania.

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promised each other that, what one did the other would do also, so they agreed that each would renounce the dominion which should come to him and that they would enter the Order of mosenyer Saint Francis.

A short time after, mosenyer Louis, son of King Charles, entered the Order and renounced all his hereditaments; and, later, he became bishop of Toulouse, against his wish; and then died and was canonized by the Pope for the many miracles God performed through him during his life and after his death, which are known to-day throughout all Christendom and are celebrated by a feast.

And so likewise, the Infante En Jaime, son of the King of Mallorca, the best and the eldest, who should have reigned, became a Minorite friar and renounced the Kingdom. And when he shall have passed from this life, it is believed that he also will be a saint in Paradise. He who does most may expect greatest reward from God, for he who gives up a Kingdom in this world for God, it would seem should have the Kingdom of Heaven in exchange, if he continues a virtuous life until the end, doing and saying all that is good.

Now I shall let these two lords be, who are holy and benign Minorite friars, and must turn to speak to you of King Charles who parted from the Lord King of Mallorca and returned to his territory with his sons, safe and sound. And so, also, the Lord King of Aragon, with my Lady the Queen, went to Gerona and from Gerona to Barcelona and then about all his dominions. And it is not necessary to inquire about the splendour and the rejoicing in every place; you can imagine what delight they must feel who had recovered peace and the sacraments of Holy Church, masses and all other holy offices, which the people were very desirous of having.

CLXXXIII

How my Lady Queen Blanca obtained from the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon that he assign an hereditament to the Infante En Pedro and arrange a marriage for him; wherefore the Infante took to wife my Lady Guillerma de Moncada.

Whilst the Lord King, with my Lady the Queen, was disporting in his dominions, the Lord Infante En Pedro never left my Lady the Queen, who begged the Lord King to provide for the honour of his brother, the Infante, and to give him wherewith to keep an honourable house, and also to provide him with a wife suitable for him. And the Lord King obeyed her entreaties and gave his brother a goodly inheritance and gave him to wife one of the most distinguished damsels of Spain who yet was not the daughter of a king, namely my Lady Guillerma de Moncada, daughter of En Gaston de Bearn who was very rich, for in Catalonia alone he had three hundred knights in fine castles and towns and villages. The wedding was very fine and splendid; and the Lord King and my Lady the Queen and all Catalonia and part of Aragon were there. And when this was done the Lord King, with my Lady the Queen on one part and the Lord Infante En Pedro with my Lady Guillerma de Moncada on the other, went about disporting in all the dominions.

CLXXXIV

How the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon sent messengers to Sicily to En Ramon Alamany and En Vilaragut with orders to abandon Sicily; and how the people seized villages and castles in the name of the Infante Fadrique.

With that the Lord King of Aragon sent messengers to Sicily, to En Ramon Alamany, who was justicia of all the Kingdom of Sicily, and to En Vilaragut who was chief portreeve, and besides to all others, to tell them to abandon castles and towns and all other places in Sicily and in Calabria

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and in the other parts of the dominion; and to beware of delivering up any castle to anyone; but, when they had abandoned it, to cry at the gate of the castle, with the keys in their hand: "Is any man here of the Holy Apostolic Father who will receive this castle for the Holy Apostolic Father and for Holy Church?" And that this they cry, in a loud voice, three times in each place. And if, during those three times, no one appeared who would receive the place for Holy Church, that they leave all the gates open and the keys in the locks, and go away. And so it was fulfilled and done, and no man of the Holy Father nor of the Holy Roman Church appeared. And so they went away. And when they had gone, the people of the place seized every castle and place in the name of the Infante En Fadrique.

And so En Ramon Alamany and En Vilaragut and all the others who were in Sicily for the Lord King of Aragon, abandoned it and embarked in ships and in galleys and came to Catalonia, to the Lord King, who received them very well and gave to all good compensation for what they had abandoned of their own in Sicily; and he was very pleased with what they had done. And so the Lord King of Aragon had fulfilled all the covenants of the treaty of peace and failed in nothing, whereat Holy Church and the Pope were content and joyful.

And so I must cease to speak to you of the Lord King of Aragon and must turn to speak to you of the Infante Fadrique and of the admiral who did not leave him.

CLXXXV

How the Lord Infante En Fadrique seized the Kingdom of Sicily and assigned a day on which all should be at Palermo where with great solemnity he was crowned with the crown of the Kingdom of Sicily.

And micer Juan de Procida and the others of his council and the barons and knights and citizens and townsmen of Sicily knew how the Lord King of Aragon had forsaken them; and they said to the Lord Infante En Fadrique that he should seize all the land, for the island of Sicily and all the Kingdom were entailed on him, according to the testament of the Lord

King En Pedro, his father. And if the Lord King En Jaime had abandoned it, he had abandoned solely his own right in it—“but the right that you, Lord, have in it, there is no occasion to abandon, nor do we believe that he will be annoyed if you seize the Kingdom, for it is enough for him that he has fulfilled what he promised in the treaty of peace.” What shall I tell you? This was agreed to by all and they found, from doctors and learned men, that he might with justice seize what the Lord King, his father, had entailed on him.

And upon this he sent throughout Sicily and Calabria and the other places of the dominions and seized the castles and towns and cities and villages; and, meanwhile, a day was assigned on which all the chiefs and knights and syndics of cities and towns should be at Palermo, for he wished to be crowned King, and wished all to swear fealty to him. And on the day assigned, they were all at Palermo and there was a great gathering of Catalans and Aragonese and Latins and of men of Calabria and other places of the Kingdom. And when all were assembled at the royal palace, namely in the Salavert of Palermo, the admiral preached and said to them many good words which were suitable to the times. And amongst the other things he said to them he showed them, by three reasons, that this lord was that third Fadrique of which the prophecies say that he would come and be lord of the Empire and of the greater part of the world. And the reasons were these: that it was the fact that he was the third son of the Lord En Pedro; and again that he was the third Fadrique who had reigned in Sicily; and again that he would be the third Fadrique who will have been Emperor of Germany; wherefore, with a good right, he could be called Fadrique the third, King of Sicily and of all the dominions pertaining thereto.

And upon this all raised their voices together and cried “God grant life to our Lord, King Fadrique the Third, Lord of Sicily and of all the Kingdom.” And at once, all the barons rose and rendered oath and homage to him and, after them, all the knights and citizens and townsmen. [May 3rd 1296] And when this was done, at once, with great ceremony, according to custom, they went to the cathedral of the city and, with a solemn blessing, he received the crown.

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And so, with the crown on his head and the orb in his right hand and the sceptre in his left, in royal vesture, he rode from the cathedral of Palermo to the palace, and the greatest sports and diversions were made that ever were made at the coronation of any king. And when they came to the palace, the tables were laid and there every man dined. What shall I tell you? The feast lasted fifteen days, during which no man did anything in Palermo but divert himself and dance and sing and take part in diverse games; and all the time the tables were laid at the palace for everyone who wished to dine there. Then, when all this was over and everyone had returned to his home, the Lord King went visiting throughout all Sicily and then throughout Calabria and all the other places.

And my Lady, Queen Costanza, and all of her company were absolved by the Pope and heard masses every day; the Pope had to do this according to the covenants of peace the Lord King of Aragon had made with him. Wherefore my Lady the Queen departed from Sicily with ten galleys and went on a pilgrimage to Rome. And she took leave of the Lord King of Sicily and made the sign of the Cross over him and blessed him and gave him her blessing, as a mother should to her son. And when she came to Rome the Pope showed her much honour and granted her all she asked; and she stayed there and went every day seeking indulgences, as a lady who was the best Christian known in the world. And micer Juan de Precida did not leave her and remained in Rome, gaining indulgences, until the Lord King of Aragon came to Rome to see the Pope and to treat of a peace between King Charles and the King of Sicily, his brother, as you shall hear further on; and then he returned to Catalonia with my Lady Queen Costanza.

And when she was in Catalonia, my Lady the Queen did much for the good of the soul of the Lord King En Pedro, her husband, and for her own; and founded many monasteries and did many other good deeds. And she ended her days at Barcelona¹³² and left her body to the house of the Minorite Friars, to be with that of her son, King En Alfonso, and she died in

¹³²In 1302.

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the dress of the Minorites. And, assuredly, all can trust that she is with God in Heaven.

Now I shall cease to speak of the Lord King of Sicily and of my Lady Queen Costanza and shall turn to speak of the Lord King of Aragon.

CLXXXVI

How the Lord King of Aragon surrendered the islands of Mallorca and Minorca and Ibiza to the King of Mallorca, his uncle, and went to the Pope to treat of peace between his brother, King Fadrique and King Charles; and how the King of Castile defied the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon.

When the Lord King of Aragon saw that he was at peace with all the world, he thought it would be well to return the islands of Mallorca and Minorca and Ibiza to the King of Mallorca, his uncle. And as I have told you already, the Lord King of Aragon went, a first time, to see the Pope in Rome, after peace had been made. And the Pope and the cardinals and all the Romans showed him much honour, and also much honour was shown him at Genoa and at Pisa. But, at this visit, he did not obtain peace between King Charles and the King of Sicily. He returned to Catalonia and took my Lady the Queen with him, as I have told you already.

And then, some time later, the Lord King of Aragon sent a message to the admiral in Sicily, to come to Catalonia, and the admiral came to him at once. And then not much time passed before the Lord King, with a great fleet, departed from Catalonia, to go to the Pope, to treat fully of the peace between King Fadrique and King Charles. And when he had hurried to Palamós, where he embarked, he sent to the King of Mallorca, his uncle, to tell him that he would find him at Colibre, and that he wished to have an interview with him. And the Lord King of Mallorca came at once. So the Lord King of Aragon departed from Palamós with a hundred and five galleys. And whilst he stopped at Colibre he had an interview with the Lord King of Mallorca, his uncle; and at this interview they made great feasts for each other. And the Lord King of Aragon returned to him the island of Mallorca and the islands of Minorca and Ibiza, and they

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confirmed anew their peace and love, like a father and son, which was a great joy to all who wished them well. And the Lord King left, to represent him, the noble En Ramon Folch and the noble En Berenguer de Sarriá, to surrender the islands to the King of Mallorca in his name. And so it was done and accomplished.

And the Lord King went and laboured in this journey, yet he could never arrange a peace between King Charles, his father-in-law, and King Fadrique, his brother, before he returned to Catalonia. His people were greatly pleased that God had sent him back safe and sound, and my Lady the Queen likewise.

And so I must cease to speak to you of the affairs in Sicily and must turn to speak to you of King En Fernando of Castile¹³³ who, being ill-advised, defied the Lord King of Aragon, not long after peace was made with King Charles.

And some will say: – “Why does En Montaner pass these events over so briefly?” And if they say it to me, I shall say that there are words to which there is no answer.

CLXXXVII

How war broke out again between the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon and King En Fernando of Castile; and how the Infante En Pedro invaded Castile with large forces and besieged the city of Leon; and the Lord King En Jaime decided to invade the Kingdom of Murcia by sea and by land.

And when the Lord King of Aragon considered in his heart the challenge the King of Castile had sent him, he felt it a great insult and said it was necessary to make him repent of it. And he commanded the Lord Infante En Pedro to get ready with a thousand armed horse and fifty thousand almugavars, and to invade Castile through Aragon, and he would, likewise, invade the Kingdom of Murcia with a great force. Should I

¹³³Fernando IV. 1295-1312.

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tell you much about it? As the Lord King had dictated, so it was accomplished. The Lord Infante En Pedro invaded Castile with full a thousand Catalan and Aragonese horse and full fifty thousand men afoot. And he entered full nine journeys into Castile, so that he besieged the city of Leon and discharged catapults against it.

And so I must let the Lord Infante En Pedro be, who holds besieged the city of Leon which is well within Castile, eight journeys from Aragon, and must turn again to speak to you of the Lord King of Aragon who is invading the Kingdom of Murcia and enters it by land and by sea.

CLXXXVIII

How the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon took the city of Alicante and the castle by assault and many other castles and towns of Murcia and the greater part of the Kingdom; and how he garrisoned all the country and left, as procurator, the noble En Jaime Pedro, his brother.

And the first place in the Kingdom of Murcia to which he came was Alicante and he attacked the town and took it [1296]. And then he went up to the castle, which is one of the fine castles of the world, and proceeded to attack it so vigorously, that he, in person, went up the mountain on foot with many knights, as far as the gate of the castle. And, at a short distance from the gate, there was a piece of the wall which had fallen in. And through that place they invaded the castle by assault; and be sure the Lord King in person would have been the first there, had it not been for a good and expert knight of Catalonia, called En Berenguer de Puixmolto, who pulled back the Lord King and cried:—"Ah, Lord, what *is this? Let us go in first." But the Lord King did not listen to him, rather he went on. And the said En Berenguer de Puixmolto leaped forward and another knight after him; and there those within defended themselves so that, assuredly, these two knights would have been killed, if it had not been for the Lord King himself who, sword in hand and his shield on his arm, leaped inside, and so he was the third to enter. And when the Lord King was within and En Berenguer de Puixmolto and the other knight saw the Lord King near

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them, they exerted themselves to the utmost. And the Lord King held his shield in front of himself, and a knight who was within and was of the company of Nicolas Peris, alcaide of the castle, and who was big and brave, hurled his hunting spear, which he held in his hand, at him and gave him so great a blow on the first quarter of the shield, that it penetrated it for more than half a palm. And the Lord King, who was young and spirited, advanced and gave him such a blow with his sword on the middle of his head, that the cap of mail he was wearing was of no use to him, for he was split open to the teeth. Then the King pulled the sword out of this man's head, and attacked another, whose arm, with the whole shoulder, fell to the ground. What shall I tell you? The Lord King, with his own hand, despatched five men in this place, and meanwhile his followers came up to him and entered by this opening. And En Berenguer de Puixmolto did not leave the Lord King and likewise performed marvellous feats of arms. What shall I tell you? The Lord King, with much chivalry which had entered after him, went to the door of En Nicolas Peris, the alcaide who, with his sword in his right hand and the keys in the left, defended himself there; but his defence was of little use to him, he was there cut to pieces.

And when all the castle was taken the Lord King commanded that the alcaide should not be buried in the cemetery; rather he proclaimed him a traitor and had his body thrown to the dogs. Wherefore, Lords, you who shall hear this book, be careful when you hold a castle for a lord. The first thing he who is holding a castle for a lord should have at heart, should be to save the castle for his lord; the other, to leave it only with honour to himself and his descendants. But all are not thus resolved; rather, with many, who nowadays receive a castle, the first thing they consider is to reckon:— So much I get for the guarding of the castle, and for so much I shall find a squire who will guard it for me, wherefore so much will be left over for me every year.— And so, they who think thus, think foolishly, for many knights and other worthy men have been killed or ruined; for their lords have proclaimed them traitors. And this knight, the alcaide of Alicante, called En Nicolas Peris, defended the castle as long as he had life and so did those who were with him; but because he had not as great a company as he should have had,— as great as that he was taking pay for

from the King of Castile,—and as he had not done there what he was taking yearly pay for from the King of Castile—because of all this he was proclaimed a traitor. And so I tell you that one of the greatest dangers of the world is to hold a castle for a lord, however peaceful the times may be, for in one day and one night that happens which no man had imagined could happen.

And so the said Lord King had taken all the castle and he entrusted it to En Berenguer de Puixmolto; and there was much reason for this, for he had served him well. And then he descended to the town and En Ramon Sacomana and En Jaime Berenguer and En Saverdú, who were of the best of Alicante, swore oath and homage to the Lord King with many others. They had gone down to the town below when they saw that the castle was lost and knew that they could no longer hold out in the town. Assuredly, if the castle had not been taken, they would never have surrendered to the Lord King, wherefore God and the King of Castile held them excused. And the King of Castile, when he knew of it, declared them worthy and loyal, but proclaimed En Nicolas Peris a traitor, as the Lord King had done, who as a good and valiant lord had declared what he had done to be wrong.

Then, when the Lord King had settled Alicante, he went to Elche and besieged it and discharged catapults against it. And during the time he was holding Elche besieged, he took all the valley of Elda and Novelda and of Nompot and Aspe and Petrel and la Mola; and he took Crevillente of which place the alcaide came to him and became his man and vassal. And then he took Abanilla and Callosa and Guardarmar. What shall I tell you? He held Elche besieged so long that he took it; it surrendered to him. And then he took Orihuela and the castle thereof, which Pedro Ruiz de Sent Sabria, who was alcaide there, surrendered to him when he saw that he had taken the town of Orihuela. And it was good that he surrendered the castle without a blow and without cost, for it is one of the strongest and most royal castles of Spain. And so you can imagine that this knight did a very worthy and courteous thing in thus surrendering the castle to the Lord King. And he took the castle of Montagut and the city of Murcia and Cartagena and Lorca and Molina and many other places which, in truth, for the greater part, it was fit should belong to the Lord King by good right,

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according to what you have already heard of the conquest of Murcia. And when the Lord King had taken the city of Murcia and the greater part of the Kingdom, he garrisoned the land and left as procurator the noble En Jaime Pedro, his brother, with much good chivalry which he left there with him.

CLXXXIX

How the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon had news that the Infante En Pedro, his brother, and En Ramon de Anglesola had died at Leon; and how he returned to Aragon with banners unfurled.

And, when he had returned to the Kingdom of Valencia, news came to him that the Infante En Pedro, his brother, [1296] had died of illness at the siege of Leon, and also En Ramon de Anglesola. And the Lord Infante, in his illness, did in due order all that a good Christian should do; he received all the sacraments of Holy Church very devoutly. like a good Christian and chaste and pure as he was. He had never known any woman but my Lady Guillerma de Moncada, his wife. And as he passed from this life, he made as beautiful an end as any Christian of the world could; he begged all that no mourning be made for him until the host had returned to Aragon with his body, and that En Ramon de Anglesola be buried at his feet, as one who, in life and death, had been a faithful companion to him.

And the host departed from Leon with the bodies of the Lord Infante and of En Ramon de Anglesola and returned to Aragon, with banners unfurled. And when they were in Aragon and the Lord King heard the news, he was much displeased at the death of the Lord Infante, and *had all done that was due to him, as a good lord should for a dear and virtuous brother. The Lord Infante was much regretted. God, in His mercy, keep his soul, as He should keep that of a good and just and upright lord.

Now I shall cease to speak of the Lord King of Aragon and shall turn to speak of the events of Sicily.

CXC

How two knights of Catania and Ser Virgili surrendered the city of Catania to Duke Robert, eldest son of King Charles, whom the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon left at Catania when he was going for the second time to the Pope.

The Lord King of Aragon had left Duke Robert at Catania, when he had gone to the Pope for the second time. He went to Naples and to Sicily, but was not able to make peace between the Lord King of Sicily, his brother, and King Charles, his father-in-law. And Duke Robert, the eldest son of King Charles, remained in Sicily, in the city of Catania. Ser Virgili of Naples and two knights of Catania had surrendered the city to him; and then, likewise, Paterno and Aderno and other places were surrendered to him. Thus the war was very great in Sicily; the Duke had a great force of chivalry, he had full three thousand horse, and the Lord King of Sicily had not more than a thousand Catalans and Aragonese, but they of the Lord King of Sicily gained victories over the others every day.

CXCI

How three barons came from France with three hundred knights to aid King Charles and to avenge the death of their kinsmen; and how they, wishing to procure the death of count Galceran and of Don Blasco de Alagon, procured their own.

And it happened that three barons of France came to Sicily in aid of King Charles, to avenge the death of their kinsmen who had been killed in the war in Sicily in the time of the Lord King En Jaime. And these three barons brought with them three hundred knights, all select knights, who were of the best of France, and called themselves the Knights of Death. And they came to Catania with the wish and intention of meeting, at all costs, the noble En Guillermo Galceran, count of Catanzaro, and Don

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Blasco de Alagon, who were of the side of the Lord King of Sicily. And this they swore. When they came to Catania everyone called them the Knights of Death, the name they had given themselves.

What shall I tell you? They heard one day that count Galceran and Don Blasco were in a castle of Sicily called Gagliano. And all three hundred knights, very handsomely arrayed, and others who came to accompany them, went to Gagliano. And count Galceran and Don Blasco knew this, that they had come to the plain of Gagliano, and they reviewed their followers and found they had not more than two hundred horsemen and about three hundred afoot; but they agreed that they would offer battle at all costs. And, at dawn of day, they issued out of Gagliano, in order of battle, trumpets and nakers sounding. And the Knights of Death also, when they saw them, inquired into what forces they had, and found that they were full five hundred horsemen, good men, and many men afoot of their country. And when the hosts saw each other, the almugavars of count Galceran and Don Blasco cried:—"Desperta ferres!"¹³⁴ And, all together, they hit the lances and darts against stones; they all struck sparks, so that it seemed as if all the world were ablaze, and especially as it was not yet daylight. And the French, who saw this, wondered and asked what it meant. And knights who were there and had met almugavars before in Calabria, in feats of arms, told them that this was a custom of the almugavars, who always, on going into battle, awake the iron. The count of Brienne, who was one of these counts of France, said:—"Ah, God," said he, "what is this? We have met devils! Those who awake iron, it seems, mean to attack, and I believe that we have found what we have been seeking." And then he made the sign of the Cross and commended himself to God and, in order of battle, they advanced against each other.

And count Galceran and Don Blasco would not form a van and rear, but, all collected together, the chivalry on the left and the almugavars on the right, attacked the van of the others in such manner that it seemed all the world was crumbling. And the battle was very cruel, and the

¹³⁴"Awake the iron!""??

almugavars hurled the darts so that it was devil's work what they did, for at the first charge more than a hundred knights and horses of the French fell dead to the ground. Then they broke their lances short and disembowelled horses, and they went about amongst them as if they were walking in a garden. And count Galceran and Don Blasco went at the banners of the French in such manner that they threw them all to the ground, and then might you see feats of arms, and blows given and taken, for there was never so cruel a battle between so few people. This lasted until midday; no man could know who was having the best of it, had it not been for the banners of the French, which were all cut down, except that of the count de Brienne, who raised it up when the bearer was killed and entrusted it to another knight. And when the Catalans and Aragonese saw that the others held out so well, a cry arose amongst them, and they shouted:—"Aragon! Aragon!" And then this name inflamed all and they attacked so vigorously that it was the greatest marvel of the world. So, of the French, there were no more than eighty knights left and they went up a hill, and then count Galceran and Don Blasco attacked them. What shall I tell you? All kept the name they had brought from France: they had called themselves Knights of Death, and all died. Of all three hundred and also of those who accompanied them there escaped not more than five men on light horses. They were from Catania and were going, with the French as guides.

And when all were dead, the company of count Galceran and Don Blasco searched the field. And it can be said that they had made so much gain that those who had been in this battle were rich for ever. And they enquired into how many men they had lost, and found that they had lost about twenty-two horse and thirty-four foot. And so, cheerful and content, when they had searched the field, they entered Gagliano and there, in Gagliano and in Traina they put the wounded and had them well provided for.

And the news came to the Lord King of Sicily, who, was at Nicosia, and he had great pleasure in it, he and all who wished him well. And on the fourth day after the battle, count Galceran and Don Blasco went to reconnoitre Paterno and Aderno and they made a great capture of

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Frenchmen who had come from Catania t??or the wood, for grass and wood. And there were there full two hundred French knights who had come to guard the pack-mules and who were all killed or taken. And so they mourned at Catania, at that time, for the death of the Knights of Death. And so likewise King Charles and the Pope had great grief thereat, when they knew of it. The Pope said:—“We thought we had achieved something and we have achieved nothing; it seems to us that this man will defend Sicily against us as well as his father and his brother have done; and, although he is but a youth, he will show from what House he is issued. Wherefore I believe that, in the end, if we do not win him by a peace, we shall have nothing but damage through him.”

CXCII

How King Charles sent his son, the Prince of Taranto, to Sicily with twelve hundred armed horse and fifty galleys; and how he was defeated at Trapani by the Lord King En Fadrique of Sicily and taken and imprisoned in the castle of Cefalu.

When King Charles knew this, he made his son, the Prince of Taranto, get ready at Naples and gave him full twelve hundred armed horse-between French, and Provençals and Neapolitans, all select people. And he had fifty galleys equipped, all with open decks. And they embarked. And King Charles commanded his son, the Prince, to go, at all costs, straight to the shore of Cape Orlando, to the castle of San Marco, and to Castallo and to Francavilla; it was better that he should land there in safety on their own territory, than that he should collect a host for himself in another place. There, there was great chivalry of the Duke,¹³⁵ who would be with him at once and, again, he would have great refreshment from the places that were held for him and, from that place, he could, at any time, go to Catania through their country which was held for them. And, assuredly, King

¹³⁵Robert, Duke of Calabria, brother of the Prince of Taranto.

Charles spoke the truth to him who should have believed him; but the young man sometimes did not conform willingly to wisdom, rather followed more his own will.

And so the Prince with all the followers embarked at Naples and took leave of King Charles, his father, who made the sign of the Cross over him and blessed him and exhorted him to do well, he and all who were with him. And all kissed his hands and embarked and steered for Trapani. See how they remembered what King Charles had said to them! They all said to the Prince:—“Lord, let us land as far from the Duke as we can and then, with banner unfurled, we shall go to Catania, ravaging and burning all we meet. It would be a shame for you to join the Duke at once, it would seem that you dare not do anything by yourself.”

And so the Prince accepted this advice, not remembering what King Charles had commanded him to do, and so he went to Trapani. And when they sailed past Cabo di Gallo, the men on land who were on the look-out saw that they were steering for Trapani and at once a message went to the Lord King of Sicily who was at Castrogiovanni, as one might say in the centre of the island, so that he could at once hasten here or there. And when he knew that the Prince was steering for Trapani, he sent to his barons throughout all Sicily, to join him at Calatafimi where they would find him, and so likewise he sent to tell En Ugueto de Ampurias, who was at Reggio in Calabria. And as each received the message he proceeded to join the Lord King.

But the Prince had such fine weather that, before the Lord King had assembled all his followers, he had landed on the beach of Trapani, between Trapani and Mazzara, and had put the horses and all his followers ashore and came to Trapani and attacked it, but could do nothing against it, rather took damage himself. And so he left and went to Mazzara. But the Lord King was there first, with the people he had with him, namely seven hundred armed horse and three thousand almugavars. And with the Lord King were count Galceran and Don Blasco and Don G. Ramon de Moncada and En Berenguer de Entenza and many other accomplished knights. And when the hosts came in sight of each other, each was put in order of battle; and count Galceran and En G. Ramon de Moncada and Don Blasco

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commanded the van of the Lord King of Sicily, and they put the foot-soldiers on the right and the chivalry on the left.

And when the almugavars saw that they were about to attack, they all cried:—"Awake the iron And all struck the iron of their lances on the ground it seemed like great illuminations, at which all they of the Prince's host were much alarmed, when they knew the meaning of it, as the Knights of Death had known it. With that the two vans approached each other and proceeded to attack vigorously; it was wonderful. And when the van of the Lord King of Sicily had attacked, the Lord King, who was beautifully arrayed on a good horse, he, a young man and accomplished in arms and valiant, would wait no longer; rather he went straight to where the banner of the Prince was, and attacked so vigorously that he, in person, gave the standard-bearer of the Prince such a thrust with his lance that he threw him and the banner in a heap on the ground. And then might you see feats of arms. And the Prince, likewise, was tall and handsome and a young man, and one of the most accomplished knights of the world, so that what he and the Lord King did in person was marvellous. What shall I tell you? The Prince wanted to raise his banner and all the good chivalry of both sides collected round it and the Lord King did not leave the press, rather strove. to prevent the banner of the Prince being raised up. And so, in that press, the Lord King met the Prince and they recognised each other, and both rejoiced, and then might you see the two fight hand to hand; assuredly each might say he had found his match. They fought so hard, each discharged on the other every weapon he had. But in the end the Lord King gave such a blow of his mace on the head of the Prince's horse that he made it senseless and it fell to the ground. And as soon as the Prince had fallen a knight, called Martin Pérez de Aros, dismounted, for he knew it was the Prince and he wanted to kill him. But the Lord King cried:—"No, he shall not die!" Don Blasco came up and cried:—"Kill him." But the Lord King cried:—"No." The Lord King wished to dismount and then En Martin Pérez de Aros cried:—"Lord, do not dismount; I will guard him, he shall not be killed as you do not wish it." And so the Lord King can say that he was a good father on that day to the Prince, who had life given back to him by God and the King. May God count it to him as a great merit, although it

is but right that gentle blood should preserve its equal. And when the Prince knew that the Lord King, with whom he had fought so hard, was still there, he surrendered to him and the Lord King entrusted him to the said En Martin Pérez de Aros and his brother En Pérez de Aros and to En Garcia Ximonis de Ayvar. And when he had thus entrusted him he went about the battle-field, mace *in* hand, where he saw the greatest press, and performed so many deeds of arms that day that everyone could know that he was the son of the good king En Pedro and grandson of good King En Jaime. What shall I tell You? He went gaily about the field of battle, killing knights and knocking down horses, as a lion goes about amongst cattle. And of the almugavars I can tell you the deed of one called Porcell, who was afterwards of my company in Romania. He gave such a cut with his coutel to a French knight that the greaves with the leg came off in one piece and besides it entered half a palm into the horse's flank. And of the darts it is needless to say anything; there was one which passed through the knight who was attacking from behind his shield, passing through the shield and the armed knight. And so the battle was won and all the followers of the Prince who were on the ground were killed or taken prisoner.

And when the battle had been won the Lord King sent to Trapani and Mazzara and Calatafimi and Castellamare and Alcamo, to say that everyone should bring bread and wine, for he wished to remain on the field of battle all that day, and that his followers should collect the booty, and that every man should have what he had gained; he wished to have nothing more than the Prince and all banner lords who were prisoners; the other prisoners should belong to those who had taken them. And so, great refreshment came to the field and every man eat and drank his fill. And the Lord King himself had his own tents pitched there and there he dined with all his richs homens. And so, likewise, he made the Prince rest in a beautiful tent, and they took off his armour and sent for the physicians of the Lord King to mend a great wound in his face from a bordon, and other wounds.

And that day they all rested on the field of battle in the tents. and the followers collected the booty; there was no one who had not an infinity of gain. And at night, the Lord King, joyous and content, with all the host and

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with the Prince and all the other prisoners, entered Trapani and there they stayed four days. And then the Lord King commanded the Prince to be taken to the castle of Cefalu and there he was well guarded and well provided for. And the other richs homens, prisoners likewise, he distributed amongst the castles and entrusted them to divers knights.

And as he commanded, so it was done; the Prince was taken to Cefalu by short journeys and such a guard was ordained for him as was suitable for such a lord. And when all this was done, the Lord King and the knights returned each to his place on the frontier.

And so I must cease to speak to you of the Lord King and must turn to speak to you of the Duke and King Charles.

CXCIII

How King Charles and the Apostolic sent word to King Philip of France to be pleased to send his brother, micer Charles, to Sicily; for the Pope would provide for him from the treasure of Saint Peter; which was granted by him and the Twelve Peers of France.

When the Duke knew his brother had been taken prisoner, and knew his defeat and the great hurt he had taken, you may imagine how displeased he was, and King Charles above all the others. And all the noble Houses of Naples had lost their chiefs. And so the Pope was very sad when he knew it, and if he spoke well when he knew the death of the Knights of Death, he now spoke fully twice as well. He said the treasure of Saint Peter would be exhausted if they did not make peace with this King Fadrique. He sent a cardinal to France, with messengers from King Charles who likewise went there, to beg the King of France to send his brother, micer Charles, to Sicily, in aid of the Duke; and to say that if he did not, he must reckon that the Duke would have to do one of two things: either he must abandon all he possessed in Sicily, or. he would have to be either killed or taken prisoner there. And that the Pope offered to give to micer Charles, out of the treasure of the Church, whatever pay he pleased, and to all knights he would bring with him. And he begged him, if he could, to bring

five thousand knights with him, and that he would provide them with money.

And so the messengers of King Charles and the cardinal went to France and put the matter before the King of France and the Twelve Peers. And in the end it was ordained that, on no account, should King Charles nor his sons be forsaken by the House of France; the honour and the hurt of King Charles concerned the House of France more than any other. And I shall tell you that they were well advised because, if the other kings of the world did the same and helped those issued from them, it would be better for them; they would be more feared than they are when they are forsaken by them. And so it was agreed that micer Charles, in person, should go there and should provide himself with richs homens and knights, as many as he liked; the Church would pay for all.

Micer Charles willingly undertook the journey to Sicily, from which, if he had wished, he could have refrained. It might have sufficed him that he had accepted the grant of the Kingdom of Aragon in opposition to the Lord King En Pedro, his uncle, but now he had undertaken the expedition against the Lord King of Sicily, who is his cousin-german. It must end badly for him. And everyone can see how such ingratitude ends. For a hundred years the House of France has done nothing that has ended to its honour, rather disgrace has come to them always, And so it will happen to all who do not walk in truth and justice.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of micer Charles of France, who is providing himself with the retinue with which he is to pass into Sicily, and I must turn to speak to you of a valiant man of poor estate who, by his valour, rose in a short time to a greater than any man yet born. And I wish to tell you about it in this place, because his deeds, which follow, were most marvellous and important and are all counted, as they should be, to the glory of the House of Aragon. And what has partly moved me to make this book are the great marvels which have happened through him, and the great Catalan and Aragonese victories there have been in Romania, which were begun by him. Of these marvels no one can recount the truth so well as I who was in Sicily in the time of his prosperity as his procurator-general

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and took part in all his affairs, in the most important he undertook by sea and by land. Wherefore you should all the more believe me.

CXCIV

Recounts the beginnings of Frey Roger who was afterwards so exalted; and of the great deeds of prowess he performed in his life.

It is the truth that the Emperor Frederick¹³⁶ had a falconer, who was from Germany and was called Richard de Flor¹³⁷ and was a very gallant man. And he gave him to wife, at Brindisi, a damsel, daughter of an honourable man of the city of Brindisi, who was a wealthy man. Between what the Emperor gave him and what he had with his wife he became a very rich man. And by her he had two sons; the eldest was called Jacobo de Flor, and the younger was called Roger de Flor. And at the time Conradin came to the Kingdom of Sicily, the elder of these was not more than four years old, and Roger not more than one. And their father was a man expert in arms and wished to fight in the battle¹³⁸ of Conradin against King Charles, and in that battle he was killed. And King Charles, when he had seized the Kingdom, took for himself everything belonging to all who had been in the battle, and what had belonged to the family of the Emperor or of King Manfred. There remained no more to those boys than what their mother had brought as her marriage portion, for, of the rest, they were disinherited.

And, at that time, the ships of commercial houses touched at Brindisi, and those of Apulia, who wished to take pilgrims and provisions from the Kingdom, came there to spend the winter. The commercial houses all had, and have still, great establishments at Brindisi and in an Apulia and in all the Kingdom. And so the ships which winter there begin to load up in the spring to go to Acre, and take pilgrims and oil and wine and all kinds of

¹³⁶Frederick II.

¹³⁷A literal translation of his German name, Blume.

¹³⁸The battle of Tagliacozzo, 1268.

grain of wheat. And, assuredly, it is the best fitted out place for the passage beyond sea of any belonging to Christians, and in the most abundant and fertile land, and it is very near Rome; and it has the best harbour of the world, so that there are houses right down to the sea.

And later on, when the boy Roger was about eight, it happened that a notable of the Templars, a brother sergeant, called Frey Vassayll, who was a native of Marseilles and was commander of a ship of the Templars and was a good seaman, came with his ship to spend a winter at Brindisi, and he took in ballast and had the ship repaired in Apulia. And whilst he was having the ship repaired, the boy Roger ran about the ship and the rigging as lightly as if he were a monkey, and all day he was with the sailors, because the house of his mother was near to where the ship was taking in ballast. And the notable, Frey Vassayll, took a liking to the boy Roger; he loved him as if he were his son, and he asked his mother for him and said that, if she gave him up to him, he would do all in his power to get him a good post with the Templars. And the mother, as he seemed to her a man of importance, gave the boy up to him willingly, and he received him. And the boy turned out the most expert boy at sea; he performed marvels of climbing and of all things. When he was fifteen he was considered one of the best mariners of the world, and when he was twenty he was an accomplished mariner in theory and in practice, so that the worthy Frey Vassayll let him do entirely as he liked with the ship. And the Master of the Templars, seeing him so zealous and expert, gave him the mantle and made him brother sergeant and a short time after he had been made a brother, the Templars bought a great ship from the Genoese, the greatest that had been built at that time, and it was called the Falcon, and they gave it to this Frey Roger de Flor. And in this ship he sailed a long time, showing great knowledge and great valour. He found himself at Acre in this ship and the Templars did so well with this ship that they liked none so well as this one. This Frey Roger was the most generous man ever born; he can only be compared to the young King. And all he gained he divided and gave to the principal Templars and to many friends he knew how to make.

And, at that time, Acre was lost, and he was in the harbour of Acre with his ship and brought away ladies and damsels and great treasure and

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many important people. And then, likewise, he brought the people to Montpelegrin, so that he made infinite gain on that journey. And when he returned, he gave much to the Master, and to those who were powerful amongst the Templars. And when this was done, envious people accused him to the Master, saying that he had a great treasure which had remained to him of the affair at Acre. The Master seized all that he found of *his*, and then wanted to seize him. But he heard of this and left the ship in the harbour of Marseilles and went to Genoa, where he found micer Ticino Doria and other friends he had known how to make; and he borrowed so much from them that he bought a good galley, called Oliveta, and fitted it out very well. And he came to the Duke at Catania with the galley and offered himself to him, to support him with the galley and in person. But the Duke did not receive him well, neither in deeds nor in words, and so he remained three days without being able to get a favourable answer. And on the fourth day he appeared before him and said:—“Lord, I see it does not please you that I should be in your service, wherefore I commend you to God, and shall go and seek another lord, to whom my service will be pleasing.” And the Duke answered that he might go and good luck go with him.

And he embarked at once and came to Messina, where he found the Lord King Fadrique; and he appeared before him and offered himself to him, as he had done to the Duke. And the Lord King received him very graciously and thanked him for his offer. And at once he made him a member of his household and assigned him good and honourable provision. And he and all who had come with him did homage to the King. Frey Roger, when he saw the fine and honourable reception the Lord King gave him, was very content. And when he had remained eight days with the Lord King and had refreshed his followers, he took leave of the Lord King and set his course for Apulia, and he took a ship of King Charles loaded with victuals, which was going to the Duke, to Catania. And at once he manned it with some of his company, and those of the ship he put in the galley, and sent the ship, which was three-decked and loaded with grain and other provisions, to Syracuse. And, afterwards, he took full ten terides, likewise loaded with provisions which King Charles was sending to the

Duke. And with these terides he came to Syracuse, where there was a great lack of provisions. And with the galley he likewise put some provisions into the castle of Agosta. What shall I tell you? With that prize he provisioned Syracuse and the castle of Agosta and Lentini and all the other places holding out for the Lord King round Syracuse. And he arranged to sell the victuals in a great market at Syracuse and sent some to Messina. And with the money he paid the soldiers who were in the castle of Syracuse and in the city and at Agosta and at Lentini and all the other places. He paid everyone for six months, some in coin, some in victuals. And so he revived everything. And when he had done this, he had still left, of the gain he had made, full eight thousand onzas. And he came to Messina and sent to the Lord King, who was going about Sicily, a thousand onzas in fine carlinos, and paid also, for six months, the soldiers who were with count de Squilace, and at Calana and La Mota and at the castle of Santa Agata and at Penteditilo and Amandolea and Gerace; namely in money and in victuals. And then he equipped at once, besides his own, four galleys which he took from the dockyard. And when he had equipped them, he at once set his course again for Apulia and took, at Otranto, the ship of En Berenguer Samuntada of Barcelona, which was loaded with wheat belonging to King Charles, a great three-decked ship which King Charles was sending to Catania. And he manned it and sent it to Messina, and he gave a great largesse to the city from the other ships and lenys he took; he sent over thirty there, likewise loaded with provisions, so that his gain was infinite, and the good he did to Messina and Reggio and all the district was immense.

And when he had done all this, he bought full fifty mounts, all of good quality, and mounted Catalan and Aragonese squires which he received in his company, and he took five Catalan and Aragonese knights into his house, and with a great quantity of money he went to where the Lord King was and found him at Piazza; and there he gave him more than a thousand onzas in coin and, more than to any others, he gave to Don Blasco and En G. Galceran and En Berenguer de Entenza, for whom he conceived so much love that they lived like brothers and agreed that all things should be in common between them. What shall I tell you? There was no rich hom or

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knight who did not accept his presents and, in all the castles to which he came, he paid the soldiers for six months. So did he strengthen the Lord King and refresh his followers that one of them was worth as much as two had been before. And the Lord King, seeing his worth, made him vice-admiral of Sicily and a member of his council, and gave him the castles of Tripi and Alicata and the revenues of Malta.

And Frey Roger, seeing the honour bestowed on him by the Lord King, left his company of horse with him and left, as their chiefs, two knights, one called En Berenguer de Montroig, a Catalan, and the other micer Roger de la Matina; and he left money with them for their keep and for what they would need. And he took leave of the Lord King and came to Messina and equipped five galleys and a leny, and proceeded to scour all the Principality and the Roman shore, and the strand of Pisa and Genoa and of Provence and of Catalonia and Spain and Barbary. And all he found, belonging to friend or foe, in coin or valuable goods, which he could put on board the galleys, he took. And, to friends, he wrote out a note of his debt and told them that, when peace was made, he would pay them; and, from enemies, he took all of value he found, but left them their lenys and their lives, for he injured nobody's person. And so everyone parted from him satisfied and he made endless gain in that journey, in gold and silver and valuable goods, as much as the galleys could carry.

And so, with this gain, he returned to Sicily, where all the soldiers, horse and foot, were awaiting him as the Jews do the Messiah. And when he came to Trapani, he heard that the Duke had marched against Messina and was besieging it by sea and by land, but Frey Roger went to Syracuse and there dismantled his galleys. And wherever the soldiers were awaiting him, full of confidence, he proceeded to succour them, for to every man, horse or foot, he found guarding a castle in Sicily and in Calabria, he gave pay for further six months; so that all the soldiers were so full of good will that one was worth as much as two. And then he sent at once for his company and likewise paid it and sent the Lord King and all the richs homens great refreshment of money.

CXCV

How Duke Robert besieged Messina with all his power and how, hearing this, the Lord King En Fadrique sent Don Blasco and count Galceran to Messina with succours; and how Duke Robert, hearing this, passed into Calabria wherent all they of Messina were much displeased.

It is true that the Duke knew that there were not many provisions in Messina and thought that he could reduce the city if he went to Catona with his host.: and the fleet, when there, would prevent any leny or barge from entering Messina or Reggio; and so he could carry on two sieges and especially he could reduce Messina, for no succour could come to it by land, as he held Milazzo and Monforte and Castallo and Francavilla and Gaig and Catania. And he ordered the frontiers in this way: he left a company at Catania and Paterno and Aderno and Cero and other places, and came to Messina with all his fleet, which consisted of over a hundred galleys; and he landed at Rocamadore and then came to Borgo, where the market is held, and sacked and burnt it. And then he came to the dockyard and there burned two galleys, but the others were successfully defended against him. What shall I tell you? Every day brought us a great battle, and I can tell you so, for I was at the siege from the first day to the last, and I had my company established from the tower of Santa Clara to the palace of the Lord King. And, assuredly, in that place we had to bear more trouble than there was in any other part of the city, for they gave us plenty to do, some by land, some by sea.

With that, the Lord King of Sicily made Don Blasco and count Galceran get ready with seven hundred horsemen, shield on neck and, with two thousand almugavars besides, he sent them to succour Messina, with orders not to depart thence until they had fought with the Duke. And do not believe they wished for anything else, for they all went with their hearts set on it. And when they were at Tripi they sent us word that, in the morning at dawn, they would be with us before Messina, and that we should attack the host of the Duke on one side and they would attack it on

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the other. And so we, very cheerfully, prepared to sally out in the morning and to attack. But in the night the Duke heard this and when it was day they had all passed into Calabria; not one remained, except that they left some tents which they could not strike, for they had been surprised by the dawn.

And so, at dawn, Don Blasco and count Galceran, with all their company in battle array, were on the mountain ready to attack Matagrifon, and they of the city were ready to sally out; but when they looked, they found no one, for all had passed to Catona and there they established themselves. And so Don Blasco and count Galceran, with that company, entered Messina and all were displeased when they found no battle. En Xivert de Iosa, who carried the banner of count Galceran, sent those at Catona a juglar with coplas in which he let them know that they were ready, if they wished to return to Messina, to let them land in safety, and then they would fight them. But they would do nothing of the kind, for they feared these two richs homens more than any one in the world. And so they should, for they were very accomplished knights and very valiant and they had won many battles.

CXCVI

How Messina, being on the point of being abandoned owing to famine, was revived by Frey Roger with ten galleys loaded with wheat; wherefore the Duke had to raise the siege on the following day and returned to Catania.

And so, the siege lasted so long that Messina was on the point of being abandoned, because of famine, though the Lord King entered it twice, and each time put in over ten thousand beasts laden with wheat and flour, and much cattle; but all this was as nothing, for wheat brought by land amounts to nothing, for the company and the chivalry who accompany it, have already eaten much of it on their return, and so the city was greatly distressed.

And Frey Roger who knew this, had six galleys at Syracuse and bought four which were at Palermo and Trapani, belonging to Genoese; and so he had ten galleys and he loaded them with wheat at Sciacca and came to Syracuse and waited for a strong south-east or south wind. And when it came, it was so strong, that all the sea was in turmoil; no man who was not so good a mariner would have dared to think of sailing from Syracuse as he did at nightfall. At dawn he was at Boca del Faro. It is the greatest wonder of the world how anything survived at Boca del Faro, for when there happens to be a south-east wind or a south wind, the currents are so great and the sea is so high that nothing can hold out. But he, his own galley foremost, proceeded to enter with the large lateen sails drawn up and furled. And when the galleys of the Duke saw them, all began to shout; they wanted to raise their anchors, but they could not do it. And so the ten galleys with Frey Roger entered Messina safe and sound, but there was not a man who had a dry stitch on. And as soon as he was at Messina, Frey Roger had the wheat cried at thirty silver reales the ton, which had cost him over sixty silver reales, besides the expenses, and he might have sold it at ten onzas the salma¹³⁹ if he had wished. And so Messina was revived and next day the Duke raised the siege and returned to Catania.

And so you can understand whether the lords of the world should despise anyone; you see what service this nobleman rendered to the Lord King of Sicily who, in his courtesy, received him well; and what disservice he did to the Duke for the bad reception he had given him.

¹³⁹Ton.

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CXCVII

How micer Charles of France passed into Sicily with four thousand knights and landed at Termini and besieged Sciacca, where, out of four thousand, they could not assemble the number of five hundred, for all died of sickness.

And when Messina was relieved all Sicily and all Calabria were full of great joy and great content, as were also the Lord King of Sicily and all his barons; and King Charles and the Pope were full of concern and fear that the Duke was lost with all who were with him. And they proceeded to send swift messengers to micer Charles to tell him to come back. And micer Charles came to Naples and brought four thousand knights in the pay of the Pope. And when he came to Naples he proceeded to go on board the galleys which the Duke had sent and others which were at Naples, which King Charles had had apparelled, as well as lenys and ships and terides. And he went and landed at Termini and there they made a great feast. And, as a good beginning, there was a great fight at Termini between Latins and Provençals and French, so great that, altogether, over two thousand persons were killed. And they departed from Termini and went to besiege the town of Sciacca, which is on the outer coast * And, assuredly, it is the weakest town and the least strong fort of Sicily. And they stayed there a long time, shooting with catapults. And I assure you that the Lord King of Aragon would be much annoyed if he besieged such a town and did not take it in a month, either voluntarily surrendered or taken by assault. But they could do nothing; rather, when the siege was closest by sea and by land, there entered by sea, in the right, a knight of Peralada, called En Simon de Vallguarnera, with full two hundred men of birth on horseback and many afoot. And when he was within, the place was such that few had any fear of besiegers, rather they did them great damage. What shall I tell you? The siege lasted so long that micer Charles of France and the Duke lost all the knights they had, through sickness and, of the

followers, a great part, so that, certainly, amongst them all they could not make up five hundred horsemen.

CXVIII

How the interview between the Lord King En Fadrique of Sicily and micer Charles of France took place and of the peace which was treated of and concluded; and how the Lord King En Fadrique of Sicily married Naleonor, daughter of King Charles.

And King Fadrique with all his power was thirty leagues away, at a place called Calatabellota. And with him were count Galceran with his company and En Huguetto de Ampurias, count de Squilace and En Berenguer de Entenza and En G. R. de Moncada and Don Sancho of Aragon, brother of the Lord King En Fadrique, and Frey Roger and micer Mateo de Termini and micer Conrado Lansa and many other richs homens and knights who cried to the Lord King every day:—“Let us go to Sciacca and take micer Charles and the Duke for, assuredly, we can safely do it.” But the Lord King said:” Barons, do you not know that the King of France is Our cousin-german, and micer Charles as well? Then, how can you advise me to go and seize micer Charles, a thing which is in our power? But God does not wish that we should inflict so great a disgrace on the House of France, nor on him who is our cousin-german. If now he is opposed to us, peradventure, another time, he will be with us.” Nothing could make him think otherwise.

What shall I tell you? Micer Charles came to know this and when he heard it, he reflected and said:—“Ah, God, what gentle blood is that of the House of Aragon! I remember well that King Philip, my brother, and I would have been killed in Catalonia, if King En Pedro, our uncle, had wished it; and he had great cause, for what We did against him, to wish us to be killed. And so, likewise, King Fadrique, his son, is doing by me. Assuredly, I know that it is in his power to have us killed or taken prisoners, but, in his courtesy and uprightness, his heart will not allow it. And so my ingratitude was great in fighting against him; wherefore, as

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things stand thus, owing to their goodness and our wickedness, it is right that I do not depart from Sicily until peace is made between Holy Church and him and King Charles.”

And it was true that everything was in his hands, for he had power from the Pope; whatever he did, great or small, in war or in peace, would be confirmed by Holy Church. And he had the same power from King Charles; wherefore he soon sent his messengers to Calatabellota and asked for an interview with the Lord King En Fadrique, to take place between Calatabellota and Sciacca. And the interview was granted and they both came to it and kissed and embraced each other. And all that day they were together, quite alone, parleying. And then, at night, each returned to his place, leaving the tents ready for the next day. And next day, in the morning, they came to the same place. What shall I tell you? The two, quite alone, treated of the peace, and then they admitted the Duke and, of the others, those they pleased. And the peace was made in such way that King Charles left the island of Sicily to King Fadrique and gave him in marriage Naleonor, who was, and is still, one of the wisest Christian ladies and the best of the world,¹⁴⁰ except only my Lady Blanca, her sister, Queen of Aragon. And the King of Sicily abandoned to him all he had in Calabria and in all the dominion. And this was signed on both sides; and that the interdict on Sicily should be raised. All the Kingdom had great joy thereat.

And at once the siege of Sciacca was raised and micer Charles and his followers went by land to Messina and they were well received everywhere. And the Duke abandoned Catania and all the other places he had in Sicily, and came to Messina, and the Lord King did the same. And the King showed much honour to micer Charles and sent to Cefalu for the Prince and surrendered him to micer Charles. And the feast there was great. And micer Charles and all took leave of the Lord King and went to Calabria, which the King surrendered to them.

¹⁴⁰Eleanor, third daughter of Charles II of Naples. The marriage, sanctioned by Boniface VIII, was celebrated in May 1302.

Muntaner

And, a short time after, King Charles sent my Lady the Infanta with great splendour to Messina where the Lord King Fadrique was, who received her with great solemnity. And there, in Messina, in the church of Our Lady Santa Maria la Nova, he married her; and 1302 on that day the interdict was raised throughout all the land of Sicily by a Legate of the Pope, who was an archbishop and came on the part of the Pope. And all men were forgiven all the sins they had committed in the war. And on that day a crown was placed on the head of my Lady, the Queen of Sicily, and the feast was the greatest ever made in Messina.

CXCIX¹⁴¹

How Frey Roger began to treat of the passage into Romania and sent messengers to the Emperor of Constantinople to let him know that he was ready to go there with Catalans, and that the Emperor was to marry him to the niece of the Emperor Lantzaura and must make him Grand Duke; all of which was granted by the Emperor.

And whilst this great feast was being made and everyone was making holiday, Frey Roger was full of thought, considering what he would do later on, and he was the wisest man in the world for foresight. He reflected thus: – “This lord is lost to us and I see he will not be able to give anything to the Catalans and Aragonese and they will be a great hindrance to him. They are like all men, and cannot live without eating and drinking; and so, getting nothing from the Lord King, they will keep an enforced Lent, and in the end they will destroy all the land and will all die one after the other. And so it is necessary, as thou hast served the Lord King so long, who has shown thee so much honour, that thou deliverest him from these people, for his honour and for the advantage of them all.” And so, also, he thought about himself, that it would not do him any good to tarry in Sicily; that, as

¹⁴¹In this chapter Muntaner begins his account of the expedition of the Grand Company (or Catalan Company) to Greece, in which he took a prominent part.

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the Lord King was at peace with the Church, and as King Charles and the Duke hated him so much, the Master of the Templars might claim him of the Pope; and that the Lord King would have to do one of two things: either he would have to obey the Pope and deliver him up to him, or begin the war again, and he would be sorry that the Lord King should receive such an affront through him.

And when he had considered all this, which was true, he went to the Lord King and took him into a chamber and told him all these matters which he had considered, and when he had told it, he said:—“Lord, I have thought that, if you wish it and you assist me, I shall, in this matter, assist you and all those who have served you and me also.” And the Lord King said that it pleased him much and that he was very grateful to him for what he had decided, and begged him to arrange for it in such manner that he be blameless in the matter and that it be to the profit of those who had served him; and that he was ready and prepared to give all the aid he could.

“Then, Lord,” said Frey Roger, “by your leave, I shall send two knights with an armed galley to the Emperor of Constantinople,¹⁴² and shall let him know that I am ready to go to him with as great a company of horse and foot, all Catalans and Aragonese, as he wishes, and that he should give us pay and all necessaries; that I know he greatly needs these succours, for the Turks have taken from him land of the extent of thirty journeys; and he could not do as much with any people as with Catalans and Aragonese, and especially with those who have carried on this war against King Charles.” And the Lord King answered:—“Frey Roger, you know more in these matters than We do; nevertheless, it seems to Us that your idea is good, and so ordain what you please, We shall be well satisfied with what you ordain.” And upon this Frey Roger kissed the King’s hand and departed from him and went to his lodging where he remained all that day arranging matters. And the Lord King and the others attended the feast and the diversions and disportings.

¹⁴²Andronicus II Palaeologus.

And when the next day came, he had a galley equipped and called two knights whom he trusted, and told them all he had planned; and also told them that, above all, they should make a treaty by which he would obtain, as wife, the niece¹⁴³ of the Emperor of Lantzaura,¹⁴⁴ and also that he be made Grand Duke of the Empire; and again, that the Emperor give pay for four months to all those he would bring, at the rate of four onzas a month to each armed horseman and one onza a month to each man afoot. And that he keep them at this pay all the time they wished to remain, and that they find the pay at Monemvasia. And Frey Roger gave them the articles of all this, as well of these matters as of all they were to do. And I know this, as I, myself, was present at the dictating and ordering of these articles. And he gave them power, by an adequate permit, to sign everything for him, as well about the marriage as about other matters. And, assuredly, the knights were worthy and wise, and when they had heard the plan, a few articles would have sufficed them; nevertheless all was done in regular order.

With that, when they were ready, they took leave of Frey Roger who held the matter for concluded, because his renown was great in the House of the Emperor, from the time he was commanding the ship of the Templars called the Falcon, when he had done many favours to ships of the Emperor which he met beyond the seas, and he knew Greek very well. And so, likewise, he was very renowned in Romania and throughout all the world for the help he had given so freely to the Lord King of Sicily, and so he was able to provide himself very fully with followers. Thus En Berenguer de Entenza, with whom he had sworn brotherhood, promised to follow him, and also En Ferran de Ahones and En Corberan de Alet and En

¹⁴³Maria, daughter (not niece) of Azan, King of the Bulgars, and Irene, sister of the Emperor Andronicus II.

¹⁴⁴This is Muntaner's rendering of 'Azan,' or 'Asen.' He speaks throughout indiscriminately of 'the Emperor Lantzaura,' and 'the Emperor of Lantzaura.' The Azans, or Asens did not reign long over the Bulgars; the first king of this dynasty was a Vlach shepherd, who rose against the tyranny of the Emperor Isaac: Angelus II, and was crowned as John Asen I at Tirnovo in 1187, and the last was John Asen II who was murdered in 1257.

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Martin de Logran, and En Pedro de Aros and En Sancho de Aros and En Berenguer de Rocafort and many other Catalan and Aragonese knights; and of the almugavars full four thousand, all expert, who, from the time of the Lord King En Pedro until that day, had carried on the war in Sicily. He was very cheerful, and helped all meanwhile as much as he could; he did not leave them in want of anything.

And the galley went so fast that, in a short time, it was at Constantinople where it found the Emperor, Skyr Andronicus and his eldest son, Skyr Miqueli. And when the Emperor had heard the message, he was very joyous and content and received the messengers well and, in the end, the matter came to pass as Frey Roger had dictated; the Emperor wished Frey Roger to have to wife, his niece, daughter of the Emperor of Lantzaura. She was at once affianced to one of the knights for Frey Roger. Then Skyr Andronicus agreed that all the company Frey Roger would bring should be in the pay of the Emperor; four onzas pay for each armed horse and one onza for each man afoot, and four onzas for each boatswain and one onza for each steersman, and twenty silver reales for each cross-bowman and twenty-five silver reales for each seaman of the prow; and they should be paid every four months. And if, at any time, there was anyone who wished to go west, that the reckoning be made according to the agreement and that he be paid and allowed to return, and receive pay for two months whilst returning; and that Frey Roger be made Grand Duke of all the Empire. And Grand Duke is a title which means the same as prince and lord over all the soldiers of the Empire, with authority over the admiral; and all the islands of Romania are subject to him and also all the places on the sea-coasts.

And the Emperor sent the charter of his title of Grand Duke to Frey Roger in a handsome gold casket, signed by him and his sons, and he sent him the baton of the office and the banner and hat (all the officials of Romania have a special hat the like of which no other man may wear). And so likewise he granted that they should find provision of pay at Monemvasia and of all they would need on arrival

CC

How the messengers of Frey Roger returned from Constantinople to Messina with every success and all grants; and he was made Grand Duke of all Romania, and how the Lord King Fadrique of Sicily caused ten galleys and two lenys to be given him and assisted him with money and provided him with victuals.

And so, joyous and content, the messengers returned to Sicily with everything signed, and found Frey Roger at Alicata and told him all they had done and gave him the grants of everything, and the baton and the hat and the banner and the seal of the office of Grand Duke. And henceforth he will be called the Grand Duke.

And when the Grand Duke had received everything, he went to the Lord King whom he found at Palermo with my Lady the Queen, and then he told him all about the matter. And the Lord King was very joyous thereat and, incontinent, had ten galleys of the dockyard and two lenys given him, and had them repaired and fitted out for him. And the Grand Duke already had eight of his own, and so he had eighteen and two lenys; and then he freighted three large ships and many terides and more lenys, and sent word to all parts that everyone who was to go with him should come to Messina. And the Lord King assisted everyone as much as he could with money and gave each person, man, woman and child, who was going with the Grand Duke, whether Catalan or Aragonese, one quintal of biscuits and five cheeses, and between every four persons one baco of salted meat and also garlic and onions.

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CCI

How Frey Roger, Grand Duke of Romania, took leave of the Lord King of Sicily and passed into Romania with two thousand five hundred armed knights and five thousand almugavars and foot soldiers.

So all embarked with their wives and children, very joyous and satisfied with the Lord King; there never was a lord who behaved more liberally to people who had served him than he did, as much as he could and even above his power. Everyone may know that the Lord King had no treasure; he had come out of such great wars that he had nothing left. And so, likewise, the richs homens and knights embarked, and the knights and horsemen had double rations of everything. But En Berenguer de Entenza could not be ready at that season, nor En Berenguer de Rocafort. En Berenguer de Rocafort had two castles in Calabria which he would not surrender at the peace until he was paid what was due to him of his pay and of that of his company, wherefore he could not embark so soon. But En Ferran Ximeno de Arenos and Ferran de Ahones and En Corberan de Alet and En Pedro de Aros and En Pedro de Logran and many other knights and leaders and almugavars embarked. And so, when they had embarked, there were, between galleys and lenys and ships and terides, thirty-six sails; and there were one thousand five hundred horsemen, according as it was written down, fitted out with everything except horses. And there were full four thousand almugavars and full a thousand men afoot without the galley-slaves and seamen who belonged to the shipping. And all these were Catalans and Aragonese and the greater part brought their wives or their mistresses and their children. And so they took leave of the Lord King and departed from Messina at a suitable hour with great cheer and content.

CCII

How the Grand Duke landed at Monemvasia and passed into Constantinople, where he was well received by the Emperor and his son; and how Catalans and Genoese had a quarrel in which full three thousand Genoese were killed.

Then God gave them fine weather and in a few days they landed at Monemvasia and there they found those who showed them great honour, and they were given great refreshment of all things. And they found there an order of the Emperor to go straight to Constantinople, and so they did. They left Monemvasia and went to [Sept. 1303] Constantinople. And when they were at Constantinople, the Emperors, the father and the son, and all the people of the Empire, received them with great joy and great pleasure. But, if these were pleased at their arrival, the Genoese were sorry. They saw well that if these people remained there, they themselves would lose the honour and power they had in the Empire; that the Emperor had dared do nothing but what they wished, but that, henceforth, he would despise them. What shall I tell you? The wedding was celebrated, the Grand Duke took to wife the niece of the Emperor, who was one of the beautiful and learned damsels of the world and was about sixteen; and the wedding was celebrated with great joy and content and every man received pay for four months.

But whilst this feast was great, some Genoese, by their arrogance, caused a fight with the Catalans; it was a great fight. And a wicked man, called Roso de Finar, carried the banner of the Genoese and came before the palace of Blanquerna; and our almugavars and the seamen came out against them, and even the Grand Duke and the richs homens and the knights could not hold them back; and they came out with a royal pennon carried before them and only about thirty squires and light horse went with them. And when they came near each other, the thirty squires proceeded to attack; and they attacked where the banner was and felled Roso de Finar to the ground and the almugavars hit out amongst them.

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What shall I tell you? This Roso and over three thousand Genoese were killed there; and the Emperor saw all this from his palace and had great joy and content thereat. He said before all:—"Now the Genoese, who have behaved with such arrogance, have found their match; and the Catalans were quite in the right, it was the fault of the Genoese."

And when the banner of the Genoese was on the ground and Roso and other important people had been killed, the almugavars, engaged in killing their enemies, wanted to go and pillage Pera, which is a select city of the Genoese, in which are all their treasure and merchandize. But upon this, when the Emperor saw they were going to plunder Pera, he called the Grand Duke and said to him:—"My son, go to your people and make them turn back; if they sack Pera the Empire is destroyed, for the Genoese have much of Our property and of that of the barons and the other people of Our Empire."

And, at once, the Grand Duke mounted a horse and, mace in hand, with all the richs homens and knights who had come with him, he went towards the almugavars, who already were preparing to demolish Pera, and he made them turn back. And so the Emperor was very content and joyous.

And next day he had more pay given to all and ordered all to prepare to proceed to Boca Daner¹⁴⁵ and attack the Turks, who, at that place, had taken from the Emperor land to the extent of more than thirty days' journeys, covered with good cities and towns and castles which they had subdued and which paid tribute to them. And also, which is a greater disgrace, if a Turk wished to marry the daughter of the most important man in one of these cities or towns or castles which they had conquered, her parents or friends had to give her to him to wife. And when children were born, if they were males, they made them Turks and had them circumcised as if they were Saracens; but if they were females, they could follow which law they pleased. You see in what grief and subjection they

¹⁴⁵Or, as in the Barcelona editions, Boca Daver, the Straits of Abydos, according to Buchon. From the indications given by Muntaner in Chapters CCIX and CCXIV it will be seen that Buchon's identification was wrong, and that Boca Daner was in Muntaner's time, the name of the Straits of Gallipoli, not of the Narrows.

were, to the great disgrace of all Christendom. Wherefore you may well see how necessary it was that that company should go there. And what is more, the Turks had, in truth, made such conquests, that an army of them came opposite Constantinople; there was not more than an arm of the sea, less than two miles broad, between them and the city, and they drew their swords and threatened the Emperor, and the Emperor could see it all. Imagine with what grief he beheld it. If they had had wherewith to cross this arm of the sea, they would have taken Constantinople.

CCIII

How the Grand Duke passed into Anatolia and landed at Cape Artaqui without the knowledge of the turks and attacked them and delivered from captivity all the country conquered by them and wintered at Artaqui.

And so, behold what sort of people the Greeks are and how God vented His wrath on them; for Skyr Miqueli eldest son of the Emperor, went to Artaqui with full twelve thousand horsemen and full a hundred thousand afoot, but dared not fight the Turks, so that he had to return with ignominy. And to that place, Artaqui, where he had been and whence he had to return, there the Emperor sent the Grand Duke with his Company, which was not more than fifteen hundred horse and four thousand afoot.

And before he departed from Constantinople, the Grand Duke arranged that the Emperor should give a kinswoman of his to wife to En Ferran de Ahones and make him admiral of the Empire. And this the Grand Duke ordained in order that the seamen he had brought should remain in the galleys, and that the Genoese or other people should not dare to move against the Catalans in all the Empire; and, also, in order that, as he penetrated inland with the host, the galleys should be in places known to him, with victuals and all refreshment. He ordained the whole matter so well that no one could improve it in any way. And so he had also, in the galleys, from the islands and other countries, and from the coasts all he needed for himself and his followers.

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And when all this was ordained they took leave of the Emperor and embarked and went to Cape Artaque, towards the mainland, because the Turks wished, at all costs, to have that peninsula which is a very fertile place. And all this peninsula is protected towards the land by a wall, the line of defence of which is not more than half a mile, from one sea to the other. And then, from that neck onward, the peninsula is very large, there are over twenty thousand hamlets and manors and farms. And the Turks had come many times to demolish that wall; for, if they could demolish it, they could pillage the whole peninsula. And so the Grand Duke with all his followers landed there and the Turks knew nothing of it. And when he had landed, he heard that the Turks had fought there that day. He asked if they were far off, and they told him that they were about two leagues away and that they were between two rivers. And, at once, the Grand Duke had it cried that every man should be ready next morning to follow the banner. And it is the truth that he carried his banner and that of the Emperor with the chivalry, and the almugavars carried a pennon with the arms of the Lord King of Aragon and the van a pennon with the arms of King Fadrique; and this they had agreed to do when they did homage to the Grand Duke.

In the morning they rose with great eagerness and cheerfulness, so early that, at dawn, they were by the river where the Turks were encamped with their wives and children; and they proceeded to attack them in such manner that the Turks marvelled at these people who gave such blows with their darts that nothing could stand up before them. What shall I tell you? The battle was hard after the Turks had seized their weapons, but what good was it? The Grand Duke and his company of horse and foot threw themselves upon them in such wise that the Turks could not stand up before them; yet they would not flee because of their wives and children who were with them and for whom their hearts were sore. Rather would they die first. There never were men who fought so well, but nevertheless, in the end they were all taken captive with their wives and children. And there died of the Turks, on that day, over three thousand horsemen and over two thousand afoot. And so the Grand Duke and his followers collected the booty and left no man over ten years old alive; and they

returned to Artahui with great joy and brought away in the galleys, the slaves and very beautiful jewels, of all which they sent the greater part to the Emperor, and the female slaves to the Empress and to the daughter of the Emperor. And to my Lady, the wife of the Grand Duke, female slaves and many jewels were sent, as also to all the richs homens and chiefs and almugavars, and to my Lady, the mother-in-law of the Grand Duke. And this was on the eighth day after they had parted from the Emperor. The joy and cheerfulness were so great throughout the Empire, and especially the Emperor's and my Lady the mother-in-law's and my Lady her daughter's, that all the world should have rejoiced; but, whoever else rejoiced, the Genoese were very sorrowful. And so likewise had Skyr Miqueli, the eldest son of the Emperor, great displeasure at it and great envy, so that, from that day, he was angry with the Grand Duke and his Company. He would rather have lost the Empire than that they should have gained this victory, because he had been at that place with so many followers and had been defeated twice, although he, himself, was one of the accomplished knights of the world. But God had sent down so much pestilence upon the Greeks that any one could have defeated them.

And this happened owing to two conspicuous sins to which they are given. One is that they are the most arrogant people of the world; there is no people on earth they esteem and value, but only themselves, yet they are worthless people; the other is that they are the least charitable people to their neighbour to be found in all time. When we were at Constantinople, the people who had fled from Anatolia because of the Turks, lived and lay amongst the rubbish heaps in Constantinople and called out that they were hungry, but there was no Greek who would give them anything for the love of God, and yet there was a great market of all kinds of victuals. But the almugavars, out of the pity they felt for them, divided with them what they had to eat, so that, owing to this charity which our people practised, when they moved to another place, over two thousand poor Greeks whom the Turks had plundered, followed them and all came with us. And so you may understand why God sent down this wrath upon the Greeks. The proverb of the wise man says that when God is angry with a man, the first way in which He punishes him, is that He takes his reason from him. And

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so the Greeks are under the wrath of God. They are worthless, but they believe that they are worth more than the other peoples of the world; so likewise, as they have no charity towards their neighbour, it appears clearly that they have lost all sense.

And when this was over, the Grand Duke with all his Company, prepared to march through Anatolia against the Turks and to deliver out of captivity the cities and castles and towns that the Turks had conquered. But when he and his followers were ready to depart from [1303] Artaqui, which was on the first day of November, there set in the most severe winter of the world, with rain and wind and cold and bad weather, so that the rivers became so large that no man could cross them.

And so he decided to winter in this place, Artaqui, which is a place fertile in all things. In that country is the greatest cold of the world with most snow; when the snow begins there is nothing else until April. And when he had decided to winter in this place, Artaqui, he made the most beautiful disposition that any one could make; he chose six good men of that place and two Catalan knights and two adalils and two almugavars, and these twelve men assigned a lodging to every rich hom, and also to the knights and to the almugavars; and they arranged in this way, that the host of each man was to give him bread and wine and oats and salt meat and cheeses and vegetables and a bed and all he wanted, except fresh meat and condiments; he was to provide him with everything else. And these twelve men fixed a suitable price for each thing and they ordained that the host keep a tally of all things for him who lodged in his house and that this should be done from the first day of November until all through March. And when that time came, then each would make the reckoning with his host, before these twelve or one of them; and what each had taken. would be deducted from his pay and the court would pay each good man of the house. With this those of the army were very content, and also. the Greeks, and so it was arranged to spend the winter.

And the Grand Duke sent to Constantinople for the Grand Duchess, and they spent the winter with great joy and gaiety. And the Grand Duke ordained that the admiral, with the galleys and all the seamen, should go and winter in the island of Chios, a very fertile island where mastic is

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made, which is not made anywhere else in the world. And he made the admiral winter there, because the Turks, with barques, harry these islands. And so they guarded all that district and went visiting all the islands. And so they passed all that winter in a pleasant life, with solaces and diversions amongst each other. And when February was over the Grand Duke proclaimed throughout all Artaqui that every man should make his reckoning with his host during the month of March and be ready to follow the banner on the first day of April.

CCIV

How the Grand Duke went to Constantinople to leave the Grand Duchess there; and how he obtained four months' pay from the Emperor; and of the great presents he made to all his company.

And so every one made his reckoning with his host and there were some who had nothing left, for they had taken the value of fully a year's pay from their host. Those who were prudent had lived in an orderly fashion, yet there was no one who had not had much more than he had needed in the time he had remained there. And whilst the reckoning was being made in the month of March, [1304] the Grand Duke with the Grand Duchess and his mother-in-law (sister of the Emperor), who had wintered with him, and two brothers of his wife, went to Constantinople in four galleys to leave the Grand Duchess there and to take leave of the Emperor. And when he was at Constantinople a great feast was made for him and great honour shown him. And he obtained from the Emperor pay for four months for the needs of his Company, a thing no one expected, because of the great expense incurred in the winter; every one owed much money. And so he left the Grand Duchess at Constantinople and took leave of her and of his mother-in-law and of his brothers-in-law and of his friends. And then he took leave of the Emperor and embarked in the four galleys and was back at Artaqui on the fifteenth of March. And all greatly rejoiced at seeing him. And the Grand Duke asked if every man had made his reckoning with his host and they said yes.

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And upon this, he had it cried that every man should, on the following day, be in the square there was in front of the Grand Duke's lodgings, and bring a schedule of what he owed to his host. When the reckonings were made, it had been ordained by the twelve good men that two schedules should be written, divided by A.B.C., one to be held by the host and the other by the soldier, and these schedules were sealed with the seal of the Grand Duke. And when the next day came, every man came with his schedule and the Grand Duke sat on a seat made for him under a tree of the kind called elm, and sent for every man with his schedule, and he found they had received an immense amount of goods in proportion to the time they had been wintering. And when he had received all the schedules and had put them on a carpet in front of him, he rose and said:—"Notables, I owe you much gratitude for being pleased to take me as your chief and lord, and for being ready to follow me wherever I wish to lead you. Now, I find that you have taken much more, twice as much than what you should have taken for the time you wintered here. There are some who have taken three times as much and others four times; so that I find that if the Court claims it all from you, you will pass through great tribulation. Wherefore, for the honour of God, and for the honour of the Empire, and for the love I bear you, I, by special favour, give you all you have spent this winter, so that nothing shall be deducted from your pay. And I wish that now, at once, all the schedules you have brought to me here be burnt and that the Greeks bring their schedules to our treasurer and he will have them paid." And at once he sent for fire and had the schedules burnt in the presence of all. And everyone rose and went to kiss his hand and gave him many thanks; and so they should, for it was the most handsome gift a lord had made to his vassals for more than a thousand years. Altogether he gave them pay for eight months, one with another, the pay of the horsemen amounted to fifty thousand gold onzas and that of the men afoot to nearly sixty thousand onzas. Altogether, with what the rich homens had had, it was reckoned that it amounted to a hundred thousand gold onzas, which makes six millions of silver.

And when he had done this, he wished to gladden them still more and he commanded that, on the next day, every man should be in the said

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square to receive pay for four months in fine gold. And so you may imagine what joy there was in the host and with what good will they served him henceforth. And so, next day, he had four months' pay given them, in order that every man should prepare, on the following day, to go to the war.

CCV

How the Grand Duke and his Company had a second battle with the band of Cesa and Tin and vanquished and killed them near Philadelphia.

With that, on the first day of April, by the favour of God the banner issued forth and every man prepared to follow it and, in due time, they entered the Kingdom of Anatolia. And the Turks were prepared to oppose them, namely the bands of Cesa and of Tiu, which were composed of kinsmen of those the Company had killed at Artahui. The Company came to a city called Philadelphia, which is a noble city and of the great cities of the world, with a circumference of full eighteen miles, as much as Rome or Constantinople. And near that city, at a distance of one journey, were the said two bands of Turks who were altogether full eight thousand horsemen and full twelve thousand afoot, and they offered battle. And the Grand Duke and his Company had great pleasure thereat. At once, before the arrows of the Turks hit their mark, the horsemen attacked the Turkish horsemen and the almugavars the men afoot. What shall I tell you? The battle was very hard and lasted from sunrise until the hour of nones.¹⁴⁶ The Turks were all killed or taken prisoners; there did not escape a thousand of the horsemen nor five hundred of the men afoot. And the Grand Duke and his Company searched the field very joyously and had not lost more than eighty horsemen and a hundred men afoot, and they made infinite gain. And whilst they searched the field, which took them full eight days, they camped in that place which was beautiful and delightful, and then they

¹⁴⁶3 P.M.

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went to the said city of Philadelphia where they were received with great joy and gladness. And so the news went throughout Anatolia that the bands of Cesa and Tiu had been defeated by the Franks, and all rejoiced, and that is not wonderful for, but for the Franks, they would all have been taken captive. And so the Grand Duke and his Company stayed in the city of Philadelphia fifteen days and then departed thence and went to the city of Nymphaeum and then to Magnesia, and then they went on to the city of Tyre.

CCVI

How the Turks were vanquished by En Corberan de Alet at Tyre where he was wounded by an arrow and died; and how En Berenguer de Rocafort came to Constantinople with two galleys and two hundred knights and went to Ephesus, where is the tomb of mosenyer Saint John the Evangelist.

And when they came to the city of Tyre, those Turks who had escaped from the battle, with others who had joined them who were of the band of Mondexia, made raids in the direction of Tyre, as far as the church in which rests the body of mosenyer Saint George, which is one of the most beautiful churches I have ever seen, and is about two miles from Tyre. And at dawn of day the Turks came to Tyre, not knowing that the Franks were there. And as they began to arrive, a cry of alarm went about the district. And the Grand Duke looked and saw the Turks (all could see them, for they were in the plain and the city of Tyre lies high), and he commanded En Corberan de Alet, who was seneschal of the host, to go out against them with what company would follow him. And the Company seized their arms hurriedly and En Corberan, with about two hundred horsemen and a thousand men afoot, went and attacked the Turks. He vanquished them at once and killed over seven hundred horse and many afoot, and he would have killed them all, but the mountain was near and they left their horses and fled to the mountain on foot. And En Corberan de Alet was a very accomplished knight and, with great spirit, dismounted also and went up

the mountain. But the Turks, seeing them come up after them, shot their arrows. And unfortunately an arrow hit En Corberan, who had taken off his iron cap because of the heat and dust, and there he died. This was a great loss. The Christians remained with him and the Turks went away.

And when the Grand Duke knew this he was much displeased, because he loved him much. He had made him seneschal and had betrothed to him a daughter he had had by a lady of Cyprus and who remained with my Lady the Grand Duchess at Constantinople, and the wedding was to be celebrated on their return to Constantinople. And so they buried En Corberan, with about ten other Christians who had been killed with him, in the church of Saint George, with great solemnity. And they had fine tombs made for them; the Grand Duke and the host lingered eight days in order that a rich and beautiful tomb should be erected for En Corberan. And from Tyre, the Grand Duke sent a message to Smyrna and from Smyrna to Chios, to the admiral En Ferran de Ahones, to come to the city of Ani with all the galleys and the seamen who were with him; and so the admiral did.

And, when the admiral was ready to depart from Chios, En Rocafort came to Constantinople with two galleys and brought two hundred horsemen, namely with all their array except horses, and he brought full a thousand almugavars, and had an interview with the Emperor. And the Emperor at once commanded him to go to where he knew the Grand Duke was, and so he went to the island of Chios and together with the admiral departed from Chios and came to the city of Ani. And when they had stayed there about eight days, they had news that the Grand Duke was coming and they rejoiced greatly and sent two murtats¹⁴⁷ to him and they found him in the city of Tyre. And the Grand Duke was greatly pleased and wished me to go to Ani and bring En Berenguer de Rocafort as far as the city of Ayasaluck which the Scriptures call by another name, Ephesus.

And in the said place, Ephesus, is the tomb which monsenyer Saint John the Evangelist entered when he had taken leave of the people; and then a cloud as of fire was seen, in which, it is believed, he ascended to

¹⁴⁷The meaning of this word has not been ascertained by any of the translators.

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Heaven, body and soul. And this would well seem to be so, from the miracle which is seen every year at his tomb; namely, that on Saint Stephen's day, every year, at the hour of vespers, there comes out of the tomb (which is four-cornered and stands at the foot of the altar and has a beautiful marble slab on the top, full twelve palms long and five broad) and in the middle of the slab there are nine very small holes, and out of these holes, as vespers are being begun on Saint Stephen's day (on which day the vespers are of Saint John) manna like sand comes out of each hole and rises full a palm high from the slab. as a jet of water rises up. And this manna issues out, and it begins to issue out, as I have told you, when vespers are begun to be sung on Saint Stephen's day, and it lasts all night and then all Saint John's day until sunset. There is so much of this manna, by the time the sun has set and it has ceased to issue out, that, altogether, there are of it full three cuarteras of Barcelona. And this manna is marvellously good for many things; for instance, he who drinks it when he feels fever coming on will never have fever again. Also, if a lady is in travail and cannot bring forth, if she drinks it with water or with wine, she will be delivered at once. And again, if there is a storm at sea and some of the manna is thrown in the sea three times in the name of the Holy Trinity and Our Lady Saint Mary and the Blessed Saint John the Evangelist, at once the storm ceases. And again, he who suffers from gall stones, and drinks it in the said names, recovers at once. And some of this manna is given to all the pilgrims who come there; but it only appears once a year.

CCVII

How the Grand Duke went to Ayasaluck and made En Berenguer de Rocafort seneschal of the host; and how they discomfited the Turks of the band of Atia who, joined a second time to all the Turks, were vanquished and full eighteen thousand killed at the Iron Gate.

I took leave of the Grand Duke and the Company at once and sent twenty horses for the use of En Rocafort, for him to ride and come to me in the city of Ephesus, otherwise called Theologos in Greek; and he

underwent much danger from many attacks from the Turks. And there came with him full five hundred almugavars; the others remained in the city of Ani with the admiral En Ferran de Ahones, because of the Turks who made raids every day. And when they had been in the city of Ephesus four days, the Grand Duke came with all the host and received the said En Berenguer de Rocafort and made him seneschal of the host, as En Corberan de Alet had been, and affianced to him his daughter who had been affianced to the said En Corberan; and he took up office at once. And the Grand Duke at once gave him a hundred horsemen and had four months pay given him. And so the Grand Duke stayed in the said city eight days, and then came with all the host to the city of Ani and left En Pedro de Aros in the city of Tyre as captain, and left him thirty horsemen and a hundred men afoot.

And when the Grand Duke entered the city of Ani, the admiral and all the seamen and all those who had come with En Rocafort, issued forth armed to receive him; the Grand Duke had great pleasure thereat, because they had thus reinforced his host. And whilst the Grand Duke was at Ani he refreshed all the Company with pay. And, one day, the cry of alarm was raised that the Turks of the band of Atia were raiding the huerta of Ani. And the host went out in such manner that they came upon the Turks and attacked them; so, on that day, they killed a thousand Turkish horsemen and full two thousand men afoot. And the others fled; if evening had not overtaken them they would all have been killed or taken prisoners. And so the Company returned to the city of Ani with great joy and cheerfulness and with great gain they had made.

And so the Grand Duke stayed with the host in the city of Ani full a fortnight. And then he had the banner brought out and wished to complete a visit to all the Kingdom of Anatolia; so that the host went as far as the Iron Gate, which is a mountain on which there is a pass called the Iron Gate, and which is at the parting of Anatolia and the Kingdom of Armenia. When he was at the Iron Gate, the Turks of that band of Atia which had been discomfited at Ani, and all the other Turks who were left of the other bands, were all assembled on a mountain; and they were altogether full ten thousand horsemen and full twenty thousand men afoot. And in order of

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battle, at dawn of day, which was the day of Saint Mary in August, they marched against the Grand Duke and, at once, the Franks were ready with great joy and cheerfulness; it seemed that God was upholding them at that time. And the almugavars cried: "Awake the iron!" And at once the Grand Duke with the chivalry attacked the horsemen and En Rocafort and the almugavars attacked the men afoot. And there you might have seen feats of arms such as man had never seen. What shall I tell you? The battle was very cruel, but in the end the Franks shouted all together: "Aragon! Aragon!" and then they had such a victory that they vanquished the Turks. And so, killing and overtaking them, they pursued them until nightfall, and night stopped the pursuit. Nevertheless, there fell of the Turkish horsemen, altogether, over six thousand, and of those afoot over twelve thousand. And so, that night, the Company had a good night, for the Turks lost all their provisions and cattle. And next day the Franks searched the field; altogether the host stayed in that place eight days to search the field, and the gain they made was infinite.

CCVIII

How the Emperor of Constantinople sent to tell the Grand Duke to leave everything and return to Constantinople in order to come and help him against the Emperor Lantzaura who had rebelled against the Empire.

Then the Grand Duke proclaimed that every man should follow his banner, and he went to the Iron Gate and there stayed three days and then prepared to return to the city of Ani. But whilst he was returning to Ani, messengers came to him from the Emperor, by whom he let him know that he should leave everything and return to Constantinople with all his [lost; because the Emperor of Lantzaura, father of the Grand Duchess, had died and had left his Empire to his two sons, who were brothers of the Grand Duchess and nephews of the Emperor. But their uncle, brother of their father, had rebelled against the Empire, and therefore the Emperor of Constantinople (because the Empire of Lantzaura belonged to his nephews) sent messengers to this uncle of his nephews who had rebelled,

to tell him to leave the Empire to these children, who were his nephews and to whom it belonged. But he made him a very cruel answer, so that a great war ensued between the Emperor of Constantinople and he who had made himself Emperor of Lantzaura. The Emperor of Constantinople was being defeated every day and therefore he sent a messenger to the Grand Duke to come to his assistance.

CCIX

How the Grand Duke.having received the message of the Emperor of Constantinople held a council to consider what he should do, at which it was agreed that he should at all costs go and assist the Emperor.

But the Grand Duke was greatly displeased at having to abandon, at that time, the Kingdom of Anatolia which he had conquered completely and delivered out of its troubles and out of the hands of the Turks. And after he had received the message and the pressing entreaties of the Emperor, he assembled a council and told all the Company the message he had received, and that he begged them to advise him as to what he should do. And finally, they gave him the advice that, by all means, he should go and succour the Emperor in his need and then, in the spring, they would return to Anatolia. And this the Grand Duke held to be good advice and acknowledged that the Company had advised him well. And, at once, they prepared to get ready and fitted out the galleys and put into them all they had taken. And the host took the road by the coast, so that the galleys were daily near the host and the Grand Duke left a good garrison in every place, although a small garrison would have sufficed, for they had swept away the Turks in such wise that hardly one dared show himself in all the kingdom, so that this kingdom was completely restored.

And when he had set all the country in order, he went by his journeys to Boca Daner and when he came to Passaquia, he sent an armed leny to Constantinople, to the Emperor, to ask what he wished him to do. And when the Emperor knew that the host of the Franks was at Passaquia he was very joyous and content and had a great feast made at Constantinople

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and sent to tell the Grand Duke to cross over to Gallipoli and lodge his followers in the peninsula of Gallipoli. And this peninsula has a length of altogether full fifteen leagues and is in no place wider than one league; the sea encircles it on every side; and it is the best provided peninsula of the world, as well with good bread, as with good wines and a great abundance of all fruit. At the entrance to the peninsula from the mainland there is a good castle called Examille, which means six miles, and it is called so, because, at that place, the peninsula is not more than six miles wide. And this castle stands in the middle, to defend all the *peninsula*, and on one side of the peninsula is Boca Daner and, on the other, the Gulf of Saros, and then, within the peninsula, are the cities of Gallipoli and of Potamos and of Sexto and Maditos; each of these is an important place, and besides these places there are many manors and fiefs. And so the Grand Duke distributed all his host amongst these manors which are provided with everything, and agreed that everyone should pay his host for what he wanted and should make tallies of it and keep a reckoning.

CCX

How, when the Emperor Lantzaura knew of the arrival of the Grand Duke, he treated with the Emperor of Constantinople, saying he would do all he wished. and how hatred arose between the Emperor of Constantinople and the Grand Duke.

And when he had settled all the host, he went with a hundred horsemen to Constantinople to see the Emperor and my Lady his mother-in-law and his wife, and when he entered Constantinople a great feast was made for him and great honour shown him. And whilst he was at Constantinople, the brother of the Emperor Lantzaura, who was waging war against the Emperor as you have heard before, knew that the Grand Duke had come with all his host and held his cause for lost. And, at once, he sent his messengers to the Emperor and did all the Emperor wished; and thus the Emperor got, through the Franks, all he wanted in this war.

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And when this peace was made the Grand Duke requested the Emperor to pay the Company. And the Emperor said he would do so; and he had money coined like the ducat of Venice, which is worth eight diners of Barcelona. And he had also some made called vincilions, but they were not worth three diners each, and he wanted them to be current at the value of those which were worth eight diners; and he commanded everyone to take horses or mules or victuals or other things they needed from the Greeks and to pay in that coin. And this he did out of wickedness, namely in order to create hatred and ill-will between the population and the host; for as soon as he had obtained his wish in all the wars, he wished the Franks to be all killed or taken out of the Empire.

CCXI

How the noble En Berenguer de Entenza came to Romania with his Company and was made Grand Duke by Frey Roger.

The Grand Duke refused to take this money. And whilst this quarrel was going on, En Berenguer de Entenza came to Romania and brought full three hundred horsemen and full a thousand almugavars. And when he came to Gallipoli, he found that the Grand Duke was at Constantinople, and he sent him two knights to ask what he wished him to do. And the Grand Duke sent to tell him to come to Constantinople. And when he came to Constantinople, the Emperor received him very well, and the Grand Duke received him still better. And when he had been there a day, the Grand Duke went to the Emperor and said to him: —“Lord, this rich hom is one of the greatest nobles of Spain below the rank of a king’s son, and is one of the most accomplished knights of the world and is to me as a brother. And he has come to serve you, for your honour and for love of me, wherefore I must give him a notable satisfaction, and so, by your leave, I shall give him the baton and cap of Grand Duke, and henceforth let him be Grand Duke.” And the Emperor said he was content, and when he saw the generosity of the Grand Duke, that he was ready to divest himself of the office of Grand Duke, he said to himself that his generosity should be of

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benefit to him. And so next day, before the Emperor and a full court, the Grand Duke took off his Grand Duke's cap and put it on the head of En Berenguer de Entenza, and then gave him the baton and the seal and the banner of the office. At which everyone marvelled.

CCXII

How at the end of four hundred years during which the Empire had been without a Caesar Frey Roger was made Caesar by the Emperor of Constantinople and how he wintered at Gallipoli and by agreement passed into Anatolia.

And as soon as he had done this, the Emperor, in the presence of all, made Frey Roger sit down before him and gave him the baton and the cap and the banner and the seal of the Empire, and invested him with the robes belonging to the office and made him Caesar of the Empire. And a Caesar is an officer who sits in a chair near that of the Emperor, only half a palm lower, and he can do as much as the Emperor in the Empire. He can bestow gifts in perpetuity and can dispose of the treasure, impose tributes, and he can apply the question and hang and quarter; and, finally, all the Emperor can do, he can do also. And again, he signs "Caesar of Our Empire" and the Emperor writes to him "Caesar of Thy Empire." What shall I tell You? There is no difference between the Emperor and the Caesar, except that the chair is half a palm lower than that of the Emperor and the Emperor wears a scarlet cap and all his robes are scarlet, and the Caesar wears a blue cap and all his robes are blue with a narrow gold border. And so Frey Roger was created Caesar, and it happens that, for four hundred years, there had been no Caesar in the Empire of Constantinople,¹⁴⁸ wherefore the honour

¹⁴⁸The title was not as exalted as Muntaner thought. It was held in 1186 by Conrad de Montferrat, elder brother of Boniface, the leader of the expedition to Constantinople in 1203. "Caesar, in the twelfth century a title next in rank below the Sebastocrator (the highest title given to a minister), had been given to several people at the same time. Under Alexius III (1195-1203) the highest offices were publicly sold. Moneychangers,

was all the greater. And when all this was done with great solemnity and with A great feast, En Berenguer de Entenza was thenceforth called Grand Duke and Frey Roger, Caesar.

And, with great rejoicing, they returned to Gallipoli, to the Company, and the Caesar brought with him my Lady his mother-in-law, and my Lady his wife and two brothers of his wife, of which the eldest was Emperor of Lantzaura. And when they came to Gallipoli they arranged to spend the winter there, for All Saints' day was already over. And with great cheerfulness the Caesar spent the winter with my Lady his wife and my Lady his mother-in-law and with his brothers-in-law, and so did the Grand Duke.

And when, it came to pass that they had celebrated the feast of the Nativity, the Caesar went to Constantinople to arrange with the Emperor what they should do, for spring was approaching; but the Grand Duke remained at Gallipoli. And when the Caesar was at Constantinople he arranged that he and the Grand Duke should pass into the Kingdom of Anatolia; and it was so settled between-the Caesar and the Emperor, that the Emperor would give him all the Kingdom of Anatolia and all the islands of Romania and that he should pass into Anatolia, and that he should distribute the cities and towns and castles among his vassals; and that each of them should give him a number of armed horse so that the Emperor need give no pay whatever. And so he prepared to go; and, from that hour, the Emperor was not bound to give pay to any of the Franks, but the Caesar was to provide for them. However, the Emperor had first to give pay for six months, for so it had been settled in the covenant. And so the Caesar took leave of the Emperor and the Emperor gave him that bad coin to pay his Company. And the Caesar took it, for he reckoned that, as he was to pass into Anatolia, the displeasure of the people who remained in Romania would not injure him. And so, with this money, he came to Gallipoli and began to distribute the pay with it and with it every man paid his host.

ignorant men, and even Scythians were allowed to buy the title of Caesar.—E. Pears: The Fall of Constantinople.

Chronicle

CCXIII

How the Caesar resolved to go and take leave of Skyr Miqueli, in spite of his mother-in-law and of his wife who were sure of the envy Skyr Miqueli felt towards him.

And whilst this pay was being distributed, the Caesar said to my Lady his mother-in-law and my Lady his wife that he wished to go and take leave of Skyr Miqueli, eldest son of the Emperor. And his mother-in-law and his wife told him not to go there on any account; for they knew he was very hostile to him and was so envious that, assuredly, if the Caesar went to a place where Skyr Miqueli had the greater power, he would destroy him with all who should come with him. But in the end the Caesar said that nothing would prevent him from going, that it would be a great disgrace for him to depart from Romania and go to the Kingdom of Anatolia with the intention of remaining to fight the Turks and not to take leave, and it would be taken in bad part. What shall I tell you? His mother-in-law and his wife and his brothers-in-law were so afflicted, that they assembled all the council of the host and made them tell him on no account to go on that journey. But they spoke in vain, for nothing would make him refrain from going. When his mother-in-law and his wife and his brothers-in-law saw that he would not refrain from it on any account, they told him to give them four galleys for they wished to go to Constantinople. And the Caesar called the admiral, En Ferran de Ahones, and told him to take his mother-in-law and his wife and his brothers-in-law to Constantinople. And the wife of the Caesar did not pass into Anatolia with him, as she was seven months gone in pregnancy and her mother wished her to lie in at Constantinople. And it was ordained that when the lady had been delivered, she should go with ten galleys, to where the Caesar would be. And so the lady stayed at Constantinople and in due time had a beautiful son who was still alive when I began this book.

And so I must cease to speak to you of the lady and her son and must turn to speak to you of the Caesar.

CCXIV

In which is recounted what sort of country Gallipoli is and what forces are there; and mention is made also of Paris and Arena.

It is the truth, as I have told you already, that the host was at Gallipoli and in the other places; and, of the peninsula of Gallipoli, I wish you to know that it is the peninsula of the Kingdom of Macedonia of which Alexander was lord, and where he was born. And so Gallipoli is the capital on the seashore of the said Kingdom of Macedonia, as Barcelona is the capital of Catalonia on the seashore, and Lérida inland. And so likewise, inland there is another very important city called Adrianople, and it is five journeys from Gallipoli to Adrianople. And Skyr Miqueli, eldest son of the Emperor, was at Adrianople. And, again, I wish you to know that the peninsula of Gallipoli is to the West of Boca Daner and on the other side, on the East, is Cape Artaqui where the Grand Duke had wintered the previous year with the host.

And this place, Artaqui, which was part of the city of Troy and one of its gates, was a port in the middle of Boca Daner, in which there is a very beautiful castle called Paris, which Paris, son of King Priam, had had built when he had taken Arena, the wife of the Duke of Athens, by force of arms, in the island of Tenedos, which is five miles distant from Boca Daner. And in this island of Tenedos there was, at that time, an idol, and in a certain month of the year all the important men and ladies of Romania went there on a pilgrimage. And so it happened that, at that time, Arena, wife of the Duke of Athens, came there on a pilgrimage, accompanied by a hundred knights; and Paris, son of King Priam of Troy, likewise had come on a pilgrimage, and had with him about forty knights. And he saw the Lady Arena, and became so enamoured of her that he said to his men that he must have her and take her away with him. And as he had set his heart on doing, so it was done. He and all his company put on their armour and captured the lady and he wanted to take her with him. And those knights who were with her, wished to defend her against him, but, in the end, all

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the hundred died and Paris took away the lady with him. Afterwards there ensued a great war; and in the end the city of Troy which has a circuit of three hundred miles, was besieged for thirteen years and then was invaded and taken and destroyed.

And beyond the Cape of Boca Daner there is another, Called Cape Adramyti which was another gate of the city of Troy. And so you see why Boca Daner is surrounded by good and fertile places in all parts. You will find that, on each side, there was a very fine town and a very strong castle at the time we went there. All has been destroyed and ruined by us, as you will hear further on, to the great hurt of the Emperor, but to our great advantage.

CCXV

How the Caesar came to the city of Adrianople to take leave of Skyr Miqueli, who had him and all his retinue killed by Gircon, chief of the Alans; not more than three escaped; and how he sent men to Gallipoli to raid the country and to destroy the Company of the Caesar.

Now I shall turn to speak to you of the Caesar, who fitted himself out with three hundred horsemen and a thousand men afoot to go to Adrianople to see Skyr Miqueli, eldest son of the Emperor, in spite of all his friends and vassals. And this he did from the great loyalty of his heart and great love and fidelity towards the Emperor and his son. And he thought that, as he was full of all loyalty, so the Emperor and his sons were also; but it was quite the contrary and this will be proved further on, as you shall hear.

And when the Caesar parted from the host he left, as head and chief, the Grand Duke En Berenguer de Entenza and En Berenguer de Rocafort as seneschal of the host. And so, by his journeys, he came to the city of Adrianople, and the son of the Emperor, Skyr Miqueli, issued forth to meet him and received him with great honours; and this the wicked man did in order to see with what company he was coming. And when he had entered Adrianople, the son of the Emperor stayed with him, amidst great joy and

cheer which the Caesar made for him, and S kyr Miqueli made the same for him. And when he had stayed with him six days, on the seventh, S kyr Miqueli made the same for him. And when he had stayed with him six days, on the seventh, S kyr Miqueli summoned Gircon to Adrianople, the chief of the Alans, and Melech, chief of the Turcoples,¹⁴⁹ so that they were altogether nine thousand horsemen. And on that day he invited the Caesar to a banquet. And when they had eaten, this Gircon, chief of the Alans, entered the palace in which S kyr Miqueli and his wife and the Caesar were; and they drew their swords and massacred the Caesar and all who were with him; and then, throughout the city, they killed all who had come with the Caesar; not more than three escaped who went up into a bell tower. And of these three, one was En Ramon, son of En Gilabert Alquer, a knight of Catalonia, a native of Castellon de Ampurias; and the other, a son of a Catalonian knight, called G. de Tous, and the other Berenguer de Roudor, who was from Llobregat. And these were attacked in the bell tower and defended themselves so well that the son of the Emperor said it would be a sin if they were killed; and so he gave them a safe-conduct, and they alone escaped.

Again, the said S kyr Miqueli committed a greater crime, for he had arranged to send the Turcoples with a part of the Alans to Gallipoli; and he ordained that, on the day the Caesar was killed, they should sack Gallipoli and all the manors. And we had put the horses to grass and the people were at the manors. What shall I tell you? They found us thus off our guard and took all the horses we had at the manors and killed over a thousand people, so that there did not remain to us more than two hundred and six horses and not more than three thousand three hundred and seven men of arms, between horse and foot, seamen and landsmen. And, at once, they laid their siege and so many came upon us, there were full fourteen thousand horsemen, between Turcoples, Alans and Greeks, and full thirty thousand men afoot. The Grand Duke, namely En Berenguer de Entenza, ordered that we should make a fosse and enclose with it all the

¹⁴⁹The Turks' prisoners of war trained as soldiers.

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raval of Gallipoli, and so we did. What shall I tell you? Full fifteen days did we stay there, and twice every day we had hand-to-hand fights with them, and every day it was our misfortune to be the losers. What shall I tell you? Whilst we were thus besieged, En Berenguer de Entenza had five galleys and two lenys equipped and, in spite of all who were there, he said he wished to go and make a raid, in order to get in refreshment of victuals, and money for the Company. And all said to him that this should not be done, but that it was better that we should all remain together to fight those who were holding us besieged. And he, expert and wise knight as he was, saw the risk of the battle and would on no account agree to it; but thought he would make a raid in the direction of Constantinople, and when he had made this raid he would return at once to Gallipoli. So in the end it had to be done as he wished and so many embarked with him that there only remained in Gallipoli, En Berenguer de Rocafort, who was seneschal of the host, and I, R. Muntaner, who was commander in Gallipoli. And no more than five knights remained with us, namely En G. Sischar, a knight of Catalonia, and En Ferran Gordi, a knight of Aragon, and En Juan Peris de Caldes of Catalonia and En Ximeno de Albero. And we passed in review how many we were when En Berenguer de Entenza had departed from Gallipoli, and we found there were, between horse and foot, one thousand four hundred and sixty-two men of arms, of which two hundred and six were mounted, for we had no more horses, and a thousand two hundred and fifty-six men afoot. And so we remained full of trouble for, every day, we had hand-to-hand fights with those outside from morning till vesper-time.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of us at Gallipoli, for I shall know well how to return to it, and I must?? speak to you of En Berenguer de Entenza who went to take the city of Eregli, which is twenty-four miles distant from Constantinople, and there made so much gain, it was infinite. And this city is the one in which Herod was, who had some of the Babes killed. And I must recount to you a manifest miracle. Namely, at that place, Eregli, there is a bay which reaches to the island of Marmara, where all the marble of Romania is quarried. And in that bay are two fine cities, one called Panido and the other Rodosto. And you must know that in that city

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of Rodosto the greatest crime was committed against us that has ever been committed against anyone. And in order that you should know what the crime was I will tell it you.

CCXVI

How the Company of the Caesar resolved to defy the Emperor and impeach him for bad faith and for what he had done; and how the Emperor of Constantinople had En Ferran de Ahones, the admiral, killed with all the Catalans and Aragonese who were at Constantinople.

It is the truth that when the Caesar was dead, and they had attacked us and held us besieged in Gallipoli, we agreed that, before doing any hurt to the Emperor, we would defy him and impeach him for bad faith and for what he had done to us; and that this impeachment, and then the challenge, be made at Constantinople, in the presence of the Commune of Venice and with all public letters. And it was ordained that En Sischar, knight, and En Pedro Lopis, an adalil, and two commanders and two boatswains should go there with a barge of twenty oars, in the name of En Berenguer de Entenza and of all the Company. And so it was done and they went to Constantinople. And in the presence of the aforesaid Commune they defied the Emperor and then impeached him for bad faith and offered to fight ten against ten or a hundred against a hundred, for they were ready to prove that he had wickedly and treacherously had the Caesar and all the other people with him killed, and had attacked the Company without defying it, and his good name was stained by this, and henceforth they disowned him. And of this they made public letters, divided by A.B.C. One half they took with them and left the other half in trust with the aforesaid Commune. But the Emperor made the excuse that he had not done it. See how he could make excuses; and the same day he had all the Catalans and Aragonese who were at Constantinople with En Ferran de Ahones, Admiral, killed.

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CCXVII

How the messengers sent to the Emperor to defy him were taken prisoners and massacred in the city of Rodosto; and of the miracle of the Bay of Marmara, where a great number of Babes have been killed by Herod.

And when this was done, they parted from the Emperor and asked him to give them a guide to guide them until they were at Gallipoli; and so he gave them the guide. And when they came to the city of Rodosto, the guide caused them all to be taken, twenty-seven persons they were, Catalans and Aragonese; and they cut them all into quarters in the shambles and the quarters were hung up. And you can imagine what cruelty that was which the Emperor had had done to these who had been messengers. But take heart, for you shall hear further on that, of this, such vengeance was taken by the Company, with the help of God, that no such vengeance had ever been taken before.

In that gulf occurs the miracle that you will always find in it streaks of blood, the size of a boat's deck; some are larger, some smaller. And this gulf is always full of these streaks of fresh blood, but when you are outside this gulf you will find none. And the mariners gather up of this blood and carry it with them from one end of the world to the other as reliques. And this is caused by the blood of the Babes which was shed in that place, and so, from that time onwards, it is there and will always be there. And this is the real truth, for I have gathered some up with my own hands.

CCXVIII

How En Berenguer de Entenza after sacking Eregli met eighteen Genoese galleys, by whom he was taken prisoner owing to his trusting to their word; and how I, Ramon Muntaner, wanted to give ten thousand gold hyperpers in order that he should be delivered through me.

And when En Berenguer de Entenza had sacked the city of Eregli, which was one of the great feats of the world, he returned with great gain. And so, as he was returning from Gallipoli, eighteen Genoese galleys were going to Constantinople and were about to enter the Greater Sea,¹⁵⁰ and met him off the shore between Planido and Cape Ganos. And En Berenguer de Entenza bade his followers arm, and running the prows of his galleys on shore, remained with the sterns of the five galleys towards the sea. And the Genoese saluted him and then went to him in a barge to give him a safe-conduct. And the commander of the galleys invited him to dine in his galley and En Berenguer de Entenza, to his misfortune, trusted them and went to the galley of the commander. And whilst they were dining, and the retinue of En Berenguer de Entenza was disarmed, two galleys went and took the four galleys and took all the followers in them prisoners and killed over two hundred persons. But one galley, in which En Berenguer de Vilamari and other knights were, would not surrender. What shall I tell you? On this galley the fight was so great that there died full three hundred Genoese and they of the galley were killed, none escaped. And so, see what banquet Genoese knew how to make for En Berenguer de Entenza, they took him a prisoner to Constantinople, him and all of his followers who were alive; and they took all En Berenguer de Entenza had gained at Eregli. Wherefore all lords and other men are foolish who trust to any man of the Communes. A man who does not know what faith is, cannot keep it.

¹⁵⁰The Black Sea.

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So they brought away En Berenguer de Entenza and all his people prisoners, and they treated him with great contumely at Pera, which is a Genoese town opposite Constantinople. And he stayed there four months, until the galleys had gone to the Great Sea and out again, and then they took him with them to Genoa, passing by Gallipoli. And I interviewed him and wanted to give ten thousand gold hyperpers, of which each is worth ten sueldos of Barcelona, in order that they should leave him to us, but they would not do it. And when we saw that we could not have him for any price, I gave him one thousand gold hyperpers, in order that he should have something to spend. And so they took him with them to Genoa.

And so I must cease to speak to you of En Berenguer de Entenza, for I shall know well how to return to him in due place and time and I shall turn to speak of ourselves who remained at Gallipoli.

CCXIX

How, hearing of the taking of En Berenguer de Entenza and of the death of the messengers of Gallipoli, we assembled a council to consider what we should do, in which it was resolved to scuttle the galleys and all vessels so that no one could escape or flee without fighting.

It is the truth that when we knew that En Berenguer de Entenza was taken prisoner and that all who were with him were either killed or taken, we were much distressed, and so we were likewise when we knew the death of Sischar and the other messengers we had sent to the Emperor. And, one day, we assembled a council to discuss what we should do. And as I have told you already, we found that there were not left of us more than two hundred and six horse and twelve hundred and fifty-six foot. And the opinions we came to were two: some said that we should go, with all we possessed, to the island of Mitylene, which is a good and fertile island; and that we had still full four galleys and full twelve armed lenys and many barges and a ship, a two-decker, so that we could embark and be saved; and then from that island we should wage war upon the Emperor. And the other opinion was this, that it would be a great disgrace to us to

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have lost two lords and that so many worthy people should be killed through such great treachery without our avenging them, or dying like them; that there would be no people in the world who would not have the right to stone us, if we did not do so, especially as we were people of such renown, and as the right was on our side; and so it was better to die in honour than to live in dishonour. What shall I tell you? The end of the council was that we decided to fight and to undertake the war, and that every man should die who said otherwise. What shall I tell you? For greater assurance we decided to take at once two planks out of the bottom of each of the galleys and lenys and barges and of the ship, so that no one could reckon on being able to escape, and so that every one should prepare to do his best. And this was the end of the council. And so we went at once to scuttle all the vessels. And I had at once a great banner made of Saint Peter of Rome, to place on our tower; and I had a royal banner made of the Lord King of Alagon, and another of the King of Sicily, and another of Saint George; and these three we were to carry in battle and that of Saint Peter was to be put on the principal tower. And so, between that day and the next, they were made.

CCXX

How the Company resolved to fight those Skyr Miqueli had sent against Gallipoli; and how the Company vanquished them and killed full twenty-six thousand horse and foot.

And when Friday came, and the hour of vespers, twenty-three days before Saint Peter's day in June, we all assembled with our arms at the iron gate of the castle, and I made ten men go up the chief tower; and a mariner, by name En Berenguer de Ventayola, who was from Llobregat, sang the hymn of the blessed Saint Peter and all responded with tears in their eyes. And when he had sung the hymn, as the banner was being raised, a cloud came over us, and covered us with water, as we were kneeling, and this lasted as long as the singing of the Salve Regina. And when this was done, the sky became again as clear as it had been before; and all had great joy at this. And we ordained that, at night, every one should confess and in the

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morning, at dawn, go to communion, and at sunset, when the enemy would be coming for a hand-to-hand fight, we should be ready to attack; and so we did.

And we entrusted the banner of the Lord King of Aragon to En Guillem Peris de Caldes, a knight of Catalonia, and the banner of the King of Sicily to En Ferran Gori, knight; and the banner of Saint George we entrusted to En Eximeno de Albero, and En Rocafort entrusted his banner to the son of a knight, called Guillem de Tous. And so we ordained our battle in this manner, that we formed no van nor centre nor rear, but put the horsemen on the left, and the foot soldiers we put on the right. And what we had ordained the enemy knew; and it is true that the enemy were in tents near us, on a mountain all ploughed ground, distant from us about two miles.

And when the morning came, which was Saturday, twenty-two days before the feast of Saint Peter in June, they came to the number of eight thousand horsemen, and we were ready for battle; and they left behind two thousand horsemen with the men afoot in the tents, for they were confident that victory was theirs already. And when the sun had risen, we were outside the intrenchments, all arrayed for the fight, ordained as I have told you already. And we had ordained that no man should move until the Bona Paraula had been said, which was said by Berenguer de Ventayola; and when it had been said, that the trumpets and nakers should sound and we should attack all together. And so it was done, and the enemy stood, lance on thigh, arrayed for the attack. And when the signals were made which were ordained, we attacked all together in the same place, and we so penetrated amidst them that it seemed as if the whole castle was coming down. And they likewise attacked most vigorously. What shall I tell you? For their sin, and by our good right, they were defeated; and after the van was defeated, they all turned at once and we attacked in such manner that no man there raised his hand without hitting flesh, and so we came as far as the mountain on which their host was. And if ever you saw people come to meet their friends, with a good countenance, to help them, there you saw the host, horse and foot, do so; so that, at that point, we feared we should have much to do. But one voice arose amongst us, for we all cried, when we came to the foot of the mountain: "Up! at them! Aragon! Aragon! Saint

George! Saint George!" And we took fresh courage and all went on to attack them vigorously; and so they were defeated and then we need do nothing more than hit. What shall I tell you? As long as it was daylight the pursuit lasted, for altogether twenty-four miles. The night was dark before we left them and we had to return in the night; and it was midnight before we were back in Gallipoli.

And next day we reviewed our company and we found that we had not lost more than one horseman and two afoot. And we searched the field. And, assuredly, we found that, altogether, we had killed full six hundred horsemen and over twenty thousand afoot. And this was the wrath of God upon them, for we certainly could not imagine that we had killed so many, rather we thought that they had suffocated each other. And so likewise many died in barges, of which there were many beached along the shore which were abandoned, and they launched them and then put in so many people that, when they were out at sea, they capsized and all were drowned, and thus many men were lost. What shall I tell you? The gain we made in this battle was so great that it could not be counted. We stayed there eight days searching the field; there was nothing more to do but to bring away the gold and silver these people carried on them, for all the belts of the horsemen and the swords and saddles and reins and all their armour were garnished with gold and silver, and all carried money, the men afoot the same; and so what was gained there was infinite. And so, likewise, we got there full three thousand horses alive, the rest were killed or were going about the battlefield trailing their entrails. And so we took so many horses that there were three for each man.

And when the field was being searched I had taken four Greeks to mercy, whom I found in a house, and they were poor men who had been at Gallipoli. And I told them I would treat them very well if they would be my spies. And they agreed with great joy and I dressed them very well in the Greek fashion and gave each of them one of our horses, which we had just taken, and they swore they would serve me well and loyally. And, at once, I sent two of them to Adrianople to see what the Emperor's son was doing, and the other two I sent to Constantinople. And, within a few days, those that had gone to the son of the Emperor returned, and said he was

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marching against us with seventeen thousand horse and full a hundred thousand foot, and that he had already left Adrianople.

CCXXI

How the Company, hearing of the coming of Skyr Miqueli, eldest son of the Emperor of Constantinople, agreed to attack his van which they defeated; and how Skyr Miqueli escaped, wounded in the face by a dagger.

Upon this we all assembled in council and discussed what to do, and, in the end, the council said that God and the blessed monsenyer Saint Peter and Saint Paul and Saint George, who had given us this victory, would give us victory over that wicked man who had so treacherously killed the Caesar; and so, that we should on no account tarry at Gallipoli; that Gallipoli was a strong place and we had made so much gain that our courage might weaken, and so that we should, on no account, allow ourselves to be besieged. And, again, that the son of the Emperor would not be able to come with the whole host assembled, rather it would suit him to form a van, and that we should meet the van and should attack it, and if we defeated it, all would be defeated. And as we, could not mount to Heaven nor go down into the depths, nor go away by sea or land, therefore it followed that we had to pass through their hands, and so it was well that our courage should not be weakened by what we had gained nor by the force we saw before us.

And so we thought to march towards them and this was agreed. And we left a hundred men and the women in the castle and proceeded to go. And when we had been gone three journeys, as it came to please God, we slept at the foot of a mountain and, on the other side slept the enemy, and one side knew nothing of the other until it was midnight, when we saw a great light from the fires they had lit. And we sent two Greeks we had taken, as scouts, to bring back news and we learnt that the son of the Emperor was lodging there with six thousand horsemen and that, early in the morning, they would set out for Gallipoli; and that the rest of the host, for want of water, was about a league distant from them, but was coming.

And the son of the Emperor was lying at a castle there was in that plain, called Apros, a very good and strong castle, with a large town. And we were very pleased when we knew there was a castle and a town, for we reckoned that the want of Spirit of these people was such that they would wait until we could reach the castle or town of Apros. And when dawn came we all confessed and went to Holy Communion, and we all armed ourselves in battle array to go up the mountain, which was ploughed land. And when we were on the top and it was day, they of the host saw us and thought we were coming to surrender at mercy to the son of the Emperor. But he thought this was no trifling matter; rather, he put on full armour, for he was an accomplished knight; he wanted nothing to be that but that he was not loyal. And so, finely arrayed himself, he came towards us with all that retinue, and we towards him. And when we came to the attack, a treat many of our almugavars dismounted from their horses, for they were bolder on foot than on horseback; and we all proceeded to attack very vigorously, and they likewise. What shall I tell you? It pleased God that this van should be defeated as in the other battle, except the son of the Emperor, who, with about a hundred knights, went and fought amongst us, so that he wounded in one of his attacks, a mariner called Berenguer Ff.¹⁵¹ who was on a valuable horse he had taken in the first battle and also wore very handsome breastplates, which he had obtained in the same way; but he carried no shield, because he did not know how to manage it on horseback. And the son of the Emperor thought that he was a man of great importance, and gave him a blow with his sword on the left arm and wounded him in the hand. And he, seeing himself wounded, and being a young man and spirited, went to close with him and, with a dagger he had, gave him full thirteen blows. With one he wounded him in the face and he was quite disfigured, and then he dropped his shield and fell from his horse. And his men carried him out of the press which was great (and we did not know it was he) and put him into the castle of Apros. And then the

¹⁵¹The MS. of Poblet, instead of Ff., by which 'fulano' ('so and so') may have been meant, has P. for "Pere," a surname very frequently found in Catalonia, the equivalent of Pérez in Castilian.

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battle was very hard until night. And God, Who does all things well, arranged in such manner that they were all discomfited round about the castle and all fled to it who could reach it. But, however many fled, yet there died of them over ten thousand horse and an infinity of men afoot; but of ours, not more than nine horse and twenty-seven foot were killed. And so, that night, we remained on the battle field, all in armour, and next day, when we thought they would give us battle again, we found none of them in the field. And we went to the castle and attacked it and were there full eight days. And we searched the field and took away with us full ten carts, each cart drawn by four buffaloes, and so much cattle that they covered the land. And we had made endless gain, much more than in the first battle.

And from that hour all Romania was conquered and we had so put fear into their hearts, that we could not shout "Franks" but they were at once prepared to flee. And so, with great rejoicing, we returned to Gallipoli. And then, every day, we made raids and raided as far as the gates of Constantinople. It happened one day that a mounted almugavar, called Perico de Naclara, had lost at play, and he and two sons he had, took their arms and with no other company, went to Constantinople on foot. And in a garden of the Emperor he found two Genoese merchants shooting quails; and he took them and brought them to Gallipoli and got three thousand gold hyperpers, as ransom, and a hyperper is worth two sueldos of Barcelona. And such raids were made every day.

CCXXII

How the Company plundered the cities of Rodosto and of Panido. and how they did at Rodosto what had been done to their messengers; and how they removed to Rodosto and to Panido and how En Ferran Ximeno de Arenos came to succour them.

And when this was over and the land had been raided every day, the Company decided to go and sack the town of Rodosto, where our messengers had been killed and quartered and the quarters placed in the

shambles. And as they decided, so it was done. They went one morning at dawn and, to all the people they found in that city, men, women and children, they did what they had done to the messengers; for no man on earth would they have desisted. And it, assuredly, was a very cruel deed, nevertheless they wreaked this vengeance. And when they had done this, they went to take another city, which is half a league distant from the other and is called Panido. And when they had taken these two cities, they thought it well that they should all move into them with their wives and children and their mistresses, except I, who remained at Gallipoli with the seamen and with a hundred almugavars and fifty horsemen. And so they did, they removed to Panido and Rodosto because these towns were sixty miles from Constantinople.

And when the Company was thus settled, En Ferran Ximeno de Arenos (who had parted from the Grand Duke at Artaqui the first winter because of dissensions he had had with him, and had gone to the Duke of Athens who showed him much honour) knew that we had been thus victorious over our enemies; so, experienced knight as he was, thinking we should require a company, he came to us from the Morea in a galley and brought about eighty men, Catalans and Aragonese. And all were very pleased and we were all refreshed by it, and we all gave him so much that he and his company were very well mounted, and we provided them well with all things, as we would have done for a thousand, if there had been a thousand.

CCXXIII

How En Ferran Ximeno de Arenos raided up to near Constantinople and attacked the castle of Maditos at midday and took it; and how the Company divided into three parts.

And when he was thus established he, one day, took about a hundred and fifty horse and about three hundred foot and made a raid as far as the city of Constantinople. And as he was returning from it, with a crowd of people and cattle he was bringing with him, the Emperor had sent full

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eight hundred horse and full a thousand foot to a pass by which he had to come. And En Ferran Ximeno, seeing them, preached to his followers and admonished them to do well; and, all together, they attacked. What shall I tell you? Between killed and prisoners they had over six hundred horse and over two thousand foot. And it was a very fine and gallant feat. And so he and his company gained so much in this raid that, with this gain, they went to besiege a castle which is at the entrance of Boca Daner and is called Maditos. And know that that siege was made with no more than eighty horse and two hundred afoot, and within were over seven hundred Greek men of arms. And, indeed the rich hom was more truly besieged than those within. All the bread they cat I sent them in barges from Gallipoli, and there are twenty-four miles from Gallipoli there; and so I had to send all the refreshment. And so he kept up the siege full eight months and shot day and night with catapults. And I had sent him ten rope ladders with grappling irons; and many times in the night they tried to scale the walls, but it could not be done.

I shall tell you the finest adventure which happened to him, the finest that ever happened. One day in July, when the afternoon was very hot, all they of the castle were resting, some sleeping in the shade, some talking. And so, as the afternoon was so hot that all the world was baking in the heat, whoever may have slept, En Ferran Ximeno was watching, as one who had a great load on his shoulders. And he looked towards the wall and heard no-one talking there, nor did anyone appear. And he approached the wall and pretended to set up scaling ladders and no-one appeared. And then he returned to the tents and made every man get ready noiselessly. And he took a hundred young and spirited men and they approached the wall with the ladders and raised them to the top of the wall, and then. mounted, five men on each ladder, one behind the other. And they all, noiselessly, went up the wall; they were not heard. Then others went up, so that there were full sixty. And they seized the three towers. And En Ferran Ximeno came to the gate of the castle with all the rest of the people with axes, to break in the door. And so, when the first men were killing the men of the wall and the cry of alarm was raised within, all ran to the wall, and the others broke in the door. And it

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happened thus: when those sixty men were up on the wall, they threw themselves on those of the wall who were asleep, and all ran to succour these, and En Ferran Ximeno was at the door and broke it in and met no one to resist him. And when the doors were open, they entered to kill and destroy all they met. And so they took the castle; and so much coin was taken that, from that hour, En Ferran Ximeno and his company never were in want, rather they were all rich. And so you may well understand the finest adventure that you have ever heard related, that, at midday, a castle was scaled which had been besieged for eight months.

And when all this was over, all the Company was divided into three parts, one behind the other, namely En Ferran Ximeno at Maditos and I, Ramon Muntaner at Gallipoli with all the seamen and others. Gallipoli was the chief of all and all came there who wanted clothes or armour or other things, and it was a city where they found all they wanted; and all merchants of whatever condition lived there or came there. And Rocafort was at Rodosto and Panido with all the rest of the Company, and we were all rich and well to do. We sowed nothing nor ploughed nor dug over the vineyards nor pruned the vines, but took, every year, as much wine as we wanted and as much wheat and oats.

So we lived five years on aftercrops, and the most wonderful raids were made man could ever imagine. If one wanted to tell them all to you he could never write enough.

CCXXIV

How Sir George de Cristopol of the Kingdom of Salonica made a raid on Gallipoli with eighty horsemen whom I, Ramon Muntaner, defeated with fourteen horsemen.

It is the truth that there was a baron in the Kingdom of Salonica, called Sir George de Cristopol, who came from the Kingdom of Salonica to Constantinople, to the Emperor. And when he came to the district of Gallipoli he said to his company, which consisted of about eighty horsemen well apparelled and well mounted, that, as they were there, near Gallipoli, he wished to raid it; that he knew there were no horsemen there

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and hardly any men afoot, and so they would capture the pack-mules and the carts which are sent out for wood; all held this for good. And so at the hour of tierce¹⁵² they came to Gallipoli. And I used to send daily two carts and two mules for wood, and with them went a squire who lived with me, a mounted cross-bowman called Marcho. And when they came to the place where they were to get the wood, these others went at them. But the squire, seeing them, commanded four men he had with him to go up a tower without any doors which was there, to defend themselves with stones; and he would run to Gallipoli and they would soon have succour. And so they did. And the Greeks took the carts and mules at once, and the squire ran to Gallipoli and raised the alarm, and we issued forth. And, in truth, I had no more than six armed horse and eight light horse, for I had sent the rest of the horse company on a raid with En Rocafort. And these others came as far as our barriers and we all, horse and foot, collected together and they did also. And as we had done in the other battles, we proceeded to attack them all together, horse and foot. So it pleased Our Lord the true God that we should vanquish them, and we took thirty-seven horsemen, some killed and some prisoners, and the others we pursued as far as the tower where my four men were, who had been with the carts and mules; and we recovered these four men; then we let the enemy go and returned to Gallipoli. And next day we had an auction of the horses and of the prisoners and of what we had taken and we had, of the booty, twenty-eight gold hyperpers for each armed horse and fourteen for each light horse and seven for each foot soldier, so that everyone had his share. And I have told you this fine adventure in order that you should all understand that it was due to nothing but the power of God, and that this was not done through our worth but by the virtue and grace of God.

¹⁵² a.m

How En Rocafort went to harry Lestanayre and sacked and burnt all the ships and galleys and terides which were there; and how the Company resolved to fight the Alans and the lot fell to me, En Ramon Muntaner, to stop and guard Gallipoli.

And whilst this was being done, En Rocafort had gone on a raid, full one day's journey, to a place which is on the Greater Sea, called Lestanayre, where all the ships and terides and galleys of Romania are made. And there were at Lestanayre over a hundred and fifty lenys, one with the other; and they burnt them all. And they took all that had been ours, and sacked all the town and the manors of that place. And they returned with a great booty and gained so much, it was infinite.

And then, a few days after, we all decided, En Rocafort, En Ferran Ximeno and I and the others, that all we had done was worth nothing if we did not go and fight the Alans who had killed the Caesar. And in the end this was agreed and we at once set to work. And it was ordained that the Company, which was at Panido and Rodosto with their wives and children, should all return to Gallipoli with their wives and mistresses and children and all their property and leave them there, and that the banners be taken away from those towns. And so it was done; Gallipoli was the headquarters of all the host and I was at Gallipoli with all my household and all the clerks of the host. And I was commander of Gallipoli and when the host was there, all had to be subject to my jurisdiction, from the greatest to the least. And I was chancellor and comptroller of the host. And the clerks, all those of the host, were always with me, so that no one but I knew at any time how many we were in the host. And I had it set down in writing how much everyone took, armed or light horse, and the same with the men afoot, so that, from my book, they knew how to divide the booty of the raids, and of that I had a fifth, from sea or land. And, again, I had the seal of the Company for, as soon as the Caesar had been killed and En Berenguer de Entenza had been taken prisoner, the Company had a great

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seal made, on which was the blessed Saint George, and the words were these:—“Seal of the Host of the Franks who are ruling the Kingdom of Macedonia.” And so Gallipoli was all the time the headquarters of that company, namely for seven years that we held it after the Caesar was dead. And five years we lived on aftercrops, for we never sowed or planted or dug over the land.

And when all the Company was at Gallipoli, the lot fell on me to remain and guard Gallipoli and the women and children and all belonging to the Company, and they left me two hundred men of arms afoot and twenty horsemen of my company. And it was ordained that they would give me a third of the fifth part of what they would gain, and the other third would be divided amongst those who remained with me, and the other third En Rocafort should have.

CCXXVI

How the Company departed to fight the Alans and killed Gircon, their chief, and cut down their banners and killed his followers; and what happened to a knight of the Alans for delivering his wife out of the hands of the Company.

And so, with the favour of God, the host proceeded to issue forth out of Gallipoli and, altogether, it was full twelve journeys to where the Alans were, in the territory of the Emperor of Lantzaura. And if anyone asks me why the fifth was divided so that two hundred men who were to remain with me at Gallipoli should have a third, I tell you it was done because no one was found who wished to remain. What shall I tell you? In the night some of those who were to remain went away, so many, that there remained with me only a hundred and thirty-two men afoot, some being seamen, some almugavars, and seven horse who were of my household. To the others I was forced to give leave and they promised to give half of all the gain God would give them to those seven armed horsemen who remained with me. And so I remained, badly provided with men and well provided with women, for, altogether, there remained with me over two

thousand women, one with another. So the host departed at a suitable hour and they went on their journeys until they entered the Empire of Lantzaura in a beautiful plain. And Gircon, chief of the Alans who, with his own hand, had killed the Caesar at Adrianople, was there and had with him up to three thousand horse and up to six thousand foot. And all had their wives and children there, for the Alans live after the manner of the Tartars; they always march with all their belongings and never lodge in city or town or village. And when our men came near, they tarried one day without approaching them, to settle and arrange all about the battle. The Alans are held to be the best cavalry there is in the East. And when our men had rested one day they came, on the following day, to within one league of them, and then afterwards, rising very early, at dawn they were upon them and proceeded to attack amongst the tents. And the Alans had had news of them, but did not think they were so near. But full a thousand horse were ready at once. What shall I tell you? The battle was hard and lasted all day. And at the hour of midday their chief, Gircon, was killed and lost his head and his banners were cut down. They were soon defeated. What shall I tell you? Of all the Alans there did not escape, of horse or foot, three hundred men; all died because they had not the heart to leave their wives and children.

But I must recount to you what happened to one of their knights who was bringing away his wife. He rode a good horse, and his wife another, and three horsemen of ours went after them. What shall I tell you about it? The lady's horse was getting tired and the knight was hitting him with the flat of his sword, but in the end our horsemen overtook the knight. And when he saw they were overtaking him and that he would lose the lady, he pushed on a little ahead, and the lady gave a great cry and he returned towards her and embraced and kissed her. And when he had done this, he struck her on the neck with his sword so that her head was cut off at one blow. And when he had done this, he turned towards our horsemen, who were already seizing the lady's horse, and gave a cut with his sword to one of them who was called G. de Bellver, which cut off his left arm at one stroke and he fell dead to the ground. And the other two, seeing this, rushed upon him, and he upon them, and one of them, an adalil, was called

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A. Miro and was a good man of arms, and the other was called Berenguer de Ventayola. What shall I tell you? I must tell you that he would not leave the lady's side, so that they cut him all to pieces. See how valiant the knight was; he had killed G. de Bellver and badly wounded the two others.

And so you can see how he died, like a good knight, and that he had done what he did to his own great sorrow. And so the greater part of the Alans died for the same reason; and, as I have told you already, not three hundred men of arms escaped, for all were killed. And our men took the women and the children and all they had and the cattle and the riding beasts. And they reviewed how many they had lost, horse and foot, and found there were forty-four men killed and many wounded. And so, with great gain, they returned very joyous at the great vengeance they had taken for the death of the Caesar. And so they started on their way and, at their ease, returned to Gallipoli.

CCXXVII

Recounts the treaty Sir Antonio Spinola made with the Emperor of Constantinople; and how he defied the Company in the name of the whole Commune of Genoa and came to besiege Gallipoli where he was killed and his men were defeated.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of them who are returning and have had plenty of toil and trouble, and must turn to speak to you of ourselves, who remained at Gallipoli and have not had any less trouble than they. When the Company had departed from Gallipoli to march against the Alans the Emperor heard of it. And it happened that, at that time, eighteen Genoese galleys, of which Sir Antonio Spinola was commander, had come from Genoa to Constantinople, to take the youngest son of the Emperor to Lombardy to be made Marquis of Monferrat.¹⁵³ The said Sir Antonio Spinola told the Emperor that, if he would let his son, the Marquis, have to

¹⁵³Demetrius, third son of Andronicus II and the Empress Irene.

wife the daughter of micer Apicino Spinola, he would wage war for him against the Franks of Romania. And the Emperor said he was content.

And upon this Sir Antonio came to Gallipoli with two galleys and defied us in the name of the Commune of Genoa. And the challenge was this: that he commanded and told us, in the name of the Commune of Genoa, to get out of their garden, namely the Empire of Constantinople, which was the garden of the Commune of Genoa; otherwise if we did not get out, that he defied us in the name of the Commune of Genoa and of all the Genoese in the world. And I answered him that we did not accept their challenge; that we knew that the Commune had been and was the friend of the House of Aragon and Sicily and Mallorca and so, that there was no reason that they should send this challenge, nor that we should accept it. And so he had a public letter made of what he had said, and I of what I had answered for all the Company. And then, a second time, he returned to this same thing, and I answered the same, and more letters were made of it. And then, a third time, he returned to it, and I answered that he was wrong in persisting in these challenges, and that I had come to Romania in the name of God and to exalt the Holy Catholic Faith, and that he should cease from these challenges; rather, I required him, in the name of the Holy Apostolic Father, whose banner we had, as he could see, to join us against the Emperor and his followers, who were schismatics and very treacherously had killed our chiefs and our brothers when we came to serve them against the infidels; and so we required him, in the name of the Holy Father and of the King of Aragon and of the King of Sicily, to help us to take this vengeance; and that if they did not wish to help us, that they should not hinder us. Otherwise, if he did not revoke his challenges, I protested in the name of God and of the Holy Catholic Faith, that upon him who had made these challenges and upon all those who had been favourable to them, would be the blood that would be shed between us and them through this challenge; and that it would leave us free from sin or guilt, and that God and the world could see that we had been forced to accept it and must defend ourselves. And I had all this put in a public document; but he held to his challenge. And this he did because he had given the Emperor to understand that, as soon as he had sent us the

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challenge of the Commune we would not dare to remain in Romania. But he did not know our heart; we had resolved not to leave until we had taken full vengeance.

And so he returned to Constantinople and told the Emperor what he had done, and also told him that he would at once take the castle and me and all that were there. And he, at once, had his eighteen galleys assembled, and seven belonging to the Emperor, of which En Andriol Murisch,¹⁵⁴ a Genoese, was admiral; and they took the son of the Emperor with them to bring him to the marquisate. And they came upon us before Gallipoli, with all the twenty-five galleys, one Saturday at vesper time. And all that day and night, they prepared ladders and arms to attack Gallipoli, knowing that the Company was far from us and that we had been left with but few men of arms. And as they ordained their battles for the next day, I ordained my defence all night. And the defence was ordained thus: I made all the women who were there put on armour-for of armour there was plenty-and ordered them to the walls, and over each division of the wall I ordered a merchant of those Catalan merchants who were there, to be the commander of the women. And I ordered half-casks and bowls of well-tempered wine and much bread in every street, and who liked might eat and drink, for I knew well that the forces outside were so great, they would not let us eat indoors. And then I ordered that every man should have good cuirasses on, for I knew that the Genoese were well provided with sharp arrows and would shoot off many. They have a fashion of shooting ceaselessly and they shoot more quarrels in one battle than Catalans would shoot in ten. And so I made every man put on armour and had the posterns of the barbacana¹⁵⁵ left open (for all the barbacanas were stockaded) in order that I might hasten to where it was most necessary. And I also ordered physicians to be ready to assist when any man was wounded, so that he could return to the battle at once. And when I had ordained all this, where every one should be and what he should do, I went here and there

¹⁵⁴?Andreolo Morisco.

¹⁵⁵The Spanish barbacana was a second, lower, outside wall; not, like the English barbican, the fortified entrance of a castle or of a town.

with twenty men, where I saw it was most needed. And day broke and the galleys approached in order to run ashore. And I, on a good horse I had and with a third of my knights in coats of mail and *perpunt*,¹⁵⁶ fought the *palomers*¹⁵⁷ until the hour of tierce to prevent their beaching the galleys. But in the end, ten galleys were beached, a long way off, and just then my horse fell; at last one of my squires came my way and gave me his horse; but, however much I hastened, the horse which had fallen and I got thirteen wounds between us. Nevertheless, when I had mounted the other horse, I put up the squire behind me, and so we went up to the castle, with five wounds I had, which I felt but little except one, a sword cut along my foot; this and the others I made them dress at once. But I had lost that horse.

And when they of the galleys saw I had fallen, they cried: "The commander is killed! at them! at them! And then they landed all together, and they had ordained their battle very wisely. Out of each galley issued one banner with half the crew; and it was so ordained that, if any man of those who went to the battle was hungry or thirsty or was wounded, he should return to the galleys. If he was across-bowman, another cross-bowman should come out and if he was a pikeman, another pikeman. So those who fought in the battle would not be diminished in numbers, either for going to eat or for any other reason; rather, they would be fighting in full numbers. And they issued forth thus ordained and every man prepared to fight where it was ordained, and the crews fought also, and they proceeded to attack very vigorously and we to defend ourselves. And they shot so many quarrels that they almost hid the sky from men's sight. And this shooting lasted until the hour of nones so that the castle was full of quarrels. What shall I tell? No one of us outside was wounded. A cook of mine was in the kitchen, cooking fowls for the wounded, when a bolt came

¹⁵⁶"*perpunt* or *pourpoint*. The *pourpoint* originated in France... It occurs as early as the XIIth century and was called also *counterpoint*. The military, temp. Henry III and Edward 1, are almost always depicted in it. It consisted of padded work, but more neatly wrought than *gamboised*." – Fosbrook, *Encyclopaedia of Antiquities*.'

¹⁵⁷Seamen of the topmast.

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down the chimney and entered his thigh, full two fingers deep. What should I tell you about it? The battle was very hard, and our women defended the barbacana, with stones and pieces of rock which I had had placed on the wall, in so masterly a manner, it was marvellous. Indeed a woman was found there who had five wounds in her face from quarrels and still continued the defence as if she had no hurt. And so this fight lasted until the morning hour.

And when the morning hour came the aforementioned commander, called Antonio Spinola, who had made the challenges, said: "Oh, you despicable people, what is this? Three miserable people inside can defend themselves against you? You are most despicable." And then he got ready with four hundred men of old families who were there, who were all of the best families of Genoa, and with five banners he prepared to issue from the galleys. And I was told at once and went up on the wall and saw them come and, at once, had the armour put on my horse and on the other six horses I had. And when we were well arrayed and apparelled so that nothing was wanting, I summoned a hundred men of the best in the castle, and made them all take off their armour, as it was very hot, for it was the middle of July, and I saw the quarrels had stopped, none were being shot, they had all been used; and I made them all get ready, in their shirts and breeches, each man with a shield, and with a lance in his hand, and with girded sword and a dagger. And when the commander, namely Antonio Spinola, with all these good men with the five banners had come to the iron gate of the castle and had been attacking it vigorously for a long while, so that the greater number had their tongues hanging out with thirst and the heat, I commended myself to God and to Our Lady Saint Mary and I had the gate opened and with the six armed horses and with the men afoot who had come thus lightly equipped, we attacked the banners. At the first blow we cut down four. And they, seeing us attack thus vigorously, horse as well as foot, saw they were defeated, so that they soon turned their backs to us. What should I tell you about it? Antonio Spinola had his head cut off in the place in which he had made the challenges, and with him all the noblemen who had come out with him, so that altogether over six hundred Genoese were killed there. And I tell you that our men mounted the

ladders of the galleys mingled with the enemy, so that, in truth, if only we had had a hundred fresh men for the galleys, we should have captured more than four. But we were all wounded and exhausted and so, unfortunately, we let them go.

And when all were collected (of whom some were drowned, for there were plenty who, on assembling, fell into the sea), there came a message to me, that about forty had remained on a hill. And I hurried there and the captain of these was the strongest man of Genoa, Antonio Bocanegra. What shall I tell you? All his companions were killed, but he had a bordon sword in his hand, and made such thrusts that no one dared go near him. And I, seeing him do so great a thing, commanded that no one should hit him and told him to surrender and begged him to do so many times; but he would not on any account. And I then commanded one of my squires, who was on an armed horse, to rush at him, and he did this willingly and gave him such a knock with the horse's chest, that he threw him to the ground, and then he was cut into more than a hundred pieces.

And so the Genoese galleys, defeated, and with so great a loss of men, went to Genoa with the Marquis; and they of the Emperor went to Constantinople, and they had had this ill success, but we remained cheerful and content.

And next day the Company heard that I was besieged, and those who were well mounted hurried on; in one night and one day they went more than three journeys, so that on the following day, at vespers, more than eighty horsemen had joined us. And then, after two days, the whole host came and found us all disfigured and wounded. And they were all much displeased that they had not been present; nevertheless we all rejoiced with each other, and we made processions to render thanks to God for the victory He had given us. And they gave us all a fair part of what they had gained, so that we all then, by the mercy of God, were abundantly rich.

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CCXXVIII

How the Turk, Ximelich, wished to join the Company with eighty horsemen and how the said Company was increased by eighteen hundred Turkish horsemen.

When all this was done the Turks we had cast out of Anatolia heard of the death of the Caesar and of the captivity of En Berenguer de Entenza; but also of the victories God had given us who were so few in number. They returned to Anatolia and conquered all the cities and towns and castles of the Greeks, and oppressed them much more than at the time we went there. Behold what came of the wicked deeds of the Emperor and of the treachery against us; all Anatolia, which had been restored, was lost by it; the Turks took it and we were devastating all Romania. Except the cities of Constantinople and Adrianople and Christopolis¹⁵⁸ and Salonica, there was not a town or city that was not pillaged and burnt by us, nor any place, unless it was a castle in the mountains.

There came a Turkish captain to Gallipoli, called Ximelich,¹⁵⁹ and asked for a parley and said, if it were our pleasure, he wished to pass into Gallipoli to speak to us. And I sent him an armed leny and so he came with ten knights who were kinsmen of his, and he came before En Rocafort and En Ferran Ximeno and myself and said he was ready to pass over to us with his company and with his wife and children; that he would render oath and homage to us, that he would be as a brother to us, he and all his company; and that he would support us against all the peoples of the world; and they would put their wives and children under our power; and they wished to be in all and for all under our command, like the least of the company; and that they would give us the fifth of all they would gain. And of this we had advice and council of all the Company, and all thought it

¹⁵⁸Neapolis of the Acts of the Apostles.

¹⁵⁹Buchon calls him Isaac Melech. It will he remembered that the Arabs called Richard Coeur de Lion Melech Ric.

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well that we should receive them. With that we received this Ximelich, who passed over to us with eight hundred horse and two thousand foot. And if ever people were obedient to a lord, they were to us; and if ever men were loyal and true, they were to us always, and they were very expert men of arms and experienced in all affairs. And so they stayed with us like brothers and they always remained near us forming a host by themselves.

And so, when these had come to us, there had only remained to the Emperor a thousand Turkish horsemen who were soldiers of his, and they used to be full four thousand horsemen; but in the first battle we killed full three thousand and so there remained to him that thousand, who also put themselves under our power with their wives and children, as the other Turks had done. And they likewise were good and always loyal and obedient to us. And so we had increased by eighteen hundred Turkish horsemen and had killed and taken away from the Emperor all the soldiers he had.

And so we lorded it over all the land and we raided the Empire at our case; for when the Turks and the Turcoples went on forays, those of our men who wished went also, and much honour was shown them, and they did in such wise that they always came back with twice as much booty as the others. And so it could never be found that there was any strife between us and them.

CCXXIX

How the Lord King En Alfonso of Aragon delivered En Berenguer de Entenza out of prison, who went to the Pope and to the King of France to beg them for assistance; and how, it being denied him, he passed into Gallipoli; and of the discord there was between him and En Rocafort.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of us and must speak to you of En Berenguer de Entenza whom the Genoese took with them to Genoa. But, in the end, the Lord King of Aragon took him out of prison and when he was out of prison, the rich horn went to the Pope and to the King of France, to arrange that the Company should get succours from them. But much might

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he labour; I do not believe that the Pope nor the House of France wished that all the infidels of the world should be conquered by the followers of the Lord King of Aragon; and so both denied him succours. And as the Pope said no to the King of Aragon when he was at Collo, you can see whether they wished the House of Aragon to be much advanced by their succours. And so the rich hom, not being able to obtain help from the Pope nor from the House of France, returned to Catalonia and mortgaged and sold a great portion of his lands, and hired a ship of En P. Saolivela of Barcelona; and he put in it, between men of birth and others, full five hundred good men and went to Romania.

And when he came to Gallipoli I received him very splendidly, as one whom I should consider as my captain and chief. But En Rocafort would not accept him as captain and chief, rather he thought he himself was and ought to be captain. And so this strife was great between the two. But I and those twelve counsellors of the host pacified them, so that we all were like brothers; and if En Berenguer de Entenza wished to go on a foray on his own account, anyone who liked could accompany him, and so it was also with En Rocafort, and with En Ferran Ximeno likewise. But En Rocafort, being very expert, so attracted the almugavars that they all looked up to him, and the Turks and Turcoples did also, because they had come at a time when En Rocafort was the greatest and the most accomplished knight of the host; thenceforward they acknowledged no other lord. And in order to negotiate peace and concord between them, I suffered much toil and trouble and many dangers, because I had to go from one to the other, and always had to pass by castles of the enemy on our borders. What shall I tell you? En Rocafort, with the Turks and the greater part of the almugavars, went to besiege the city of Nona which was sixty miles distant from Gallipoli. And En Berenguer de Entenza went to besiege a castle called Megarix, which was half-way on the road between Gallipoli and the castle besieged by En Rocafort. And all the time En Ferran Ximeno, with all the Aragonese who were in the host and a part of the Catalan seamen, held with En Berenguer de Entenza. And so each conducted his siege and each had catapults with which he assailed the places he was holding besieged.

How the Most High Lord Infante En Ferrando of Mallorca came to Gallipoli in Romania where the Company was, under assured covenants with the Lord King Fadrique, King of Sicily; and how he was accepted and fealty was sworn to him as their chief and lord except by Rocafort and his company who wished to take the oath to him personally and not for the King of Sicily.

And things being thus, there came to Romania the Lord Infante En Ferrando, son of the Lord King of Mallorca, with four galleys. He came in the name of the Lord King En Fadrique, King of Sicily, who sent him with this covenant between them, that the Lord Infante could not take the command of the Company, neither of cities nor towns nor castles nor other places, except for the Lord King of Sicily. And again, that he could not marry in Romania without the consent and knowledge of the Lord King of Sicily. And of this covenant En Rocafort had letters of the King of Sicily, and I had one, and in all the host there was no other man who knew about this. And so the Lord Infante came to Gallipoli, and brought a letter to En Berenguer de Entenza and to En Ferran Ximeno and to En Rocafort and to me on the part of the Lord King of Sicily, bidding us receive the Lord Infante as Lord as if it were himself, and he sent a similar letter to all the community of the Company. I accepted, and made all who were in Gallipoli accept, the said Lord Infante as head and chief in the name of the said Lord King of Sicily, and gave up the whole of my house to him, and at once bought fifty horses and pack mules for him, as many as he needed, and all he required for setting out I gave him, tents and harness of all sorts that are required by such a lord on a march. And I at once sent two men on horseback to En Berenguer de Entenza who was besieging Megarix, which was thirty miles distant from Gallipoli, and two others to En Rocafort at the city of Nona which he was besieging, which was sixty miles distant from Gallipoli; and also to En Ferran Ximeno who was at his castle of Maditos, which is twenty-five miles distant from Gallipoli. And En Berenguer de Entenza came to Gallipoli at once with his company and raised the siege

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and, at once, accepted the Lord Infante, he and all who were with him, as chief and lord for the said Lord King of Sicily. And so likewise, came to Gallipoli En Ferran Ximeno de Arenos with all his company and accepted the Lord Infante as head and chief for the Lord King of Sicily. And so we were all obedient to the command of the Lord King of Sicily and considered the said Lord Infante our head, chief and lord. And we all had great cheer and content at this and held our cause to be won, as God had brought us the said Lord Infante who is in the direct line of the House of Aragon, being the son of the Lord King of Mallorca ; and besides, he was, himself, one of the four principal knights of the world and of the wisest, and one who wished most to exercise true justice. For many reasons he was a lord who suited us very well.

And when we had all taken the oath to the Lord Infante, we had a message from En Rocafort, that he could not raise his siege, but that he entreated the Lord Infante to go there; that all the company had great joy at his arrival. The Lord Infante held a council upon this and we all advised him to go, and told him we would follow him, except that En Berenguer de Entenza and En Ferran Ximeno would remain in Gallipoli, because they were both on bad terms with En Rocafort; but that, as soon as the Lord Infante had arranged everything with En Rocafort and his company, they would go to him. And so the said Lord Infante, with me and with all the company that was in Gallipoli, except a few that remained with these two richs homens, went to where En Rocafort was, namely to where he was conducting his siege. And when they knew that the Lord Infante was coming, they received him with great honours and with the great content and cheerfulness they all felt.

And when the Lord Infante had been full two days with them, at that great feast, he gave his letters to the Company. But En Rocafort, who alone knew the covenant between the Lord King of Sicily and the Lord Infante, reflected that the Lord Infante was of such high descent and was so worthy and true, that he would on no account fail to keep the covenant he had made with the Lord King of Sicily. And he thought of his own advantage and not of the common good. He thought: "If this lord remains here as lord and chief thou art lost, for En Berenguer de Entenza and Ferran Ximeno

have accepted him before thou didst, and both are nobles and the Infante will always show them more honour than to thee, as well in council as in all other affairs, and they have mortal hatred against thee and so they will do thee all the evil they can with him. And thou art, to-day, chief and lord of this host, thou hast the greater part of the Franks, horse and foot, of those who are in Romania. Besides, thou hast the Turks and the Turcoples who, here, acknowledge no other lord but thee. And, when thou art lord, how canst thou return to be nothing? Thou must take measures that this lord does not remain here, but this thou wilt have to do with great dexterity. for the people are full of joy at his arrival and want him as head and chief. Then what wilt thou do? Thou hast only one way, that, with a good semblance, thou yet arrange in such wise that he does not tarry here."

And you will see what means he took; I never believed there was a man who would take a resolution so covertly as he did. And the Lord Infante, trusting him greatly, told him all his purpose and bid him assemble a general council, for he wished to give the Company the letters that he was bringing from the Lord King of Sicily. Those for En Rocafort he had already sent him. And En Rocafort said that he would assemble a general council on the following day; but, in the meanwhile, he assembled privately, all the heads of the companies, as well horse as foot, and said to them:

"Notables, the Lord Infante wishes us to assemble a council to-morrow, for he wishes to give you the letters he brings from the Lord King of Sicily, and he wishes to tell you by word of mouth why he has come. And your nurture and the nurture of your companies is such that you will listen to him courteously; and when he has spoken none shall answer him; but I shall answer him that you have heard the letters and his good words, and that he should return to his lodging, and we shall hold our council upon what he has put before us."

And so the Lord Infante and all came to the council and he gave his letters and spoke good and wise words to the Company. And they answered what En Rocafort had ordained, namely that they would defer their agreement. And so the Lord Infante returned to his lodging and the council remained in the square. What shall I tell you? En Rocafort said: "Barons, this matter must not be managed by all. Let us elect fifty worthy

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men who shall settle this answer and, when they have settled it, we shall tell it you all, to ask if it seems good to you. And if it seems good to you, we shall give it, but if amendment seems necessary it shall be made." And so all held what En Rocafort had said for good, so that before they left the square the fifty were elected. And when they had been elected, they took an oath of secrecy. And when they had done this En Rocafort said to them:

"Barons, God has shown us His great love in sending us this lord; there is none in the world who would be so much to us. He is in the direct line of descent of the House of Aragon and is of the most accomplished knights of the world and of those who most love truth and justice. Wherefore I should advise you that we accept him as our lord, out and out. But he has told us that we should accept him as representative of the King of Sicily; but that we shall not do on any account. It is much better for us that he be our lord than the Lord King of Sicily, for he has neither land nor dominion, wherefore he will always be with us and we with him. As to the King of Sicily, you know already what guerdon he has given us for the service we have done him, we and our fathers. As soon as peace was concluded, he cast us out of Sicily with a quintal of bread for each man. And that is a thing we should all remember. Therefore let us answer him clearly that we shall on no account accept him as from King Fadrique, but that we are prepared to accept him for himself, as being the grandson of our natural lord, and that we hold ourselves much honoured and are prepared to render oath and homage to him. And for this he will be very grateful to us and we shall have done our duty to him. And we shall let the King of Sicily know that we remember what he did when he had obtained peace." And so, in the end, all said he had spoken well, but none, except En Rocafort, knew the covenants between the Lord King En Fadrique and the Lord Infante. But he knew well that they were so binding between them, that the Infante could on no account accept the sovereignty over any city or town or castle or anything in this journey. If the Company had known this, they would not have let him depart; rather they would have received him willingly on the part of the Lord King of Sicily. But En Rocafort said to them: "Barons, if he refuses you and says that he will on no account take the sovereignty for himself, let it not disturb us; he will take it in the end."

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What shall I tell you? They put the agreement, just as they had made it, before the community and told them at length all that has been said before; it was not En Rocafort who told it; rather, two of these fifty men were ordained to speak for all. And all the Company cried: "Well spoken, well spoken." And so the answer was made to the Lord Infante. And when he heard it, it seemed to him that they said it to show him great honour. What shall I tell you? They kept him in such parley for fifteen days. And when he saw that they persisted in it, he answered them that they should know for certain that, if they would not accept him as from the Lord King of Sicily, he would return to Sicily. And when he had given this answer, he wished to take leave. But En Rocafort and all the Company urged him not to part from them until they were in the Kingdom of Salonica and, until then, they would look upon him as their lord, and he would meanwhile make his decision and they likewise; and that, if it pleased God, he would establish concord amongst them. And so, likewise, they told him of the discord between En Rocafort and En Berenguer de Entenza and En Ferran Ximeno, and begged him to be pleased to mend it. And he answered that he would be pleased to do so.

CCXXXI

How the Lord Infante and the Company departed from the Kingdom of Macedonia and abandoned Gallipoli and the castle of Maditos and burnt them and went to the Kingdom of Salonica to wage war.

Now it is the truth that we had been in the peninsula of Gallipoli and in that district seven years since the death of the Caesar, and we had lived there five years on the land and there was nothing left. And so, likewise, we had depopulated all that district for ten journeys in every direction; we had destroyed all the people, so that nothing could be gathered there. Therefore we were obliged to abandon that country. And this was the decision of En Rocafort and those who were with him, Christians as well as Turks and Turcoples. And so likewise it was the intention of En Berenguer de Entenza and En Ferran Ximeno and all their men, and mine

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too with those of Gallipoli. But we dared not move for fear of quarrels amongst ourselves; we had nothing else to fear. And so the Lord Infante spoke with all, and it was agreed that all should abandon that district together, and that I, with the seamen in twenty-four lenys we had, amongst which were the four galleys (the rest being armed lenys and armed barges) should take away all the women and children and go by sea to the city of Cristopol, which is at the entrance to the dominion of Salonica; and that I should demolish and bum the castle of Gallipoli and the castle of Maditos and all the places we held. And so I took leave of them and went to Gallipoli and carried out what had been ordained, and with thirty-six sail, between galleys and armed lenys and armed barges and shore boats, I issued out of Boca Daner and set my course for Cristopol.

CCXXXII

How the Company set out to go to the Kingdom of Salonica and how, two marches distant from Cristopol, a quarrel arose in the Company in which En Berenguer de Entenza was killed by the hands of the men of En Rocafort.

And when the Infante and all the Company knew that I had burnt and demolished all the places and castles and that I had left Boca Daner in safety, they arranged their departure. And the ordering of it, which the Lord Infante made, was this: that En Rocafort and those who were with him, and the Turks and the Turcoples should start one day ahead; namely, where they had lain one night, the next the Lord Infante should lie and En Berenguer de Entenza and En Ferran Ximeno and all their companies; so that, all the time, they should be at a day's journey distant from each other. And so they went, very well ordered, on short journeys. And when they were within two journeys of Cristopol, the Devil, who does nothing but evil, arranged that the host of En Berenguer de Entenza should get up earlier, because of the great heat, and the men of En Rocafort only got up in broad daylight, because they had been lying in a plain which was all gardens, and there was every kind of good fruit of the season, and good

water and much wine which they found in the houses. And so, being well lodged, they delayed leaving, and the others had been quite the opposite, wherefore they got up early. And so the van of the host of the Lord Infante overtook the rear of the host of En Rocafort. And when the men of En Rocafort saw them, the voice of the Devil arose amongst them, crying:—"To arms! to arms! see the company of En Berenguer de Entenza and En Ferran Ximeno coming to kill us!" And so the word went from one to the other, as far as the van. And En Rocafort had the armour put on the horses and all got ready, and also the Turks and Turcoples. What shall I tell you? The noise reached the Lord Infante and En Berenguer de Entenza and En Ferran Ximeno. And En Berenguer de Entenza quickly mounted his horse, with only a hauberk¹⁶⁰ on without any armour, with his sword girded on and a hunting spear in his hand, and he proceeded to head off and drive back his men and make them return. And whilst he was thus rallying them as well as he could (for he did not know whence the noise arose and headed them off, like a wise rich horn and expert knight) there came, on his horse, fully armed, En Gisbert de Rocafort, younger brother of En Berenguer de Rocafort, and likewise En Dalmau Sant-Marti, their uncle, on his horse and well armed. And together they came towards En Berenguer de Entenza heading off his men, but they thought he was urging on the company. And both together rushed at him and En Berenguer de Entenza cried:—"What is this?" But both attacked him and found him unarmed, and thrust their lances right through him, so that, then and there, they slew him, and this was a great wrong and a great loss, that they, when he was acting rightly, killed him. And when they had killed him they went to look for the others and especially for En Ferran Ximeno. And En Ferran, also an expert and wise knight, came out at the noise without any armour, and mounted his horse and was heading off the men. And when he saw that the men of En Rocafort had killed En Berenguer de Entenza, and that the Turks and Turcoples were with them and did what they commanded

¹⁶⁰"Hauberk... a tunic or frock with wide sleeves reaching a little below the elbow." – Fosbrook: 'Encyclopedia of Antiquities.'

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and that every man would be killed, he fled with about thirty horsemen to a castle which belonged to the Emperor. See into what danger he had to put himself, being obliged to put himself into the power of his enemies, who received him willingly when they saw the fight. What shall I tell you? Thus killing and wounding they came as far as where the banner of the Lord Infante and his company was. So the Lord Infante came armed, on his horse, mace in hand, and rallied the men as well as he could. And as soon as En Rocafort and his company saw them, they surrounded him, so that no one could do him any hurt, neither the Turks nor the Turcoples. What shall I tell you? As soon as the Lord Infante was with them, the fighting ceased; nevertheless it did not cease so completely that throughout that day, they did not kill some of our men, namely, of the company of En Berenguer de Entenza and En Ferran Ximeno, over a hundred and fifty horsemen and full five hundred afoot. See if it was not indeed the work of the Devil, for if the country had been inhabited by people ready to come out to attack them they would all have been killed.

And when the Lord Infante came to the place where En Berenguer de Entenza was lying dead, he dismounted, and began a great mourning and kissed him more than ten times, and all that were in the host did the same, and En Rocafort also showed himself greatly displeased at it, and wept over him, as also his brother and his uncle, who had killed him. But when the Lord Infante upbraided them, they excused themselves, saying they did not recognise him. And so they did wrongly and it was a great sin to kill this rich horn and all the others. And the Lord Infante made all the host tarry in that place three days and, in a church near by, dedicated to Saint Nicholas, they buried the body of the said En Berenguer de Entenza and had masses sung and they put him in a fine tomb near the altar. God keep his soul, for he was a true martyr, for he died to stop wrong doing. And when this was done, the Infante heard that En Ferran Ximeno was in that castle with those who had gone away with him and with full seventy others who had gone there afterwards, so that altogether he was in the castle with a hundred men, good men of the host. And the Infante sent to bid him return, and he sent to beg the Infante to excuse him, as it was not in his power (as indeed it was not); as he had come to the castle he had to

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appear before the Emperor with all his company. And so the Lord Infante held him excused, him and all who were with him.

And, things being thus, the four galleys of the Lord Infante, of which En Dalmau Serran, knight, and En Jaime Despalau of Barcelona were commanders, came to the place where the host was. The Lord Infante had sent them to me to accompany me, but they would not venture to enter Boca Daner for fear of the Genoese galleys, so they returned without me to where they knew the host was.

CCXXXIII

How En Rocafort made his company maintain the resolution on no account to accept the Lord Infante En Ferrando as representative of the Lord King Fadrique, King of Sicily, but only in his own person; wherefore the Lord Infante parted from the Company and came to Sicily and I, En Ramon Muntaner, with him.

And when the Lord Infante saw the galleys, he rejoiced and had a general council assembled and asked them what decision they had come to; if they had decided to receive him as representing the Lord King of Sicily, he would tarry with them, if not, he would not remain. And En Rocafort, who considered himself a greater man since En Berenguer de Entenza was dead and En Ferran Ximeno had fled, made the Company keep to the resolution on no account to accept the Lord Infante as representative of the Lord King of Sicily, but only for himself. And so the Lord Infante took leave of them and embarked in the galleys and came to an island called Thasos which is six miles distant from that place. And I came to that island on the same day with all my company, by chance, for I had no news whatever of the host. And I found there the Lord Infante, who rejoiced much at seeing me and told me all the affair, at which I and all those who were with me were much grieved and displeased. And so the Lord Infante requested me, in the name of the Lord King of Sicily and in his own, not to separate from him. And I told him that I was ready to do all he commanded, holding him to be my lord; but I begged him to await me

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in the island of Thasos, and I, with all the people I had brought, would go to the Company. And he said he was content.

And I went at once, with all the thirty-six sail, to the Company, which I found one journey distant from Cristopol. And when I came to them, before going on shore, I made them assure the safety of all the men, women and children, and of all there was there belonging to En Berenguer de Entenza and his company and also to. En Ferran Ximeno. And then I went on shore and all those who wished to go to where En Ferran Ximeno was, went and I had them accompanied by a hundred Turkish horsemen and as many Turcoples and by fifty Christian horsemen, and had carts lent them to carry their goods. And those who wished to remain with the host remained; and to those who did not wish to remain I gave barges to take them safely to Negroponte.¹⁶¹

And when I had done all this, for which I had detained the host three days, I had a general council assembled and reproved them for all that had happened and reminded them of all they owed to that rich horn they had killed, and likewise to En Ferran Ximeno who, for their sake, had left the Duke of Athens who was showing him much honour. And in the presence of all, I gave up to them the seal of the Community which I had, and all the books and I left them the clerk and took leave of all. And they begged me not to part from them, especially the Turks and Turcoples who came to me weeping, begging me not to forsake them, for they looked upon me as upon a father; and in truth they never called me anything else than *cata*, which in Turkish means Father. Indeed I was more sorry about them than about anyone else, for they had put themselves under my command and always trusted me more than any other man in the Christian host. But I told them that I could on no account remain, that I could not fail the Lord Infante, who was my lord. In the end I took leave of all and, with an armed

¹⁶¹Moncada says that Ferran Ximeno went with his followers to Constantinople where Andronicus received him very graciously, gave him his granddaughter, the widowed Theodora, in marriage and made him Grand Duke in succession to Berenguer de Entenza.

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lenny of sixty oars I had, and two armed barges, I parted from them and came to Thasos, where I found the Lord Infante awaiting me.

And when I had parted from the Company they went over the pass of Cristopol with much trouble and then, by daily journeys, they went to a peninsula called Cassandra, a peninsula in the sea, distant five hundred and twenty miles from the city of Salonica. And at the entrance to that peninsula they pitched their tents, and from there raided as far as the city of Salonica and all that country which they found new country. And they consumed that district as they had done those of Gallipoli, Constantinople and Adrianople.

And so I must cease to speak to you of the Company and must relate to you a fine adventure which happened to me at Gallipoli and which it is suitable to relate now.

CCXXXIV

How Sir Ticino Zaccaria came to Gallipoli to beg me, Ramon Muntaner, to be pleased to help him with a company with whom to sack the castle and town of Fogliari where there were three relics which monsenyer Saint John had left on the altar when he entered the tomb at Ephesus.

It is the truth that, before the Lord Infante came to Gallipoli, there came a Genoese notable, called Sir Ticino Zaccaria, who was a nephew of micer Benito Zaccaria. And he came with a fully armed leny of eighty oars. And when he came to Gallipoli he asked for a safe-conduct, for he wished to speak to me. And I gave him the safe-conduct and he said to me: "Captain, it is the truth that I have held the castle of Fogliari full five years for my uncle, micer Benito Zaccaria. Now micer Benito is dead and his brother, who is likewise my uncle and to whom he commended the castle, came to Fogliari this year accompanied by four galleys and called me to account. And I rendered him account, but we did not agree very well about it. Now I have heard that he is returning with four more galleys and wants to take me and wishes to set up another captain at Fogliari. And I have had a letter from his son telling me on no account to await him; that, if he can take me,

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he would assuredly bring me to Genoa. And so I have come here to you; I am prepared, with all those with whom I have come, to swear fealty and do homage to you, to be one of your company." And I, who knew that he was an honourable man, and saw him thus wise and discreet, accepted him and gave him a good and valuable house and had him written down for ten armed horses in the book of the Company; for I had that power in the Company, a power no one else had.

And when he had been made one of our Company, he asked me to fit out a galley I had in the harbour, and two lenys and to give him an associate; assuredly he would do in such wise that he would take the castle of Fogliari and he would obtain the greatest treasure of the world for me. And I at once equipped the galley and his leny and the two other armed lenys and an armed barge, and so there were five vessels. And all his company went on board, they were about fifty persons, all good and expert men; and I put in, as captain, a cousin-german of mine, called Juan Muntaner, to whom I gave power to do all things that I could do myself, and told him that, what he did, he should always do in counsel with the said Sir Ticino Zaccaria and four other good men, Catalans, which I assigned to him as counsellors. And so they departed from Gallipoli on the day after Palm Sunday. What shall I tell you? The said Sir Ticino Zaccaria did and ordained matters so that they came to the castle of Fogliari at night on Easter Sunday. And at the hour of matins they set against the wall their ladders, which they had brought ready, as he knew the walls exactly. What shall I tell you? Before they were heard in the place he made our men go up and had thirty of his and fifty of ours on the wall, in armour and apparelled. And when he was there, day broke and he, with all the rest of the company, went at the door with axes. And when those within heard them, they seized their arms and our men broke in the door and killed those of the wall and also all those they found in the towers. What shall I tell you? Altogether they killed over a hundred and fifty persons and took all the others; there were full five hundred combatants within.

And when they had taken all the castle, they issued out into the town which the Greeks were holding, over three thousand persons; they were workers of the alum which is made in that place; and they pillaged all the

town and took and plundered what they pleased. What shall I tell you? What was gained there was infinite. And in that place the three relics of the blessed Saint John the Evangelist were obtained, which he left on the altar at Ephesus when he entered the tomb. And when the Turks took that place, they carried off these three relics, and afterwards they pledged them at Fogliari for wheat. And the three relics are these: the first, a piece of the true Cross, which monsenyer Saint John the Evangelist took with his own hands from the true Cross, from the place where the precious head of Jesus Christ had been. And this piece was very richly encased in gold with precious stones which are of untold value. It would be hard for you to believe if I were to tell you what was set round it, besides a little gold chain; for monsenyer Saint John always wore it hanging from his neck. And the other relic was a very precious shirt without any seams, which our Lady Saint Mary made with her own blessed hands and gave him, and in which the blessed monsenyer Saint John always said mass. And the third relic was a book called Apocalypse, written in letters of gold by the own hand of the blessed monsenyer Saint John; and on the covers there was also a great wealth of precious stones. And so, amongst other things, they obtained these three relics, which were obtained because Sir Ticino Zaccaria knew beforehand where they were. And so, with great gain, they returned to Gallipoli and there divided it all. And we divided the relics by lot and the true Cross came by lot to me, and to Sir Ticino the shirt and the book; and then the rest was divided as it should be. And so you see what we took with the company of Sir Ticino Zaccaria. And afterwards Sir Ticino, with what he had gained, manned his leny with our people and his, and came to the island of Thasos where there was a fine castle, and he kept this castle and the town and settled it. And I came to that castle and found the Lord Infante with four galleys, and there he awaited me whilst I went to the Company to is take leave, and then I returned to the Lord Infante. And if you ever saw a man receive his friend well, micer Ticino Zaccaria did so receive me; for he, incontinent, delivered the castle to me, and all there was in it, and provided for the Lord Infante and us all very richly during full three days he made us stay there. Then he proffered me his personal service and the castle and what he had. And I gave him much

Chronicle

equipment in different ways, and I gave him an armed barge of twenty-four oars and left with him full forty men, who wished to remain in his pay. And so I left him well provided and equipped; for the Catalan proverb is true which says—“Give pleasure and do not look to whom you are giving it” In that place, where I never expected to be, I received very great pleasure and the Lord Infante and all our company through me, and at need we could all have taken refuge in that castle, and from there we could have made further conquests.

CCXXXV

How the Lord Infante En Ferrando set his course for the port of Almyros and burnt and levelled all there was there; whence he set his course for the island of Spoll where he attacked the castle and sacked the town; and how he went to the point of the island of Negroponte, where he was captured through trusting the Venetians.

We took leave of Sir Ticino Zaccaria and departed from the island of Thasos with the Lord Infante. And the Lord Infante had the best galley after his own, which was called *La Espanyola*, given up to me. And with his four galleys and my armed leny and a barge of mine, we set our course for the port of Almyros, which is in the Duchy of Athens, where the Lord Infante had left four men to make biscuits; but the people of the country had plundered all. But, if they did plunder, a fine revenge we took for it; for all that was there we gave up to fire and flame. Then we departed from Almyros and we went to the island of Spoll¹⁶² and there we attacked the castle and devastated all the island, and then we went to the island of Negroponte. And the Lord Infante said he wished to pass through the city of Negroponte, but we all told him on no account to do so. And it is true that he had passed through it on entering Romania, and he and the Company were feasted; and he thought they would do the same now. And

¹⁶²This may be either Skopelos, North of Negroponte, or, as Moncada thinks, Skiro, North-east of Negroponte.

so, in spite of us all, he persisted that we should go. And so, in an evil hour, we took that direction and, with our eyes open, put the rope round our necks. Wherefore it is very perilous to go with the young sons of kings; they are of such high birth that they think no one would, on any account, do them harm. And, assuredly, so it ought to be, if there were knowledge in the world, but the world is so ignorant that, in few things, does it perform its full duty towards anyone. And then, also, they are lords whom no one dares to oppose in anything they wish to undertake. Wherefore it happened to us that we had to consent to our own destruction, and we went to the city of Negroponte. And so we found that ten Venetian armed galleys and an armed leny had arrived, of which En Juan Teri and En Marco Miyot were captains, and they were sailing for micer Charles of France¹⁶³ who claimed the Empire of Constantinople, and they were in search of the Company. And there was there, on the side of micer Charles, a French rich hom called micer Thibaut de Chépoi. And so the Lord Infante made them give safe-conducts to him and all his company. And the lords of Negroponte gave us safe-conducts and so did the captains of the galleys, and they invited the Lord Infante to a banquet. And when he was on shore, the Venetian galleys came against ours, and especially against mine, for there was a rumour that I was bringing the greatest treasures of the world from Romania, and, at the assault they made, they killed over forty men, and they would have killed me if I had been there, but I did not depart one step from the side of the Lord Infante. And so they plundered my galley and all there was there, which was a great deal,¹⁶⁴ and then they took the Lord Infante and ten of the best men who were with him. And when they had done this treacherous deed, micer Thibaut de Chépoi delivered over the Lord Infante to micer Juan de Misi, lord of a third of Negroponte, in

¹⁶³The King of the Hat. He founded his claim on the descent of his second wife, Catherine de Courtenay, granddaughter of Baldwin II, who had been driven from Constantinople by Michael Palaeologus.

¹⁶⁴Muntaner never recovered any part of his treasure, which has been estimated at 100,000 gold hyperpers. Long after his death Venice paid 10,000 gold florins to his granddaughter in compensation for the spoliation of her grandfather.

Chronicle

order that he should take him to the Duke of Athens, for the Duke to guard him for micer Charles and do what micer Charles would command. And so they took him with eight knights and four squires to the city of Thebes and he had him put into the castle called Saint Omer,¹⁶⁵ and had him closely guarded.

And some men of Negroponte gave micer Thibaut de Chépoi to understand that, if he wished to obtain anything from the Company, he should take me back to it, for I had carried off a great part of the treasure of the Company. And so they would do two good things; they would please the Company, and, besides, they knew the men would kill me at once, and so there would be no one to claim what they had taken. And also, that they should take back En Garcia Gomis Palasin, whom En Rocafort hated more than any man on earth, and that they would thus please En Rocafort greatly. As they were advised, so they did; they sent back En Garcia Gomis and me to the Company. And when they came to the Company they, at once, presented En Garcia Gomis to En Rocafort and he had great pleasure thereat. And he went at once to the stern of the galley and as soon as Garcia landed, without other sentence, in the presence of all, En Rocafort ordered his head to be cut off, which was a great loss and hurt, for indeed he was of the most accomplished knights of the world in all matters.

CCXXXVI

How the Company rejoiced to see me, Ramon Muntaner, return; and how En Rocafort proceeded to approach micer Charles of France and made all the Company, against their will, take the oath to En Thibaut de Chépoi as their commander for micer Charles of France.

And when they had done this, they brought me on shore. And when they of the Company saw me, En Rocafort and the others all came to kiss and embrace me, and they all began to weep over what I had lost. And all

¹⁶⁵Built by Nicholas de St. Omer.

the Turks and Turcoples dismounted and wanted to kiss my hand and began to weep for joy, thinking I wished to remain with them. And at once En Rocafort and all who accompanied me took me to the finest house which was there and had it at once given up to me. And when I was in the house, the Turks sent me twenty horses and a thousand gold hyperpers and the Turcoples the same. And En Rocafort sent me a valuable horse and a mule and a hundred cahices¹⁶⁶ of oats, and a hundred quintals of flour, and salt meat, and cattle of one sort and another. And so also there was no leader nor commander nor man worth anything who did not send me a present, so that, altogether, it was estimated that what they sent me within three days was worth four thousand gold hyperpers. En Thibaut de Chépoi and the Venetians held themselves much mistaken in having brought me back.

And, when this was done, En Thibaut de Chépoi and the captains of the galleys entered into parley with the Company about their affairs. The first thing they had to do was to promise to the Company to give me satisfaction for the damage they had done me, and this they had to swear. The Company told them that I had been their father and governor since they had departed from Sicily and that no evil could arise amongst them whilst I was with them. And, again, if I had been with them, that evil would not have been done, the killing of En Berenguer de Entenza and the others. This was the first clause they made them promise and swear, but they kept their oath badly, wherefore God gave them no success in any affairs, as you shall hear further on.

What shall I tell you? En Rocafort, seeing that he had lost the favour of the House of Sicily and Aragon and Mallorca, and also of all Catalonia, approached micer Charles of France and took the oath and made all the Company swear fealty to micer Charles, as their Sovereign; this proved to his disadvantage and to theirs. And When they had sworn and done homage to En Thibaut de Chépoi for micer Charles, they took the oath to

¹⁶⁶One cahiz (or cafiz), 12 bushels. "A cafizada was the extent of ground requiring a cafiz of corn as seed." -Gayangos, quoted by F.D. Swift," Life of James I of Aragon."

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the said micer Thibaut de Chépoi as commander; he exercised his authority with great urbanity, for he saw he could not do otherwise. What shall I tell you? When they had taken the oath to En Thibaut he imagined that no one but he would dare to command, but En Rocafort consulted him less than a dog; rather, he had a seal made with the figure of a knight, and a crown of gold, for he intended to be crowned King of Salonica. What shall I tell you? When this was done, En Thibaut was commander of nothing but the wind, as his lord had been, who was King of the Hat and the Wind when he accepted the grant of the Kingdom of Aragon; so was he too commander of the Hat and the Wind.

And when the captains of the galleys saw this, they thought they had attained what they had come for, as they had made En Thibaut commander of the Company. And they took leave and wanted to return. And the Company and the Turks and the Turcoples, and also En Thibaut, begged me to remain, but I said I would not do so on any account. And when they saw they could not alter this, they summoned the captains of the galleys and recommended me to them warmly. And they gave me at once a galley in which all my company could go; and micer Tari, the chief commander, wished me to go in his galley. And micer Thibaut made out letters for Negroponte, that every man, under penalty of loss of life and property, should return my property to me. And I gave all the horses and pack-mules and carts to those who had been of my company, and so I took leave of all and embarked in the galley of micer Juan Tari. And if ever a man was shown honour by a nobleman, I was, for he always wished me to lie in one bed with him, and we two dined alone together at one table.

CCXXXVII

How the Venetian galleys parted from the Company and I, Ramon Muntaner, With them, to go and recover what had been taken from me; and how I went to the city of Thebes in order to take leave of the Lord Infante En Ferrando and to have him treated honourably.

And so we came to the city of Negroponte; and when we were in the city, the captains told the bailie of Venice to have it cried that every man who had anything of mine, should return it to me under penalty of loss of life and property; and micer Juan de Amici and micer Bonifazio de Verona¹⁶⁷ did likewise, when they saw the letter of micer Thibaut de Chépoi. What should I tell you about it? They were most willing to satisfy me with empty air, but of the goods I could recover nothing. And I begged micer Juan Tari to be pleased to let me go to the city of Thebes, to the Lord Infante; and he said, that, for love of me, he would wait for me four days, for which I was very grateful to him. And, at once, I took five riding beasts and went to the city of Thebes which is distant twenty-four miles; and I found the Duke of Athens¹⁶⁸ ill, but, ill as he was, he received me and told me he was much displeased at the hurt I had received and that he offered his services to me; that in all I saw he could help me, he would. And I gave him many thanks and told him that the greatest pleasure he could do me was to show all honour to the Lord Infante. And he answered that he held himself very bound to do so, and that he was greatly displeased at having had to serve the Venetians in such a case. And I begged him that it might please him to let me see him. And he said yes, I might see him and stay with him and that, in my honour, whilst I was there, anyone might go in and dine with him; and again, if he wished to ride, let him ride. And he at once had the gates of the castle of Saint Omer, where the Lord Infante was,

¹⁶⁷Bonifazio dalle Carceri.

¹⁶⁸Guillaume de la Roche.

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opened and I went to see him. And do not ask me if I grieved when I saw him in the power of others; I thought my heart would burst. But he, in his kindness, consoled me. What shall I tell you? I stayed two days with him and begged him to be pleased to allow that I seek permission to remain with him, from the Duke of Athens. But he said it was not necessary that I should remain, rather it was opportune that I should go to Sicily, and he would give me a letter to accredit me with the Lord King of Sicily; and that he did not wish to write to anyone else. And he had the letter written at once and told me the whole of the message I was to give and all I should do, and that he knew well that there was no man in the world who knew the events that had happened in Romania as well as I did and, assuredly, he spoke the truth.

CCXXXVIII

How I, Ramon Muntaner, took leave of the Lord Infante En Ferrando to go to Sicily; and how the Venetian galleys met those of En Riambaldo Desfar and sent the Lord Infante to King Robert and he came out of prison.

Then, when I had stayed two days, I took leave of him with great grief; my heart almost broke with grief. And I left him a part of the few coins I was carrying and, also, I took off some garments I was wearing and gave them to the cook the Duke had assigned to the Lord Infante, and spoke privately with him and told him to look to it not to allow anything that could injure him to be put in his food ;. that if he guarded against it, he would derive much good for it from me and others. He laid his hands on the Gospels and swore to me that he would sooner let his head be cut off than suffer any harm to come to the Lord Infante through eating what he had prepared for him. And so I parted from him and took leave of the Lord Infante and his retinue. And I went to. take leave of the Duke and, of his mercy, he gave me some of his rich and valuable jewels. And I departed. pleased with him, and returned to Negroponte where I found the galleys which were only waiting for me.

And I embarked at once and departed from Negroponte and went to refresh at the island of Sete Pace, and then at Cidia and then at Monemvasia and at Malea, at Sentannel and at Port Quaglio and then at Coron; and from Coron we went to the island of Sapienza, and that night we lay on shore in that island. And, when morning came, we looked and saw four galleys and a leny come the way we had come; and at once we left our post and steered for them. And they, seeing us, likewise proceeded to arm. And I looked and saw the iron caps and hunting spears shine; and I thought at once they were the galleys of En Riambaldo Desfar, of whom I had already had news, and I told our captain at once. And so the Venetians prepared to put on armour. And in a little while the armed leny of En Riambaldo Desfar came along with En P. Ribalta in the stern. And I knew him at once; and so he approached and he, seeing me, had great joy thereat, and so came to me on board the galley and told me that the galleys were those of En Riambaldo Desfar. But the Venetian captains took me aside and asked me to tell them about that knight, whether he was a wicked man and whether he had done any harm to Venetians. And I told them that, assuredly, he was a worthy man and one who would on no account do harm to any man who is a friend of the Lord King of Aragon; rather, I begged them that they love and honour him whilst we were together; and so they had the galleys disarmed and asked me to assure the others of their safety in their name and to tell them they were welcome.

And so I went on board the leny with En P. Ribalta and went to En Riambaldo Desfar, and he ordered everyone to take off their armour; and so, together, we went to the galleys and there greeted each other and, all together, went to the island of Sapienza, and there we all let down our ladders and our captains invited En Riambaldo Desfar and all the other captains. And that day we stopped there till the morning, and in the morning we left all together and went to Modon, and there we provisioned all the galleys and took in water. And on the following day we went to the shore of Matagrifon.¹⁶⁹ and there also took in water, and then we went to

¹⁶⁹Akova.

Chronicle

Clarenza. And at Clarenza the Venetian galleys had to tarry to ordain four galleys they had to leave there on guard. And so I, with En Riambaldo Desfar, moved into a galley he had assigned to me and my company, and micer Juan Tari, captain of the Venetians, gave me two casks of wine and plenty of biscuits and salt meat and of all he had for his company, and I had what I wanted bought in Clarenza.

And so I took leave of them and, with En Riambaldo, we went to Corfu and then crossed from Corfu and landed in the gulf of Taranto, namely at the point of Cape Leuca, and then sailed along the coast of Calabria and came to Messina. And, at Messina, En Riambaldo disarmed, and he and I went to the Lord King whom we found at Castelnuovo. And there the Lord King received En Riambaldo well and gave him presents. And then En Riambaldo went away and I remained with the Lord King and gave him the letter of the Lord Infante and told him all the message. And the Lord King was greatly displeased at the imprisonment of the Lord Infante and at once sent a messenger to tell the Lord King of Mallorca and the Lord King of Aragon of it.

And meanwhile a message came to the Duke of Athens from micer Charles, bidding him send the Lord Infante to King Robert. And at once, he sent him to Brindisi, and from Brindisi he went by land to Naples and at Naples he remained in honourable captivity; he was guarded, but he rode with King Robert and dined with him and with my Lady the Queen, wife of King Robert who was the Lord Infante's sister. What shall I tell you? The Lord Infante remained in captivity over a year. And then the Lord King, his father, obtained from the King of France that he sent him to him. And so the King of France and micer Charles commanded, by a message to King Charles (who was then still alive¹⁷⁰) and to King Robert, to send him to the Lord King, his father. And at once they sent him to the Lord King, his father, and my Lady the Queen, his mother; and all, throughout the territories of the Lord King of Mallorca, made a great feast because they loved him more than any other child of the King.

¹⁷⁰Charles II, the lame, died on May 4th, 1309.

Muntaner

And so I must let the Lord Infante be, who is with the Lord King, his father, safe and joyous, and must turn to speak to you of the Company, until I have brought them to the Duchy of Athens, where they are to-day.

CCXXXIX

How En Rocafort was taken prisoner by the Company and handed over to En Thibaut de Chépoi who without the knowledge of the Company brought him away and handed him over to King Robert; who had him put in a vault in Aversa where he died of starvation.

And when En Rocafort had had the seal made, he so ruled over the Company that they considered En Thibaut de Chépoi less than a sergeant. He was very grieved by it and considered himself greatly insulted. And En Rocafort so degraded himself that no man died in the host that he did not take all his property; and besides, if anyone had a handsome wife or a handsome daughter or a beautiful mistress, he must needs have her, so that they did not know what to do. In the end, all the heads of companies went secretly to En Thibaut de Chépoi and asked him to advise them about En Rocafort, for they could not endure him. And he answered that he could give them no advice, for En Rocafort was lord; but if they would act well, let them think over what they had better do and he would think it over also on his part. And En Thibaut said all this because he thought they wished to betray and deceive him. And so En Thibaut went to En Rocafort and, taking him on one side, reprovved him, and he did not take it at all in good part.

En Thibaut had sent his son to Venice to equip six galleys, and these he was awaiting. They came shortly with his son who was captain thereof. And when the galleys had come, he held himself for safe and sent secretly to all the chiefs of the companies and asked them what they thought in the matter of En Rocafort. And they answered they thought it would be well that micer Thibaut should have a general council cried and that, when they were assembled in council, they would tell all En Rocafort had done to them and they would seize him and would deliver him up. And so it was

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done, to their misfortune. On the following day, when they were in council, they asked him for explanations, and, upon his explanation, they seized him and delivered him up to En Thibaut. In thus delivering him up they caused the greatest misfortune men ever did cause; it would have been better had they themselves taken vengeance on him, if their hearts were set on it. What shall I tell you? When micer Thibaut had En Berenguer de Rocafort and En Esberto his brother (their uncle En Dalmau de San-Marti had died of illness not long before) the chiefs of the companies ran to the house and coffers of En Rocafort, and found so many gold hyperpers that each man's share was thirteen hyperpers; and so they plundered all he had. And when En Thibaut was holding En Rocafort and his brother, he embarked one night all secretly in the galleys, with all his company and put En Rocafort and his brother on board and a; once made the crew row hard and left the Company without taking leave of anyone. And in the morning, when the Company did not find micer Thibaut, and saw that he had gone away and had taken En Rocafort with him, they were very grieved and they repented of what they had done, and a tumult arose amongst them; and they seized their arms and killed with their lances fourteen chiefs of companies who had agreed to that affair. And then they elected two horsemen and an adalil, and a captain of the almugavars to govern them until they had a chief; and so these four were governors of the host, with the advice of the twelve. And En Thibaut de Chépoi went as far as Naples and delivered up En Rocafort and his brother to King Robert who hated them more than anyone in the world, because of the castles of Calabria which they had not surrendered as others had done. And when King Robert held them, he sent them to the castle at Aversa and he put the two brothers into [1309} a vault and there he let them die of hunger; after they had entered no man ever gave them to eat or drink. And so you can see that the evil a man does never leaves him, and that the higher in rank a man is, the more forbearing and upright he should be.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of En Rocafort who has run his course and shall turn to speak to you of the Company.

CCXL

How the Duke of Athens left the Duchy to the count de Brienne and how the said count being defied by the Despot of Arta and by the lord of Vlachia and by the Emperor had the Company to aid him; and how when he had recovered all his territory he wished to procure the death of the Company, in which attempt he and his were killed.

It happened at that time that the Duke of Athens¹⁷¹ died of illness, and he had neither son nor daughter, and he left the Duchy to the count of Brienne,¹⁷² who was his cousin-german. And the count de Brienne had been nurtured for a long time in Sicily, at the castle of Agosta, when he was a boy. His father, who had been a prisoner there, had put him there as a hostage and he came out of prison for a ransom. And he had made himself beloved by the Catalans and spoke Catalan. And when he came to the Duchy, the Despot of Arta defied him, and Angelo, lord of Vlachia,¹⁷³ did likewise, and also the Emperor, so that on all sides they gave him enough to do. And he sent his messengers to the Company and promised to give them pay for six months if they came to help him and also, afterwards, to keep them at that pay, namely four onzas a month to each man on an armed horse, and two for each light horse, and one onza for each man afoot. Of this they made a covenant with letters confirmed by oath on both sides. And upon this the Company departed from Cassandra and came to the Morea, after great trouble they suffered in passing through Vlachia, which is the most rugged country in the world.

And when they came to the Duchy of Athens, the count de Brienne received them well and gave them at once pay for two months. And they began to march against the enemies of the count; and in a short time they

¹⁷¹Guy II. de la Roche.

¹⁷²Walter de Brienne.

¹⁷³Thessaly.

Chronicle

had laid waste all the frontiers of his enemies. What shall I tell you? All were glad to make peace with him. He recovered over thirty castles which had been taken from him and was put in a very honourable position towards the Emperor and towards Angelo, the Despot. And this was done within six months and he had not given pay for more than two. And when he saw he was at peace with all his neighbours, he conceived a very wicked plan, namely, the destruction of the Company. And he chose about two hundred horsemen of the host, of the best there were in it, and about three hundred afoot; and these he made his Company and enfranchised them, and gave them land and properties. And when he had made sure of them, he commanded the others to leave his Duchy. And they told him to pay them for the time they had served him. But he told them he would set up gallows for them. And meanwhile he had summoned full seven hundred French knights, some from the territory of King Robert, some from the Principality of Morea, some from all that country. And when he had collected them, he collected full twenty-four thousand men afoot, Greeks from the Duchy. And then, with them formed into a host, he marched against the Company. And they of the Company, who knew this, issued forth with their wives and their children, on a beautiful plain near Thebes. And in that place there was a marsh, and of that marsh the Company made a shield for themselves. And when the two hundred Catalan horsemen and three hundred men afoot saw that things were getting serious, they went, all together, to the count and said to him:—"Lord, our brothers are here, whom we see you wish to destroy, which is a great sin; therefore we tell you that we wish to go and die with them; and so we defy you and take our discharge from you." And the count told them to go, and bad luck go with them, that it was well that they should die with the others; and so they, all together, went to join the Company and all proceeded to form in battle array. And the Turks and Turcoples all assembled in one place; they did not wish to join the Company, thinking it was done by an agreement between the two sides, in order to destroy them. And so they wished to be all collected together and watch. What shall I tell you? The count advanced against the Company in battle array, with two hundred French knights, all with gold spurs, and with many others of the country and with the men

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afoot. And he put himself in the van with his banner and proceeded to attack the Company, and they of the Company went to attack him. What shall I tell you? The horses of the count, at the noise the almugavars made, turned towards the marsh, and there the count and the banner fell, and all those who were in the van. And the Turks and Turcoples, who saw that things were getting serious, proceeded to attack and fall upon them. And the battle was very hard; but God, Who always helps the right, helped the Company in such manner that, of all the seven hundred knights, only two escaped; all died, the count and all the other barons of the Principality of the Morea who had all come to destroy the Company. And of those two, one was micer Bonifazio da Verona, lord of the third part of Negroponte who was a very honourable, good man, and had always loved the Company. They saved him as soon as they recognised him. And the other was micer Roger Deslaur, a knight of Roussillon, who had often come to the Company as a-messenger. And so, likewise, all the horsemen of the country who were there died; and of men afoot there died more than twenty thousand. And so the Company collected the booty, and they had won the battle¹⁷⁴ and all the Duchy of Athens [1311]. And as soon as they had collected the booty, they begged micer Bonifazio to be their commander. But he would not accept the office on any account. And so they made micer Roger Deslaur captain, and gave him to wife, with the castle of Salona, her who had been the wife of the Lord of Salona. And so they divided amongst themselves the city of Thebes and all the towns and castles of the Duchy and gave the ladies as wives to the men of the Company, to each according to his importance, and to some they gave so distinguished a lady that he was not worthy to hand her her bowl to wash her hands. And so they insured their safety and ordained their lives in such manner that, if they persevere in it wisely, it will be to their honour for all time.

¹⁷⁴The Battle of Kephissos, March 15th, 1311

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CCXLI

How the Turks parted from the Company and the Genoese captured them at Boca Daner owing to their trusting them; and how those who had remained about Gallipoli were killed by the Emperor of Constantinople.

And the Turks and Turcoples, who saw that henceforth the Company had no intention of leaving the Duchy of Athens and had conquered it all, said they wished to leave. And the Catalans told them that they would give them three or four places, or more, of the Duchy, wherever they wished; but they said they would not remain on any account; that, by the favour of God, they were all rich and wished to return to the Kingdom of Anatolia, to their friends. And so they separated in great love and concord towards each other, and proffered help to each other if it were needed. And so they returned safely to Gallipoli, by short journeys, pillaging and burning all they met; they had no fear that any man would resist them, in such a state had the Catalans left the Empire. And when they were at Boca Daner, there came to them ten Genoese galleys by arrangement of the Emperor, and told them they would set them across the arm of the sea at Boca Daner, which is not more than four miles wide at that place. And so they made an agreement with them and they swore on the Holy Gospels that they would take them safely across, that it was not more than four miles across in that place. So they took across, in one journey, all the lesser people that were there. And when the notables saw that they had taken those people across safely, they went on board the galleys. And when they came to the galleys, as they went on board, the Genoese took away all their arms; such was the agreement, that the Turks should deliver up all their arms to the Genoese; and the Genoese put them all into one galley. And then, when the Turks were collected in the galleys and were without arms, the mariners threw themselves upon them and killed full half of them and the rest they put below; and so they captured the greater part of those who were of importance and took them with them to Genoa, and went along selling them in Apulia and in Calabria and in Naples and everywhere; and of

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those who had remained about Gallipoli, not one escaped; the Emperor had sent many of his men from Constantinople who killed them all.

And see through what deceit and disloyalty the Turks were annihilated by the Genoese; none escaped but those who had crossed in the first journey. And at this, they of the Company were much displeased when they heard of it. And see to what end the Turks came and how much it was to their misfortune that they separated from the Company.

CCXLII

How the Company elected the Infante Manfredo, second son of the King of Sicily, as chief, and swore fealty to him as chief and lord; and how he being so young, the Lord King sent as commander for the Infante, En Berenguer Estanyol who ruled the host a long time very wisely.

And when the Catalans saw themselves thus settled in the Duchy of Athens and lords of the country, they all sent their messengers to Sicily, to the Lord King, to say that, if it pleased him to send them one of his sons, they would take the oath to him as their lord and would deliver up to him all the fortresses they possessed. They saw clearly that it was not well for them to be without a lord. And the Lord King of Sicily held a council and decided to give them, as their lord, his second son, namely the Infante Manfredo. And they were content, but he told them that the Infante was still so young¹⁷⁵ that it was not time yet to send him to them; but that they should take the oath to him as lord, and that a knight would go, instead of the Infante, to be there in his place. And this the messengers granted and took the oath to the Infante Manfredo in the name of all the Company. And the Lord King chose a knight, called Berenguer Estanyol, who came from Ampurdan, to go with them to be commander of the host and to take the oath of homage of all; and so the Lord King sent them in five galleys. And

¹⁷⁵Roger Manfred, second son of King Frederick III of Sicily and Eleanor, daughter of Charles II. of Naples, was then seven or eight years old.

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when they came to the Company all were very well pleased at what the messengers had done and with En Berenguer Estanyol who came to be their commander and lord in the name of the Infante Manfredo. So the said En Berenguer Estanyol governed the host a long time very well and very wisely, as one who was a very accomplished knight, and he did many feats of arms, which the Company undertook; thus he had to fight against great power, namely, on the Marches, and against castles and places of the Emperor's, and so likewise on the Marches of Angelo, lord of Vlachia, and besides on the Marches of the Despotate of Arta and besides against the Prince of Morea. And En Berenguer Estanyol arranged in such manner that they always waged one war and made truces with their other enemies, and then, when they had despoiled that country with which they were at war, they made a covenant with them and made war on the others; and this life they lead still. They could not live without war.

CCXLIII

How, En Berenguer Estanyol having died, the Lord King of Sicily sent En Alfonso Federico, his son, to the Company as representative of the Infante Manfredo; and how, the Infante Manfredo having died, they took the oath to En Alfonso Federico as chief and lord; and the daughter of micer Bonifazio of Verona was given him to wife.

And, presently, En Berenguer Estanyol died of illness, and so they sent to Sicily, to the Lord King, to ask him to send them a governor. And the Lord King summoned from Catalonia his son, En Alfonso Federico, who was being brought up by the Lord King of Aragon; and he brought with him from Catalonia a company of knights and sons of knights and other retainers. And from Barcelona he went to Sicily, where it gave his father great pleasure to see him so big and of such a fine figure; and he fitted him out very well and sent him to the Company, with ten galleys, as head and chief, as representative of the Lord Infante Manfredo. And when he came to the Company, they of the Company were very joyous and received him

with great honour and he governed them and ruled them, and does so still, very wisely and prudently.

And, before long, the Infante Manfredo died. And so the Lord King sent to tell them that, as the Infante Manfredo had died, they should henceforth have En Alfonso Federico as head and chief. And they were very content and soon procured a wife for him, and gave him to wife the daughter of micer Bonifazio of Verona, to whom had been left all micer Bonifazio possessed, namely the third part of the city and of the town and of the island of Negroponte, and full thirteen castles on the mainland of the Duchy of Athens. And so he had to wife this damsel who was the daughter of that noble man who was, I believe, the wisest and most courteous noble ever born. And to show his worth I will relate to you the honour the good Duke of Athens showed him. And so En Alfonso Federico had to wife this gentlewoman, who descends on her father's and on her mother's side from the men of most noble blood there is in Lombardy; and her mother, who was the wife of micer Bonifazio, was the descendant of nobles of the Morea, and, through his wife, micer Bonifazio had the third part of Negroponte. And by this lady En Alfonso Federico had plenty of children and she was the best lady and the wisest there ever was in that country. And, assuredly, she is one of the most beautiful Christians of the world; I saw her in the house of her father when she was about eight years old, for I was put into the house of micer Bonifazio with the Lord Infante when we were made prisoners.

Now, I shall leave off speaking to you of En Alfonso Federico and of the Company; henceforth, I shall not attempt to speak of them. Since I came back to Catalonia they are so far away, I should have to speak of their affairs at random, and I do not wish to put into this book anything but what is the real truth. And so, may God make them act and speak well; with their affairs, henceforth, I shall not meddle. Yet I wish to recount to you the honour the good Duke of Athens, who left the country to the count of Brienne, showed one day to micer Bonifazio de Verona, and this I wish to recount, in order that kings and sons of kings and richs homens, take good example by it.

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CCXLIV

Recounts who micer Bonifazio of Verona was and his descent; and how the Duke of Athens chose to be knighted by the said micer Bonifazio of Verona and bestowed a very great gift and honour on him on the day he was knighted.

It is the truth that the Duke of Athens was of the men of highest rank there are in the Empire of Romania, after the King, and of the richest. And in old days, there were two brothers, sons of the Duke of Burgundy, who passed beyond sea in ships, for the sake of the Holy Roman Church with much chivalry and many other followers. And they had embarked at Brindisi and at Venice, and winter overtook them in the port of Clarenza. And, at that time, the people of that country were rebels against the Church. And these two lords sent messengers to the Pope to say that, if he granted them the Principality of Morea, they would conquer it that winter; that they could not, in any case, go further. And the Pope granted them this with great joy. These two brothers conquered all the Principality and all the Duchy of Athens. And the elder became Prince of Morea and the younger Duke of Athens. And each had his territory free and exempt and they bestowed castles and manors and villages on their knights, so that, altogether, a thousand French knights settled there who all sent to France for their wives and children. And then, those who have come after them, always chose their wives in the families of the highest barons of France; so that they are nobles and of high descent in a direct line.

And it happened that the good Duke of Athens, as I have already told you, left the country to the count of Brienne, who wished to be knighted, and convoked Cortes throughout all his territory. And he commanded that, on Saint John's day in June, all the men of importance there were in his Duchy, be at the city of Thebes, where he wished to be knighted; and so likewise he commanded all prelates and all other men of importance to be there. And then he had cried through all the Empire and through all the Despotate and through all Vlachia that every one who wished to be there

should come to receive gifts and favours from him. And so Cortes were summoned full six months before they were held.

And it is the truth that the Lord of Verona (which is a fine city in Lombardy) had three sons. And one, namely the eldest, he made heir of Verona; and the one who came next he provided with thirty knights and thirty sons of knights and sent him to the Morea, to the Duchy of Athens; and he who was Duke of Athens, father of this Duke I am speaking of to you now, received him very willingly and gave him much of his own, and made him a great rich hom and gave him a wife with great riches, and made him a knight; and by his wife he had two sons and two daughters. And when his brothers heard he was doing so well, micer Bonifazio, who was the youngest, said to his brother that he wished to go to his brother in the Morea; and it pleased the elder brother and he helped him with what he was able. And micer Bonifazio had not more than one castle which his father had left him and this he sold, the better to apparel himself. And so he fitted himself out with ten knights and ten sons of knights and was knighted by his elder brother, because it was better he should be a knight than that he should be a squire; in those parts no son of a rich hom is held in consideration until he is a knight, and therefore he was made knight by the hand of his brother.

And so he departed from Lombardy and embarked at Venice and came to the Duchy of Athens. And when he was in the Duchy, he came to the Duke, who received him very well. And he found that his brother had died not a month before and that he had left two sons and two daughters. And so the rich hom held himself for undone, because the property of his nephews was of no benefit to him, for their guardians could give him nothing. And so you can understand how he thought himself bereaved of everything. But the good Duke of Athens, who saw him thus disconsolate, comforted him and told him not to be dismayed, that he would receive him in his house and in his council, with all those who had come with him. And so the rich hom was thoroughly cheered, and the Duke of Athens had him inscribed for a good and splendid allowance for himself and his company. What shall I tell you? He led this life full seven years; there never was a man at the court of the Duke who dressed more elegantly than he and his

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company, and no one went arrayed as he did, so that he brightened all that court.

And the Duke of Athens noted his good sense and his good understanding, though he did not let it appear; and, besides, found him very wise in council. At this time, when the Duke had sent out his letter, everyone endeavoured to prepare garments for himself and his company to do honour to the court, garments which they would give to juglars. What shall I tell you? The day of the court came and in all the court no one was better dressed and more splendidly than micer Bonifazio and his retinue, and he had full a hundred torches with his device; and the money for all this he borrowed on the allowance he was to receive later. What shall I tell you? A great feast began. And when they were in the cathedral where the Duke was to be knighted, the archbishop said mass and the arms of the Duke were on the altar, and all men were in expectation of the Duke being dubbed knight, and wondered, thinking the King of France and the Emperor had a dispute, for each would think it a great honour that the Duke should wish to be knighted by his hand. And as all were thus waiting, he had micer Bonifazio of Verona called, and he came at once and the Duke said to him:—"Micer Bonifazio, sit here, by the side of the archbishop, for I wish that you dub me knight." And micer Bonifazio said:" Ah, my Lord, what are you saying? Are you mocking me?" "Assuredly not," said the Duke, "I wish it to be thus." And micer Bonifazio, who saw that he meant to stand by what he said, approached the archbishop at the altar and there he dubbed the Duke knight. And when he had dubbed him knight, the Duke said before all:—"Micer Bonifazio, it is the custom that those who dub a knight always give a present to the new knight they have made. But I wish to do quite the opposite; you have made me knight, wherefore I give you here fifty thousand sueldos torneses of yearly income for ever, from this day onward, to you and yours, all in castles and important places and free fiefs, to do as you like. And again I give you to wife the daughter of a certain baron who has remained in my power, and who is mistress of the third part of the island and city of Negroponte." And so, see how he endowed him in one day and in one hour, for it was the most splendid gift any prince had made in one day for a long time and it

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was a new and strange thing. And thereafter micer Bonifazio lived rich and wealthy, and the Duke, in dying, left the care of his soul to him and made him procurator of the Duchy, until the arrival of the count of Brienne. And so you can have understood whose daughter the wife of En Alfonso Federico was. Now I shall cease to speak to you of all the affairs in Romania and must turn to speak to you of the Lord King of Aragon and of the Lord King of Mallorca and of the Lord King of Sicily.

CCXLV

How a peace was negotiated between the Lord King of Aragon and the King of Castile, with a covenant that the eldest son of En Jaime of Aragon should marry the daughter of King En Fernando of Castile.

When the Lord King of Aragon¹⁷⁶ had taken the Kingdom of Murcia from King En Fernando¹⁷⁷ of Castile and had devastated much of his territory, the Lord Infante En Pedro of Castile and others of Castile saw that the war with Aragon did them no good and they, and in particular Don Enrique who was very old and wise, negotiated a peace with the Lord King of Aragon; so that peace was [1309] made in this manner; that the eldest son of the King of Aragon, called the Infante En Jaime,¹⁷⁸ was to take to wife the daughter of King En Fernando as soon as she was old enough; and they delivered her at once to the Lord King of Aragon, who had her brought up in Aragon. And the Lord King of Aragon gave up the Kingdom of Murcia to King Don Fernando, except what was of his conquest, which the Lord King En Jaime, his grandfather, had given as a dower with one of his daughters to Don Manuel, brother of King Don Alfonso¹⁷⁹ of Castile; and, as that lady had died childless, the territory should have gone back to the Lord King of Aragon. And because of the great friendship between the

¹⁷⁶Jaime II.

¹⁷⁷Fernando IV.

¹⁷⁸He eventually became a Monk

¹⁷⁹Alfonso X El Sabio.

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Lord King En Jaime and King Don Alfonso, his son-in-law, and between him and the Infante Don Manuel, the Lord King now wished to recover this territory and with good reason and right. So, in that peace, he recovered it, and it is Alicante and Elche, and Aspe, and Petrel, and the valley of Elda and Novelda and Mola and Crivillente, and Abanilla and Callosa and Orihuela and Guardamar.

CCXLVI

How it was arranged between the Lord King of Aragon and the King of Castile that they should march resolutely against the King of Granada, because he had broken the truce; and how the King of Castile went to besiege Algeciras and the King of Aragon, Almeria.

And when he had signed the peace, the Lord King of Aragon thought that, as he was at peace with all peoples, he would attack the Saracens, namely the King of Granada, who had broken the truce when the King of Castile had left him; therefore he wished to take a complete revenge for this. [1309] And he arranged with the King of Castile that they should march resolutely against the King of Granada in this manner, that the King of Castile, with all his power, should go and besiege Algeciras de Alhadra,¹⁸⁰ and the Lord King of Aragon should go and besiege the city of Almeria. And so it was ordained and promised by both Kings, that this should be done on a fixed day, and that neither should abandon the war nor his siege without the leave of the other. And this was wisely ordained in order that the King of Granada should be obliged to divide his followers in two parts. And so it was done; the King of Castile went to besiege Algeciras and the Lord King of Aragon, Almeria, which is a very [1310] fine city. And the siege lasted full nine months; the Lord King conducted it with catapults and with mangonels and with all the apparel belonging to a siege. The Lord King of Aragon came to it very powerfully apparelled,

¹⁸⁰Alcira.

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with many, Catalan and Aragonese richs homens and barons. And amongst others came the Lord Infante En Ferrando, son of the Lord King of Mallorca, very richly appavelled with a hundred armed horse and with many men afoot and with galleys and lenys which brought the horses and victuals and companies and catapults. For the Lord King of Mallorca wished him to come to the assistance of the Lord King of Aragon well arrayed at all points, as one who was himself one of the most accomplished knights of the world. And this was well apparent in all the feats which fell to his share in the siege, for, amongst other affairs, he had three times encounters with the Moors and he carried off the palm of chivalry from all men.

CCXLVII

How the King of Castile raised the siege of Algeciras without the knowledge of the Lord King of Aragon and how the Lord King of Aragon fought a battle at Almeria against the Saracens and the Infante En Ferrando killed the son of the Saracen king Godix; and how the King of Granada begged the Lord King of Aragon for a truce.

It happened one day, on the eve of Saint Bartholomew, that the Moors had all got ready, all there were in the Kingdom of Granada, against the Lord King of Aragon, through the fault of the King of Castile, who raised the siege he was conducting without letting the Lord King of Aragon know anything about it. And it was a great crime of the King of Castile not to let the Lord King of Aragon know that he was raising the siege, for it put the Lord King of Aragon into great hazard; he was surprised by so many people who came upon him, a thing he had not expected. And so all the power of Granada came, on the eve of Saint Bartholomew, upon the host of the Lord King of Aragon. And he, when he saw this great power, marvelled much; but he was nothing dismayed by it, but ordained that the Lord Infante En Ferrando should stay with his company near the city, at a

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place called the *esperonte*¹⁸¹ of Almeria, in order that if anyone should attempt to issue from the city to attack the besiegers whilst he was fighting with the Saracens, the Lord Infante should prevent it. And I wish you to know that it was the most threatened point there was, and therefore the Lord Infante chose it, otherwise he would not have remained there. What shall I tell you? When the Lord King was ready with all his host to attack the host of the Saracens, there came out of Almeria by the *esperonte*, a son of the King of Guadix with full three hundred horsemen and many afoot, wading through the sea. with water up to the horses' girths. And the cry of alarm arose in the tents of the Lord Infante. And he, very handsomely arrayed, with his company, issued forth with all his chivalry in very good order. And when the Moors had passed the *esperonte*, this son of the Moorish King, who was an expert knight and one of the handsomest of the world, came on first with a javelin in his hand, crying:—"Ani be ha Soltan!" No other words issued from his mouth. And the Lord Infante asked, "What is he saying?" And the interpreters who were near him said:—"My Lord, he says that he is a King's son." Said the Lord Infante He is a King's son, and so, too, am I." And the Lord Infante rushed towards him and before he could get near him, he had killed more than six knights with his own hand and had broken his lance; and then he seized his sword and, sword in hand, made room for himself, until he came to him who was shouting that he was a King's son. And he, seeing him come and knowing that he was the Infante, came towards him and gave him such a blow with his sword that the last quarter of the Infante's shield fell to the ground (and it was a most marvellous blow) and he cried:—"Ani be ha Soltan!" But the Lord Infante gave him such a blow with his sword on the head that he cut it open to the teeth, and he fell dead to the ground. And at once the Saracens were discomfited and those who could return by the *esperonte* saved their lives, but the others all died and so the Lord Infante overcame those of the city.

¹⁸¹The *esperonte* was a projecting angle in the centre of the curtain, or in front of a door.

And whilst this clamour at the esperonte was going on, the Moors of the host were preparing to attack, and the Lord King wished to attack, but En Guillem de Anglesola and En Asberto de Mediona dismounted and seizing the King's bridle said:—"My Lord, what is this? On no account do this; there are those already in the van who will attack and do it well." The Lord King was so desirous of attacking that his heart was nearly broken. And I tell you that if he had not had those richs homens and other honourable men to hold him back, he would not have refrained, but he could not help himself. And so the van attacked amongst the Moors and vanquished them; and, assuredly, the Moors would have lost all their chivalry on that day, had it not been that the pursuit had to stop, for fear that others might come and attack the besiegers from another side. Nevertheless innumerable Moors died that day, horse and foot; it was the greatest feat ever done and the greatest victory. From that day the Moors so feared the Christians that they dared not resist them. What shall I tell you? The Lord King returned with all his followers, with great joy and gladness, to the tents where they found that the Lord Infante En Ferrando had performed as many feats of arms as Roland could have done, had he been there. And on the following day they celebrated worthily the feast of the blessed Saint Bartholomew, apostle.

And when the King of Granada saw the marvellous deed performed by the Lord King of Aragon and his followers, he held himself for lost, for he had not thought at all that there was so much strenuousness and so much valour in them. And so he chose his messengers, whom he sent to the Lord King of Aragon to tell him that he begged him to raise the siege, for winter was coming upon him; and that he might see well that he was working for people in whom he would find no merit; that the Castilians had raised the siege of Algeciras in order that the King of Aragon and his followers should be killed; that this conquest was not worthy of him; and so he begged him to be pleased to make a truce with him. And he offered always to support him in war against all the men in the world, and again that, for love of him, he would liberate all the Christian captives he had, which was a considerable matter.

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And when the Lord King had heard the message, he called his council together and put before them what the King of Granada had sent to tell him. And in the end the advice was that, for three reasons especially, he should return to his country. The first reason was that winter was coming upon him; the other was the great ingratitude the Castilians had shown him; and the third was the surrendering of the Christian captives, which was a greater thing than if he had taken two cities of Almeria. And so it was agreed and the truce confirmed.

And so the Lord King had all his followers collected with all their property. And when they were collected the Lord King, with all his followers and all their property, returned, some by sea and some by land to the Kingdom of Valencia. And so you may understand whether the Lord King of Aragon is desirous of increasing and multiplying the Holy Catholic faith, when he went to conduct a siege in a conquest which was none of his. You may all be certain that, if the Kingdom of Granada had been of his conquest, it would long ago have belonged to the Christians.

And when this was done the Lord King of Aragon returned to Valencia and the Lord Infante En Ferrando, with his galleys and his followers, returned to Roussillon, to the Lord King his father, who had great joy in seeing him, and especially as he had so well performed his tasks.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of the Lord King of Aragon and must turn to speak to you of the Lord King of Sicily.

CCXLVIII

How En Roger de Luria, son of the admiral En Roger de Luria, with the help of the Lord King Fadrique of Sicily, went to raise the siege of Jerba which was besieged by the King of Tunis and how, passing through Naples, he died and the territory was left to his brother, En Carlet.

It is the truth that at the time the Lord King of Aragon went to Almeria, the Lord King of Sicily was not altogether at* peace; rather, it happened to him according to the saying of Catalonia that, sometimes, a man does not know whence evil and trouble come to him. And so it happened to the

Lord King of Sicily, for he was well at peace and yet he came to have plenty to do and plenty of trouble however, all that happened to him he accepted to the glory of God and of the Holy Catholic faith. Now I shall tell you the matter.

It is the truth that the island of Jerba, as you have heard before, was held by the admiral En Roger de Luria. And when the admiral died En Rogero, his son, kept possession of it, but, through the fault of officials, the island rebelled against him. He went to Jerba with six galleys and many armed men, by the help of the Lord King of Sicily, who had affianced to him one of the daughters he had by my lady Sibilia de Solmela before he was married. The castle of Jerba was being besieged. The King of Tunis had sent there El Lahieni, a great moab of Tunis, with a host of Christians and Saracens, and he had laid siege to the castle and was shooting with four catapults, so that, altogether, he held it besieged full eight months. And when En Rogero had come to Jerba with the galleys, El Lahieni feared he would occupy the Sound between the mainland and the island; and he saw that, if he did this and cut him off this Sound they were all lost, and so he raised the siege and left the island and returned to Tunis. And En Rogero, who saw that he had gone away, sent to the old men of the territory and conciliated them and punished those who were guilty.

And it is the truth that Jerba is an island inhabited by good men of arms, but there are two factions in the island, one called Miscona and the other Moabia. And these factions are like the Guelphs and Ghibellines in Tuscany and Lombardy. And so likewise these factions of Miscona and Moabia have spread so much that they have spread to the mainland of Africa, as well to the Arabs as to the Moabs and Berbers. And I believe that, on the one side and the other, over a hundred thousand persons have been killed. And the head of these factions is always in Jerba, for they began in Jerba and there they continue still and give favour and help to all those of their own faction. And the House of Bensimomen is head of the Moabias in Jerba and they are very loyal people and kind to Christians.

And when En Rogero had pacified the island, he returned to Sicily, for he had to celebrate his marriage. And King Robert summoned him to come to him at Naples, because En Rogero had twenty-three castles in Calabria.

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And so he went to Naples and there he was seized with illness and died, which was a great loss for, if he had lived, he would have been very like the admiral, his father. And his territory remained to his brother, En Carlet, who was a boy of twelve or fourteen, very worthy and wise for his age.

CCXLIX

How the Misconas and some Moabias besieged the castle of Jerba and En Carlet, with the help of the Lord King of Sicily Fadrique, going to Jerba, expelled the chivalry and died a short time after; and how, Jerba rebelling a second time, the Lord King sent En Jaime de Castellar who also died there.

When the Saracens of Jerba heard of the death of En Rogero, the wicked Misconas with some wicked Moabias, and also with the band of El Duyques, rebelled against the Christians and against the House of Bensimomen. They brought chivalry from Tunis into the island and again besieged the castle. And En Carlet, with the help of the Lord King of Sicily and of King Robert, went to Jerba with five galleys and lenys. And he expelled the chivalry of Tunis out of all the island, And so, likewise, he pacified the people of Miscona by the advice of the House of Bensimomen and pardoned them. And, the island settled, he returned to Calabria where he had left my lady Nangarina¹⁸² de Entenza, his mother. And before long he also died, and left his territory to a very young son he had left, who at that time was not five years old and was called En Roger de Luria, like En Carlet's eldest brother. That is to say, he was christened Francisco, but when the brother died they changed his name at his confirmation, and he was given the name of Roger de Luria. And when the wicked Misconas knew what had happened, they rebelled against the Christians and against the Moabias. War began between them; there was no foreign chivalry, neither on one side nor on the other, except that Simon de Montoliu, who was commander of the island for En Roger, helped the Moabias with those

¹⁸²Saurina' further on.

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of the castle, because of the House of Bensimomen. And the war being at this stage, micer Conrado Lansa of the castle Menart, who was guardian of En Roger in those parts, begged the Lord King of Sicily to be pleased to divert towards Jerba En Jaime de Castellar—an accomplished and expert seaman, who had equipped four galleys to go on raids to Romania—and to tell him to visit the castle of Jerba and give it all the aid he could, and likewise to the House of Bensimomen. And the Lord King, for love of En Conrado Lansa, and in order that the castle should hold out the better, granted this, and summoned En Jaime de Castellar and commanded him to pass by Jerba and comfort and help those of the castle; and then to go on his raid, for the galleys had been equipped with the money of the Lord King. And En Jaime de Castellar took leave of the Lord King and went to Jerba and when he was at the castle they persuaded him to go, banner unfurled, with all the galleys, with those of the castle and a party of Christians and with the Moabias against the Misconas; but the Moabias were vanquished; En Jaime de Castellar and over five hundred Christians were killed, which was a great loss and damage. And when the wicked Misconas had obtained this victory, they were fuller still of devilry and pride and the maddest of all was a knave amongst the Misconas who was the chief and was called Alef. When they had thus discomfited their enemies they proceeded to attack the castle daily. That knave wished to get possession of the island altogether.

CCL

How En Simon de Montoliu asked the guardians of En Roger and my lady Saurina and the Apostolic and King Robert for help, who all said no to him; and how, they failing him, he came to the Lord King of Sicily, Fadrique, who had sent micer Pelegri de Pali with eighteen galleys to where he was defeated and taken prisoner.

Then, when the Lord King of Sicily knew of the death of En Jaime de Castellar and the others, he was greatly displeased, but yet he was comforted, for they had done more than they had been commanded; for the Lord King had not commanded them to leave the galleys and fight on land.

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And a few days later En Simon Montoliu saw the affair of the island was going badly, and especially that of the castle (the men of the castle were asking to be paid and he could not do it, for he got nothing from the island), and so he left in his place En Borde de Montoliu, his cousin-german, and went to Calabria, to my Lady Saurina, and told her the state of the castle and of the dominion, and asked her and micer Conrado Lansa, who was guardian of En Roger, to help him with money and men. And my Lady Saurina was not well provided with money at that time; rather was she in debt and hampered by the fleet of En Carlet, which she had raised when he went to Jerba. And she was getting no revenue from Calabria. for all the. revenue was assigned to pay the damages and debts of the admiral and of En Rogero. And so he sent to the Pope for help, but he said no. And so likewise to King Robert, who also said no. And in default of these, he came to Sicily, to the Lord King, and asked him for succour. And in the end the Lord King, for the glory of God and in order to save the people of the castle who were all Catalans, took possession of the island of Jerba in this manner: my Lady Saurina and micer Conrado Lansa and En Amigutxo de Luria, who were guardians of En Roger, should deliver the castle and all the island to the Lord King of Sicily, and all he advanced should be secured upon the island of Jerba and on the Kerkennas; and he should possess and hold them as his own property, until he was repaid all he had advanced, and he should be lord and chief of all. And, of this, proper documents were made and En Simon de Montoliu, who was holding the castle and was there at the time, was ordered to deliver up the castle and the tower of the Kerkennas. And the said En Simon took the oath and did homage to the Lord King, saying that he would surrender to him all that he commanded, namely the island and castle of Jerba and the tower of the Kerkennas.

And when this was done, the Lord King had eighteen galleys equipped and put on board a hundred horsemen, Catalans of good birth, and full fifteen hundred men afoot of our people, so that they were a strong force. And he put in, as captain of these people, micer Pelegri de Pati, a knight of Sicily, of Messina, and he had so much coin delivered to him that he would be able to pay the men of the castle and of the tower what was due to them.

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And so they took leave of the Lord King and landed in the island of Jerba, at a place called the Island of the Admiral, about five miles distant from the castle. And instead of going to the castle to refresh the men and the horses for two or three days, they penetrated into the island in a disorderly manner, imagining that all Barbary was afraid to oppose them; as, assuredly, if they had gone properly led, they need not have feared five times the number of people there were in the island. But, owing to the bad order amongst them, they marched without a leader, and the Saracens of the island, Misconas as well as Moabias, had retreated, except the old men of the House of Bensimomen who had gone into the castle. But when the Saracens saw the Christians come towards them without any order, they attacked the foremost. What shall I tell you? They defeated them at once, and they were full twenty-five miles from the castle. What shall I tell you? Micer Pelegri was taken prisoner and of all the Christian horsemen there did not escape more than twenty-eight, and the others were all killed; and of the men afoot, between Latins and Catalans, there died over two thousand five hundred. And so they were all destroyed. And then the insolent Misconas seized the island and Alef made himself lord of all. And he sent to Tunis and the King of Tunis sent him three hundred Saracen horsemen; and they so besieged the castle that not a cat could have come out without being taken prisoner. And micer Pelegri ransomed himself with the money he had brought for the men of the castle.

And so the galleys returned defeated to Sicily where there was much mourning and grief when this became known, and above all the Lord King was grieved. And micer Pelegri and the twenty-eight horsemen who had escaped from the battle remained in the castle. And if you have ever seen people get on badly with others, these did with the men of the castle; they were daily on the point of cutting each other to pieces, and this happened because of the wives and mistresses of the men of the castle.

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CCLI

How En Simon de Montoliu entreated the Lord King En Fadrique of Sicily of his mercy to bestow the castle of Jerba and the tower of the Kerkennas upon whomsoever he pleased; and how the said Lord King offered the conquest of Jerba to me, R. Muntaner, and I fitted myself out to conquer it.

And En Simon de Montoliu returned to Sicily, to entreat of the Lord King's mercy that he bestow the castle and the tower of the Kerkennas on whoever he, pleased, and to send pay; but the Lord King did not easily find one who would have the castle.; and, again, I tell you that the Lord King did not find anyone who wished to go on board the galleys or lenys for Jerba. See in what hazard he was. [1310] And it is the truth, that I, En Ramon Muntaner, came to Sicily at that time from Romania, and begged leave of the Lord King of Sicily to go to Catalonia, to my wife, who had been affianced to me in Valencia as a small girl full ten years before. And the Lord King said he was content. And so I had a galley of a hundred oars equipped, which was my own. And the Lord King commanded that, when I had equipped the galliot, I should go to him at Montalba, a place in the mountains thirteen leagues distant from Messina, where he was for the summer (and this was in July), for he wished to send presents to my Lady the Queen of Aragon and to the Infantes and he wished me to take them. And I told him I was ready to do what he commanded. And, at that [1309] time, the Lord King and my Lady the Queen were before Almeria. And so I had my leny equipped to go to Catalonia and I bought all I wanted for celebrating my wedding. And when I had got everything ready at Messina and had fitted out the galliot, I went to Montalba, to the Lord King, to take leave of him. And when I came to Montalba, the Lord King had summoned En Simon de Montoliu and, the day after I arrived, the Lord King summoned me to his presence in the palace and there were count Manfred de Claramunt, and micer Damian de Palafi and micer Horigo Roço, and many other richs homens of the island, and many Catalan and Aragonese knights, and many other people of quality; and so there were altogether, in

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that palace, a hundred worthy men of great account and many other people.

When I came before the Lord King he said to me?? “En Muntaner, you know the great damage and the great grief and disgrace We have. suffered in the island of Jerba, and We feel it much that We have not been able to take vengeance for it. But We have set our heart on vengeance; wherefore We have reflected that We have no one in our Kingdom, who, with the help of God, could give Us better counsel in this than you, for many reasons. And especially because you have seen and heard more in wars than any men in our country; and besides, you have commanded men of arms for a long time and know how to manage them. And*besides, you know the Saracen language; wherefore you can do your business in the island of Jerba without interpreters, about spies as well as in other ways; and there are many other good reasons in your favour. Wherefore We wish you, and beg you earnestly, to be commander of the island of Jerba and of the Kerkennas, and that you take up this matter boldly and willingly. And We promise you that, if God brings you out of this war with honour, We shall send you to Catalonia for your marriage more splendidly than you could go now; and so We pray you on no account say Us nay.” And I, who saw that the Lord King had so much faith in me in these matters, made the sign of the Cross and went to kneel down before him and gave him many thanks for the praise he had been pleased to give me, and also for his trust that I should know how to conduct such great affairs. And I acceded to all he commanded in this matter and in all others, and I went to kiss his hand, and many richs homens and knights kissed it for me. And when I had consented, he called En Simon de Montoliu and commanded him before all to give up to him the castle of Jerba and the tower of the Kerkennas, and to deliver them to me in his name, and to swear fealty and homage to me, and also that I should hold the castle in my own name, and that, together with me, he should go to Jerba and to the Kerkennas and surrender them to me. And so he swore and promised and did homage to me. And the Lord King had the charters made for me at once and gave me as much power as he had himself; thus he retained no appeal whatever, and gave me power to bestow grants in perpetuity and to take in my pay whatever followers I

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wished, and to make war and peace with whoever I pleased. What shall I tell you about it? He sent me with full powers. And I said to him:—"Lord, you have yet more to do, namely to send orders by your letters to the treasurer and the portrieve and all the officials and all your other officials on the outer coast, that everything I ask for in my letters be sent to me, money as well as victuals and everything else I shall need; and to command now at once a ship to be loaded with wheat and flour and another with oats and vegetables and cheeses and another with wine, and that they sail immediately." And the Lord King commanded that this should be done at once and I said to him:—"Lord, I have heard that there is great famine and scarcity of victuals in the island of Jerba and all the district, and also on the mainland, wherefore these victuals will cause them to fight with each other." The Lord King understood that I spoke well, wherefore he provided me with all things better than lord ever provided vassal, so that I wanted for nothing.

And so I took leave of him and went to Messina. And when I came to Messina I wanted to go on at once. But all those Latins who should have followed me, proceeded to return to me all the money they had accepted; they said they did not wish to go and die in Jerba. Their mothers and wives came to me, weeping, begging me to take back my money for the love of God; all complained that they had lost their father or their brother or their husband. So I had to take back my money from them all and had to make fresh contracts with Catalans.

CCLII

How I, Ramon Muntaner, went to Jerba as commander and received the castle and the homage of all who were there; and how I summoned the Misconas and Alef, their chief, three times and defied them and drove them into a corner of the island where there was such a famine amongst them that they made bread of the sawdust from the palm trees.

Then, when I had fitted myself out, I departed from Messina and En Simon de Montoliu, in another armed leny, one of his own, departed

together with me. And in a short time we came to the island of Jerba. And when we came to the castle we found before it, on a raid, full four hundred Moorish horsemen of the King of Tunis, and all the Moors of the island; and we found the gate of the castle closed. We landed at once and entered the castle; and I assure you that I found as great a war inside as out, namely between the knights and squires who had escaped from the defeat and the men of the castle. But before I acted in any way, I received the castle and the homage of all there; and then I gave a letter of the Lord King to micer Pelegri de Pati and to the other knights and squires, in which the Lord King commanded them all to do me homage by hand and mouth and to look upon me as upon himself; and so they at once fulfilled the command of the Lord King.

And when I had made them do all this, some willingly, some by force, I established peace amongst all and took care that, thenceforth, no man should annoy another, neither for the sake of a woman nor for any other reason. And when I had done, this I gave pay and succour to all. And, meanwhile, the Lord King had sent me the three loaded ships, as I had ordained. And as soon as I had the ships, I sent my armed leny to Gabes, where all the old men of the House of Bensimomen were, in a castle of an Arab friend of theirs who is a great lord in those parts and is called Jacob Benatia. And as soon as they had the letters which the Lord King sent them and mine, they went on board my leny and came to me. And whilst the leny was going to them I had stakes fixed in front of the castle, at the distance of about a cross-bow shot, and I ordered that, under penalty for treason, no man should go outside without my consent, for any reason. And I ordered all those in the castle to go out for tourneys, always a squire with a cross-bowman; we had tourneys twice every day. And we were about thirty armed horse and had about fifteen light horse in the castle; and so we began our defence well and in order; we met constantly outside. Nevertheless I, meanwhile, cited the old men of the island of Jerba in the name of the Lord King of Sicily to come to me, and I sent letters to all, to tell them that the Lord King bid them obey me in all things as they would obey him. And all the old men of Moabia came to me, as well those who were outside the island as those who were in it, and I forgave all of them

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all they had done. And I had, at once, a fosse with a wall of stone and earth made outside the castle, and within this fosse and wall I had many huts made, of planks and matting and branches. And all they of Moabia came to me in the night with their wives and children and I gave; at once, rations of flour and vegetables and cheeses, which were coming in abundantly. And so, likewise, I sent to tell the traitor who was chief of Miscona, namely Alef, to come to me; but he would not. However, two old men of Miscona came to me, but their followers would not leave the others; and of these two one was Amar Ben Buceyt and the other Barquet. What shall I tell you? I had not been in Jerba a month before I had, in my power, altogether, three hundred men of Moabia with their wives and children.

And when all this was done, I summoned the said Alef and those of Miscona three times, before I did them any ill, but they would not come in to mercy. And when I had summoned them three times and they would not come in to mercy, I defied them, and put two hundred Arab horsemen in the island, all expert knights, who were friends of the House of Bensimomen and were on the side of Moabia. And I gave each one besant a day, which is worth three sueldos, four diners of Barcelona, and oats and a ration of flour and of vegetables and of cheeses. And when this was done and I had two hundred knights in the island with those of Moabia, I proceeded to make raids, so that we attacked them in every place in the night. What shall I tell you? This warfare lasted fourteen months and we met once every day. And by the grace of God, in these fourteen months we took over seven hundred men of arms of theirs, between killed and prisoners, and discomfited them two or three times. They had full four hundred horsemen. What shall I tell you? In the end we drove them to one end of the island and there was great famine amongst them, so that they made bread of sawdust from palm trees.

CCLIII

How Alef left the island and collected full eight thousand horsemen with fourteen barges by whom the Christians of the country were discomfited; and how I, Ramon Muntaner, in person attacked them and vanquished them and obtained seventeen barges and took the sound.

And, one day, the said Alef gave the people of Miscona to understand that he would go to fetch succour, and he left the island and went to Selim ben Margan and to Jacob Benatia and other Arabs and gave them to understand that, if they came to the island, they could take us all. Full eight thousand horsemen came to the sound and there I had two armed lenys and four barges, of which the captains were En Ramon Goda, and En Berenguer Despingals, into whose keeping I had delivered the sound. And when the Arabs got there, they asked Alef how they could invade the island. And he answered that he would soon defeat those of the country and that then they could invade it. What shall I tell you? He had fourteen barges and, that night, attacked the Christians. And the Christians were so taken by surprise at dawn, that they fled and so left the sound. And then he told Selim ben Margan and the others to come and invade the island. But they said they would first see what I would do; that he knew that if, when they were within, I took the sound from them, they would be lost, owing to the small amount of victuals they had; and so they would not come on that day.

And, soon, our men came to the castle, thus defeated; and I was so angry that, for a little, I would have hanged the boatswains. And I, at once, entrusted the castle to micer Simon de Vayllguarnera and left him in my place and went on board one of the lenys, which was of full eighty oars; and I took the others with me and two armed barges besides and, that day, I came to the sound. And on the following day Selim ben Margan and the others said to Alef:—"What would have happened to us if we had been in the island? He would have captured us all." And said Alef:—"If I drive

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away again those of the sound, will you enter?" And they answered:—"Yes, assuredly."

He armed twenty-one barges and came towards us. And I made all the other lenys stay behind mine. And as they came on and were near me, I proceeded to attack amongst them in such manner that I sent full seven of the barges to the bottom, and I went charging them and attacking, here and there, with the other lenys and barges, so that they goon ran ashore. What shall I tell you? Of twenty-one barges that were there, not more than four escaped; in these the said Alef escaped on shore, namely on the island. His company was there but the Arabs were on the mainland, and so he dared not flee to where the Arabs were, who would have cut him to pieces. And, on that day, we killed over two hundred Moors and took seventeen barges. And from that hour all the country was conquered by us, for all held themselves for dead men and we had obtained the sound; thenceforth no one could go in or out without my consent.

And Selim ben Margan and Jacob Benatia and the others, who saw this, raised their hands to God in gratitude, that they had not entered the island. And they sent me a man swimming, to say that if I pleased, would I come and speak to them on shore, trusting to their loyalty, and that they would come to me on board the leny. And I went to them and descended on shore, where they showed me much honour and gave me of their jewels; and then begged me to let a hundred horsemen come out, who were on the island with En Alef and who were kinsmen and vassals of Selim ben Margan, and as many of Jacob, Benatia's. And I kept them entreating me long, and they would have given five thousand onzas in the name of the lords, to get them out of the island; and so in the end I granted it, pretending that I was reluctant and was putting them under a great obligation. I told them that I would bring them away in my barges and wished to be present in person, and that they should deliver to me two nights, and Jacob Benatia two more, who knew these men and watched so that no others were brought, away, but only theirs. And they gave me many thanks. And when this was granted, there came other chiefs who, were there, who asked me, some for ten, and some for twenty men; but I would grant nothing. And all threw themselves at my feet, and there was

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as great a crowd to kiss my hand as if I were a king newly come to his territory. And so likewise, in the end, I granted it to them all. What shall I tell you? All the chiefs had to promise me that, at no time nor for any reason, they and their people would go against me; and they put it in writing and promised and swore to support me with all their power against all the peoples of the world. And for this Selim ben Margan and Jacob Benatia and Abdela ben Bebet and En ben Marquen and the other chiefs did oath and homage. What shall I tell you? When this was done and put into proper form, all the four hundred horsemen who were of the faction of Miscona with En Alef left the island in my presence.

CCLIV

How all they of Miscona with Alef wished to surrender to me, En Ramon Muntaner; and how the Lord King of Sicily sent micer Conrado Lansa with twenty galleys, with the object of taking vengeance on all; and how the command of the van was given to me, En Ramon Muntaner.

And when this was done, I parted from them in great peace and love and left the sound well guarded, and I returned to the castle; for I held the affair for won, as indeed it was. And when I was at the castle, I had a message from those of Miscona and from En Alef, that they would surrender to me. But I would not pardon them without the knowledge of the Lord King and sent an armed barge to the Lord King Fadrique, to ask what he wished me to do, and to say that they were dead men and lost if he wished it, and that now was the time, if he wanted to take vengeance. What shall I tell you? The Lord King assembled his council who said that, on no account, should he receive them to mercy, that it would be a great disgrace to him if he did not take vengeance for the damage they had done him. And so he equipped twenty galleys and sent micer Conrado Lansa of Castell Menart to Jerba with two hundred armed horse of people of condition, and two thousand men afoot, besides those of the galleys; and he sent word to me, by the barge I had sent to him', that I should not, on any account, receive them to mercy, but, if they were dying of hunger, that,

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without seeming to know anything, I should let the Saracens who were with me give them succour of victuals. And this he commanded, in order that none should, because of starvation, leave the island in the night by swimming. And it was fulfilled as the Lord King commanded.

And one of the castle, who knew that the King was sending us En Conrado Lansa with that following, sent a messenger to the Lord King in an armed barge, begging him to give us the van of the battle, because of the hunger we had suffered full a year and a half, and because the Moors knew what sort of men we were. And this the Lord King granted us. And when I knew that micer Conrado Lansa was ready to come with all those people of condition, I paid the two hundred Arab horsemen who had been at the war with me (and who had served me as loyally as ever knights served their lord), all I owed them, and to each I gave, as a favour, victuals for fifteen days and food for their horses to take with them; and to each I gave an aljuba¹⁸³ of woollen cloth and another of linen and to each chief I gave one of scarlet silk cloth and another of shalloon. And I had them taken to the mainland and they went away so pleased with me that they offered me support against all men in the world. And I sent away the Arabs in order that the men of Miscona should hold themselves the more secure, and I had commanded that no one should do them harm.

In a few days micer Conrado Lansa came to Jerba with all that good company and landed at the castle. And there they set the horses on shore, and the horses were so afraid of the camels, that they were like mad when they saw them. It was arranged to put a horse to feed between two camels; this was the greatest trouble in the world. However, they became so reconciled to them that they fed together. What shall I tell you? For thirteen days we made the horses and people rest thus. And during these thirteen days the traitor En Alef came to put himself in the power of micer Conrado who promised not to kill him and that he would keep him in honourable captivity. The said Alef was false and cunning; he held his cause for lost and wished rather to put himself into the custody of the Lord King, for he

¹⁸³A Moorish garment also worn by the Christians in Spain.

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knew well that, if he came into our hands, he could never set himself free again.

CCLV

How we had a battle with the Moors of Miscona and defeated them and took twelve thousand people prisoners, what between women and children; and how the Lord King En Fadrique of Sicily by special favour gave me the island and the Kerkennas for three years.

And so, on the eve of Ascension Day, we moved from the castle and, that day, went to pitch our tents at a distance of half a league from the enemy. And in the morning we went up to them and found them very well arrayed in order of battle; and they were altogether ten thousand expert men of arms afoot and about twenty-two horsemen, no more. And they had put the old men and the women and children into a fine manor house there was in that place, and the men of arms had put themselves all in line, one knee firmly on the ground, well covered by their shields. And we had decided that of our Moors, namely of those on our side, there should be none there; and so we were on horseback about two hundred and twenty armed horse and thirty light horse, and about a thousand Catalan men afoot; the other men were in the galleys, guarding the sound. And we had ordained that, when we were opposite them, every man should grasp his arms when the first trumpet sounded and, at the second trumpet call, every man should be ready to attack and when the trumpet and nakers sounded that they should all attack, horse and foot. And we had put our foot-soldiers on the right, and on the left were all those on horseback. What shall I tell you? When the two signals were made, the Moors saw that, at the third we were to attack; they hastened and rose all together and attacked our foot-soldiers in such manner that they routed them. But we, who were in the van, attacked amongst them; we could not wait for the third signal, for we saw that all our foot-soldiers were lost if we did not attack. And so we attacked in such manner that we came right into the middle of them; and afterwards micer Conrado and all the others

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attacked, before the third signal could be made. And there we were all intermingled; you have never seen such fierce people as they were. What shall I tell you? Truly no man could be found amongst them who was not willing to die; they rushed about amongst us as a wild boar does amongst those who wish to kill him, when he sees himself at the point of death. What shall I tell you? The battle lasted from half tierce until the hour of nones;¹⁸⁴ and so, in the end, they all died; not one escaped who was on that battlefield, for all were killed. And, altogether, they killed, on our side, full sixty horses and fatally wounded full sixty more, and there were more than three hundred men of the Christians wounded, but, by the mercy of God, not more than seventeen died. And when all the Moors had been killed, we went to the fort and attacked it and in the end, took it and every man there was killed who was over twelve years old and we captured, between women and children, full twelve thousand people. And then we collected the booty and every man made his gain and his profit. And then we returned to the castle with great joy and cheer, and so did micer Conrado with all the people who had come with him, and also all those knights and sons of knights who were at Jerba, who had escaped from the battle of micer Pelegri, and they returned to Sicily safe and joyous, and took all the captives, male and female, with them.

And I remained commander of the island as I was before, with only those who belonged to the castle. And I proceeded to people the island with those of Moabia in such manner that within that year it was as fully inhabited as it had ever been. And we were all at peace, so that the Lord King had as good a revenue from it than had ever come out of it. And so, see the favour God granted the Lord King, enabling him to take vengeance for what had been done against him, by which the Christians will, for all time, be the more feared and loved in those parts, and more considered. I brought Jerba to such a condition, and it is so still, that, if a wily Christian took with him thirty or forty Saracens tied together with a rope, he would meet no one who told him he was doing wrong.

¹⁸⁴9.30 A.M. to 3 P.M.

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Wherefore the Lord King in his mercy, when he heard from micer Conrado and the others what I had done 1310 in Jerba, gave me the island of Jerba and the Kerkennas by special favour for three years, with all rights and revenues, and with leave to treat it, for those three years, as my own property, in such manner, however, that I was to guard the castle and island at my own expense; and I was to go and fetch my wife, for he remembered well, like the good lord he was, the promise he had made me. And upon this I left, in Jerba, my cousin Juan Muntaner and, at the Kerkennas, another cousin-german of mine, called En G. Sesfabreques; and I went to Sicily and equipped a galley. And from Sicily, by the leave of the Lord King, with the grant of the said favour, I went to the Kingdom of Valencia, but landed first at the city of Mallorca, where I found the Lord King En Jaime of Mallorca and the Lord Infante En Ferrando. And if ever a man received great honour from lords, I did from them and they gave me of their property, in their mercy. And above all the Lord Infante En Ferrando made great rejoicing; he did not know what to do, so great was his joy at seeing me. The Lord King, his father, said many times that I was the person he ought to love more, after the Lord Infante, than any man in the world. Indeed he gave me many thanks and many entertainments. So I went to Valencia and went to fetch my wife and did not stay more than twenty-three days. And then I embarked her in the galley and returned to Mallorca and found that the Lord King of Mallorca had died; that, on the day after [1311] my departure, he was attacked by an illness of which he died. God, in His mercy, keep his soul and absolve him, as the good and upright lord that he was. And so, likewise, I found there the Lord King En Sancho, to whom his father had left the Kingdom, but entailed on the Lord Infante En Ferrando if the said Lord King En Sancho died childless. And so likewise I found the Lord Infante En Ferrando. And if ever honour was shown to me by the Lord King, his father, much greater was shown to me and to my wife by the Lord King En Sancho. The Lord Infante En Ferrando, in his graciousness, sent many presents to my wife and the Lord King of Mallorca sent to me, in my galley, sixty baskets of bread and much wine and cheeses and three oxen and twenty sheep and much poultry; no other man so unimportant as I am could ever boast of so much kindness from

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such exalted lords. And so also the Lord Infante En Ferrando sent me, to my galley, all his own harness of arms and many other things.

And so I departed from them by their leave, and the Lord Infante En Ferrando entrusted to me two mountain falcons trained for chasing herons. which had belonged to the Lord King his father. and which he was sending to the Lord King of Sicily. And I went to Minorca and when I came to Mahon a message had come already from the Lord King of Mallorca. ordering great refreshment to be given to me in his name if I returned. And if he had ordered it, well did his officials carry it out. And so, departing from Mahon, I came to Sicily and landed at Trapani and at Trapani I left my wife and, in my galley, went to Messina and found that the Lord King was at Montalba, a place in which he liked to spend the summer, and this was in July. And I went there and gave him the two falcons which the Lord Infante En Ferrando had sent him, and told him the news I knew of the Lords in the West. And then I took leave of him and, in his mercy, he gave me of his property and showed me much honour. And by his leave I went to Trapani with the galley and two armed barges which I had bought at Messina, and I brought away my wife and went to Jerba where a great feast was made for me and my wife. And, at once, they gave me and my wife jewels to the value of two thousand besants. And they of the Kerkennas likewise sent me their presents to the extent of their power. And so, with the grace of God, we stayed in good peace, cheerful and content, in the castle of Jerba all those three years for which the Lord King had given it to me'. But later on I shall have to recount to you into what trouble and toil the island of Sicily fell again, and all those belonging to the Lord King. Now I shall cease to speak to you of the island and shall turn to speak of the affairs which accumulated upon the Lord King of Sicily. I do not wish to recount to you anything about many events which happened to me in Barbary, because no one should speak of himself, unless they are matters which concern a lord; wherefore I shall say nothing of events which happened to me, except when they are events concerning a lord.

CCLVI

How the war between the Lord King of Sicily and King Robert broke out again; and how the Lord King of Sicily passed into Calabria and took castles and towns.

When all this was over, not long after, the peace and [1313] truces between King Fadrique and King Robert¹⁸⁵ were broken, through the great guilt of King Robert. King Robert prepared to pass into Sicily. But the Lord King Fadrique, who knew this, and saw that the galleys of King Robert had cut his tunny nets and captured Sicilian lenys, passed into Calabria and took the city of Reggio by assault and the castle of Santa Agata and Castle Corlana and Motta and Stilaro and Labaynare and other places. And, because of this, King Robert proceeded to complete his preparations for passing into Sicily.

CCLVII

How the Infante En Ferrando of Mallorca passed a second time into Sicily and of the honour shown him; and how En Berenguer de Sarriá stayed at Palermo with his company and En Dalmau de Castellnou passed into Calabria as commander and proceeded to wage war.

And the Lord Infante En Ferrando, son of the Lord King of Mallorca, who knew that his brother-in-law, King Robert,¹⁸⁶ was getting ready to pass into Sicily, apparelled himself with a good company and went to Sicily, whereat King Fadrique had great pleasure, when he saw him, because he had not seen him since he had passed into Romania for him. And so he gave him such a reception as a father would give to a son, and gave him

¹⁸⁵He had succeeded his father, Charles II, in 1309.

¹⁸⁶He had married Ferrando's sister, Sancha.

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the city of Catania with all civil and criminal jurisdiction for life; and, besides the city of Catania, he gave him two thousand onzas of yearly revenue from his coffers. And so they lived together with great cheer and great content until King Robert passed into Sicily; he came over with great power, for he came over with altogether more than four thousand horsemen of good birth, and innumerable men afoot, and with a hundred and twenty galleys and many ships, and lenys without number.

And it is the truth that, at that time, the noble En Berenguer de Sarriá had passed from Catalonia into Sicily with full three hundred horsemen and full a thousand Catalans afoot; and so had the noble En Dalmau de Castellnou, with full a hundred horsemen and two hundred men afoot and other knights. And the Lord King of Sicily could well say that no man did more for his Lord than the said noble En Berenguer de Sarriá did for him; for, in order to pass into Sicily, he gave up the command of the navy of the Lord King of Aragon and mortgaged all his land. And when those two richs homens came to Sicily, the Lord King ordained that En Berenguer de Sarriá should be at Palermo with his Company and that En Dalmau de Castellnou should be commander in Calabria and should go to Reggio and proceed to wage war in Calabria, as being one of the most expert knights of the world.

CCLVIII

How King Robert passed into Sicily and landed at Palermo and took Castellamare and besieged Trapani; and how the Lord King sent the Infante En Ferrando to Mount Saint Julian whence he did great damage to the said King Robert.

And so the Lord King Robert, when he came to Sicily, landed at Palermo and thought to take Palermo, but En Berenguer de Sarriá was within with his company and defended the city in such manner that King Robert fully recognised that he could do nothing. And he departed from Palermo and, by sea and land, went to a castle which is on the sea-shore between Palermo and Trapani, and is called Castellamare, in which there

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were about twenty men; and they surrendered. And when he had this castle, he garrisoned it well and thought he had all Sicily. And then he went, by sea and land, to besiege Trapani. And within Trapani was En Simon de Vayllguarnera, a knight of Peralada, very accomplished and expert in arms, very diligent, and a knight very learned in war; and so, likewise, there was there the noble En Berenguer de Vilaragut and, besides, full a thousand Catalans, horse and foot, expert in arms, who defended the city right manfully. King Robert set up his siege. And the Lord King Fadrique sent the Lord Infante En Ferrando with expert chivalry and almugavars to Mount Saint Julian, which was at a distance of a mile from the siege. And besides, En Berenguer de Sarriá came there with all his company and, from that place, they gave the host a very bad time. They attacked every day and surprised them ten or twelve times, and carried off pack-mules and people who were fetching grass and wood. They were having this evil time, and those within the city were giving them bad days and bad nights and they shot at each other with catapults.

CCLIX

How whilst I, Ramon Muntaner, was in Jerba, the noble En Berenguer Carros came with a great force to besiege it for King Robert; and how, whilst I was thinking about defending myself, a messenger from King Robert came to Pantanella, whom he had sent to tell En Berenguer Carros to return to Trapani.

And whilst the siege was being thus carried on, King Robert arranged to send the noble En Berenguer Carros with sixty galleys and four hundred horsemen and four catapults against me, to the castle of Jerba. And the Lord King, who knew this, sent me an armed barge by which he told me to clear the castle of Jerba of women and children and to prepare to defend myself well, for King Robert was sending those forces against me. And when I knew this, I hired from En Lambert of Valencia, who was at the city of Gabes, a ship called Ventura Bona, which had been mine. And I gave him three hundred gold doubloons and put into the ship my wife and two

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little daughters I had, one two years old and the other eight months; and I had them well accompanied and sent a great number of the women of the castle with them. And my wife was five months gone in pregnancy. And in the ship, which was well armed, I sent them to Valencia, coasting along Barbary. They were thirty-three days at sea from Jerba to Valencia, where they arrived safe and sound by the mercy of God. And when I had sent away my wife and had cleared the castle of the common people, I proceeded to set the said castle in order and to set up catapults and mangonels; and I had the cisterns and many jars filled with water; and I fitted myself out with all I needed. And besides, I had interviews with Selim ben Margan and with Jacob Benatia and with Abdela ben Bebet and with the other Arab chiefs who had treaties with me, and I told them that the time had come when they could all become rich and could gain renown and glory for all time, and that they should aid me; and I told them of the forces coming against me. And if ever I saw worthy people take up my cause, they did, with great joy and cheer. And, at once, they took the oath and kissed me on the mouth and promised that, within eight days, they would be with me at the sound with eight thousand horsemen and they said that, as soon as I had sight or knowledge of the enemy in these waters, I should send to tell them and all would pass into the island in such manner that, when the enemy had landed, they would fall upon them in such wise that if any escaped from them, I should never trust them again. And also they said that they promised me that galleys and all else they took should be mine, that they did not wish to have more than honour and the gratitude of the Lord King of Sicily and mine. And so I concluded this matter with them. What shall I tell you? On the day they had promised, they were at the sound with over five thousand horsemen well appalled. And you may say they came willingly and so did those of the island. And I had placed four armed barges at intervals from the King's Bay¹⁸⁷ to Jerba,

¹⁸⁷"Per Scala del rey tro a Gerba." Bofarull says: "Desde el Rey à Gerbes" (from the Rey to Jerba). Scala, in Spanish, *escala*, has the meaning, amongst others, of a bay in which ships can ride at anchor; "scala del rey" may therefore be taken to mean the King's bay. Buchon and the Barcelona edition have "El Bey."

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with orders that they should come to me when they saw that fleet. And thus was I prepared.

And King Robert apparelled the galleys, as I have told you before, and En Berenguer Carros and the others who were coming, took leave of King Robert and of the Queen who was there. And they departed from the siege and came to the island of Pantanella, and the commander of Pantanella sent me a barge by which he let me know that the galleys were at Pantanella. And I had great joy and great pleasure and at once let it be known to all the Moors who were there, who made a great feast. And so, likewise, I let the Arabs know and told them to be ready to pass over at the next message they had from me. And to them a day seemed a year.

And En Berenguer Carros had departed from Pantanella and there came to him messengers in two armed lenys whom King Robert had sent and by whom he commanded him urgently to return to him at Trapani with all the galleys; for the King of Sicily had armed sixty galleys to come against his fleet. And En Berenguer Carros returned to Trapani. And see how things happened to me; if they had come to Jerba, never would men have been so welcome as they would have been to me, nor have come so opportunely for my plans. But as I knew nothing and wondered why they delayed so long, I sent an armed barge to Pantanella and the commander let me know that they had been there and had gone away. And when I knew this, I sent the Arabs great refreshment of victuals and aljubes, in such manner that they all returned home content and ready to come to me at any time with all their forces if I needed them.

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CCLX

How the Lord King Fadrique of Sicily had sixty galleys armed in order to destroy all the host of King Robert; and how the Queen, mother of King Robert and mother-in-law of the Lord King of Aragon and of the Lord King of Sicily, knowing this, negotiated a peace for a year between the Lord King of Sicily and King Robert.

It is the truth that the Lord King of Sicily knew that, in the host of King Robert, the greater part of the expert men, horse and foot, and the greater part of the horses had died, and that the fleet was almost wholly disarmed, partly through death, partly through sickness. And so he had sixty galleys equipped, what between Messina and Palermo and Syracuse and other places in Sicily, and when they had come to Palermo the noble En Berenguer de Sarriá and the noble En Dalmau de Castellnou and En Pons de Castellar and other richs homens and knights went on board. And the Lord King had come with all his forces to Mount Saint Julian and it was ordained that the galleys should attack all the host, and the Lord King and the Lord Infante En Ferrando, with all their forces, would attack the besiegers, so that, on one day, all those of King Robert should be killed or taken. And this was as easy to do as it would be for a lion to devour three or four ewes, for, assuredly, all would be lost. But when my Lady the Queen¹⁸⁸ (mother of King Robert and mother-in-law of the Lord King of Aragon and of the Lord King Of Sicily), who was at the siege with King Robert, her son, and the Prince,¹⁸⁹ and likewise my Lady the Queen (wife of King Robert, sister of the Lord Infante En Ferrando and cousin-german of the Lords Kings of Aragon and Sicily) knew that all this was ordained, they, at once, sent their messengers to the Lord King of Sicily and to the Lord Infante En Ferrando who were not two miles away, and sent to beg

¹⁸⁸Maria, daughter of Stephen V, King of Hungary, widow of Charles II.

¹⁸⁹Philip, Prince of Taranto, brother of King Robert.

them that this wrong be not done on any account and that, for the honour of God and for love of them, they consent to there being a truce between them for a year and that, during that year, all should be bound to keep the peace as ordained between them by the Lord King of Aragon; and that they would make King Robert and the Prince sign this in such a manner that no one could go back upon it.

And when the Lord King and the Lord Infante En Ferrando had heard the message, the Lord King held his council with the Lord Infante and with all the richs homens that were there, and sent a message to En Berenguer de Sarriá and to En Dalmau de Castellnou, who were already at the foot of the mountain with the galleys, to come to him. And so they did. And when all were assembled in council, the King told them the message which had come to him from the two Queens. And, when they had heard all, they held that, on no account, should there be a truce, but that they should attack; that the object would be gained for all time and that, at this juncture, he would take all the Principality and Calabria and all the Kingdom; and so, as God had brought him to this point, now was the hour to put an end to trouble. And in the end all the council was of this opinion.

And the Lord King, when he had heard their decision, took the Lord Infante En Ferrando by the hand and conducted him to a chamber and said to him:—"Infante, this matter touches you and me above all men in the world; wherefore I tell you that, for four reasons, we should wish a truce to be made. And the first reason is this: that we should make a truce for the honour of God, Who has shown us and shows us so much favour that we should acknowledge it, and His Christian people should not die through us. And the second is, that here are two Queens to whom we are much beholden, namely my Lady the Queen, my mother-in-law and mother of King Robert and mother-in-law of Our brother, the King of Aragon, whom I should honour as a mother; and so likewise the Queen, wife of King Robert, your sister, whom we must love and honour as a sister; wherefore we must do this thing for love of them. And the third reason is that, even if King Robert and the Prince do not act towards us as they should, yet we should remember that they are uncles of the sons of the Lord King of Aragon, who is our eldest brother, and they are our nephews, whom we

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love as dearly as our sons; and so likewise they are uncles of our sons and brothers of the Queen, Our wife. And again, King Robert is Our brother-in-law and his son is Our nephew and yours, for he is your brother-in-law. Wherefore it seems to Us that we should not wish him to be killed or taken prisoner here, nor that he should have so much dishonour. The dishonour would fall upon Our families who have such great ties with them. And the fourth reason is that, if they are what they should be, they must ever after guard against causing Us any annoyance or damage. Indeed for all these four reasons I hold it well that, if you agree, we accept the truce."

And the Lord Infante agreed to what the Lord King held for well. And, at once, the Lord King sent his messengers to the Queens and granted them the truce; in this manner, however, that he did not give up anything he had in Calabria, except as the Lord King of Aragon should think well. And so it was granted to him. What shall I tell you? The truce was signed by the Queens, as had been proposed, whereat all those on the side of the Lord King of Sicily were greatly displeased and those on the side of King Robert very joyous, as men who had seen that they could not escape death or capture. And so King Robert and the Queens embarked and went to Naples and there were some who went by land as far as Messina and passed into Calabria.

And the Lord King sent the noble En Berenguer de Sarriá to Castellamare, which King Robert had garrisoned, and recovered the castle. And so King Robert had laboured and spent money in vain, as will always happen whilst God gives life to the Lord King of Sicily and his sons; for the Sicilians are so fixed in their love for the House of Aragon and of the Lord King Fadrique and his sons that they would sooner let themselves be quartered than change the sovereignty. And it will never be, found that a king can take away a kingdom from another king if his peoples themselves do not take it away. Wherefore King Robert laboured in vain, and so it will be always. Therefore it would be more sensible if, in his lifetime, he united his son in ties of love with his uncles and his cousins-german, for if he should quarrel with them, perhaps an Emperor will come from Germany who will want to take his inheritance from him; but if he finds him in amity with the Houses of Aragon and Sicily he would not do so.

CCLXI

Treats of how the Lord of the Morea descends from the Duke of Burgundy, who was a grandson of the King of France, and from whom my lady Isabel, wife of the Lord Infante En Ferrando of Mallorca, descended in the direct line.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of this war, suspended by a truce, and must turn to speak to you of what happened to the Lord Infante En Ferrando of Mallorca.

It is the truth that full two hundred years ago, barons of France went beyond sea to gain indulgences, of whom were chiefs and lords the Duke of Burgundy and a brother of his who was count de la Marche, and they were grandsons of the King of France, and the Duke was the eldest. And they went with, altogether, full a thousand French knights and with many men afoot. And they came to Brindisi where they embarked; but they had delayed their departure so much that winter overtook them. They were advised to await the spring, but they would follow no one's advice. And so they departed from Brindisi in many ships and went away in many lenys. And a tempest overtook them and they had to return to Clarenza in the Morea.

Now it is the truth that, at that time, he who was the Greek Prince of the Morea and Duke of Athens and Lord of Salona and Lord of the barony of Matagrifon and Lord of the barony of Damala and Lord of the barony of Larissa and of Boudonitza and Negroponte, was a bastard son of the Emperor of Constantinople who had risen, with the country, against his father, the Emperor, and against the Holy Apostolic Father. And he was a man of bad life. And when the barons of France found themselves in so severe a winter and in such difficulties about their voyage, they sent a message to the Pope, that, if he pleased, they would take the country from that bastard, the son of the Emperor of Constantinople, and that they should obtain those indulgences they would have gained beyond sea, and that they would divide the country among prelates and bishops and

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archbishops of the catholic faith. What shall I tell you? The Pope granted them all they asked for.

And whilst they were sending their messengers to the Pope, the Emperor was in the Kingdom of Salonica, marching against his son; but he could not pass through Vlachia from the Principality of Arta, which was assisting his son, and so he did not know what course to take. And he heard that those two brothers, richs homens, grandsons of the King of France, were in the country with a great power. And he sent them messengers to say that, if they would destroy the traitor, his son, he would give them all the territory, free and exempt. And at this the richs homens had great pleasure, and they chose two knights who went to the Emperor with their messengers, to ask him to make out a formal charter of what he promised them. And the messengers went to the Emperor, and brought back, in a gold case, charters of the said grants with seals attached, and the Emperor sent them also aid of money. What shall I tell you? Those two richs homens built a city which is now called Patras, and made it the seat of an archbishop, and they defied the son of the Emperor, who was called Andronicus.¹⁹⁰ And in the end he collected all his forces and part of the forces of the Principality of Arta and marched against them. And they issued forth to battle and it pleased God that this Andronicus was vanquished and died on the battlefield, he and all the chivalry he had in his territory and a great number of men afoot who were with him. And so these two lords took all the territory, which he had ruled; the common people had disliked him greatly, and so all surrendered to them cities, towns and castles, and those two lords divided the country between them; the Duke became Prince of Morea and the Count became Duke of Athens, and each had his territory free and exempt. And then they divided all the baronies and castles and villages, which they gave to their knights, so that they endowed them all in the Morea, and many others who came from France.

¹⁹⁰The rebel was the Emperor Michael VIII's illegitimate son John. Andronicus was the eldest legitimate son and succeeded his father.

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From these lords, therefore, the princes of Morea are descended and they have always since taken their wives from the best French houses, and so likewise the other richs homens and knights did not marry any lady who did not descend from French knights; wherefore it is said that the most noble chivalry of the world is that of the Morea, and they speak as beautiful French as in Paris. And this noble chivalry lasted until the Catalan company killed them all in one day,¹⁹¹ when the count of Brienne attacked them, as I have told you already. And you may believe that they all died, not one escaped.

CCLXII

How the barons of the Principality of Morea decided to make a marriage between the infant Princess of Morea and Philip, second son of King Charles; and it was so agreed and also that the son of the Count of Aria should marry the sister of the said Princess, Lady of Matagrifon.

And so it is the truth that from that lord Duke of Burgundy, who was a grandson of the King of France, as I have related to you already, descended the princes of Morea, namely down to Prince Louis, who was the fifth prince in descent from that lord of Burgundy, grandson of the King of France. And this Prince Louis died, and no prince was left; but there remained two daughters of his; one was fourteen years old when he died and the other twelve. And the Prince left the Principality to the eldest, and, to the younger, the barony of Matagrifon; and he left the Principality entailed on the younger, so that if the eldest died without legitimate children, it should return to the younger. And so, likewise, he left the barony of Matagrifon entailed on the elder. And when the barons of the Principality had lost Prince Louis, who had been a very good lord to them, they considered to whom they could give the eldest daughter in marriage, to one who was a powerful lord, able to defend them against the

¹⁹¹In the battle of Kephissos (1311).

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Principality of Artá and the Emperor and the lord of Vlachia, for the Principality and the Duchy of Athens marched with all those. In old times the Duchy was held by the Principality, but since the partition made by the two brothers who conquered them, the count de la Marche had the Duchy.

What should I tell you about it? King Charles, at that time, had conquered the Kingdom of Sicily, as you have heard already, and was the greatest and most powerful lord in the East at that time. And this Lord, King Charles, had a son, called Philip, who was next to the eldest. And the barons of Morea thought that they could give the Princess to no one better than to monsnyer En Philip, son of King Charles, who was very wise and good. And so they chose an archbishop and a bishop and two richs homens and two knights and two citizens, and sent them to King Charles, to Naples, where they found him. And these messengers spoke of the marriage. It pleased King Charles much, for he knew that this girl was of his lineage, and that, besides, the Prince of Morea is one of the richest noblemen after the King. And so he granted the marriage of my Lady the Princess with monsnyer En Philip. But before they proceeded further, he summoned his son to his presence and told him that he had agreed to this marriage, if he wished it. And monsnyer En Philip answered and said that he was content if the King would be pleased to do one thing, namely to grant him a favour. And King Charles told him to ask for what he liked, it would be granted to him. And upon this he kissed his hand and said: "Lord, what I ask of you is this: you know well that, in my childhood, you gave me for companion the son of the count of Aria,¹⁹² who is of my age, and if ever a man could hold himself pleased with a servant and

¹⁹²The variations of this name are numerous; chroniclers and historians give it indifferently the following forms: Aria, Adria, Andria, Larcha, Arcadia, and Achaia. The three last have no doubt been adopted on seeing that this title sometimes occurs in connection with the duchy of Clarenza, a country which is believed to have included Achaia. The two first are transformations of the third, the only one, in my opinion, which should be accepted, because it is very likely that it was derived from the ancient Andros, or Island of Andria, belonging to Athens, rather than from Achaia, for this was included already in the greater title of Clarenza. — Bofarull.

companion, I hold myself pleased with him. Wherefore I pray you, Father and Lord, that he have to wife the sister of the Princess, with the barony of Matagrifon,¹⁹³ and that the two sisters be brides at the same mass and that you dub us both knights on that day, with your own hand." And King Charles granted him this and sent for the messengers and confirmed also this marriage. And he commanded at once ten galleys to be equipped at Brindisi, to bring the two damsels to this place, Brindisi, and there King Charles and his son would await them, and there celebrate the wedding. And from Brindisi to the Principality it is not two hundred miles and so it was a neighbouring place. What shall I tell you? They brought the damsels to Brindisi and there King Charles dubbed his son a knight and afterwards his companion also. And mosenyer En Philip made a hundred knights on that day with his own hand, and his companion twenty, and the two sisters were brides together. And the feast was great that was made on that day and for eight days after.

And then they passed into the Principality with the ten galleys, and mosenyer En Philip was Prince of Morea and his companion lord of the barony of Matagrifon. What shall I tell you? Mosenyer En Philip did not live long, but died and had no children. And then the Princess married a great baron of the lineage of the count of Nevers,¹⁹⁴ and by him had a daughter. And then this Prince died and the Princess, when her daughter was twelve years old, gave her to wife to the good Duke of Athens,¹⁹⁵ he who left the Duchy to the count of Brienne who was his cousin-german; for he had no child by the daughter of the Princess. And when the Princess had married her daughter, she went to France. and married mosenyer En Philip of Savoy. and the two together came to the Principality. A short time after the Princess died of illness and left, in her will, that her husband was to be Prince during his lifetime and, after his death, she left the Principality

¹⁹³Akova.

¹⁹⁴The Princess Isabel married, as her second husband Florence, Count of Hainault and of Nevers. The titles were combined in one family in 1193 when Mahault de Courtenay, Countess of Nevers, married Philip of Hainault, second son of Baldwin II.

¹⁹⁵Guy II.

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to her daughter, which she could not do, for it was to return to her sister who was alive, on whom her father had entailed it. And when the Princess died, the Prince was in France.

And at that time, the Prince of Taranto, brother of King Robert, had passed into the Morea to march against his brother-in-law, the Despot of Arta; and seeing the Principality without a lord or lady, he took it, for he found no one to oppose him. Monsenyer En Philip of Savoy, Prince of Morea, when he knew this, was greatly displeased. Not long after, the Prince of Taranto went to France. And the Prince of Morea appealed to the King of France about the Prince of Taranto, and how he had taken his Principality without sending him a challenge and, in the end, sentence was given that he should evacuate it. And so it was done. The Prince of Morea sent his representatives who received the Principality for him.

And, at that time, the Duke of Athens died childless 1309 and left the Duchy to the count of Brienne, his cousin-german, as I have told you already; and the Duchess, daughter of the Princess, was left a widow. Now I shall cease to speak to you of the Princess and must turn to speak to you of her sister.

CCLXIII

How the Lord Infante En Ferrando of Mallorca took to wife my Lady Isabel, daughter of the count of Aria and grand-daughter of the Prince of Morea; and how the Lady of Matagrifon endowed her daughter with the barony of Matagrifon and all rights she had in the Principality of Morea.

When the son of the count of Aria had celebrated his wedding he entered into possession of the barony of Matagrifon and, if ever a lord proved himself worthy, he did; he was very wise and accomplished in all things, And he had, by his wife, a daughter called my Lady Isabel. And when his daughter was born, soon after. he died, whereat all his barons and vassals of the Morea were greatly displeased. And this count of Aria is of the lineage of the counts of Baux, which is the oldest and most honourable house of Provence and they are kinsmen of the Lord King of

Aragon. And when the lady lost her husband she was much grieved and did not wish to take another husband. And when the Princess, her sister, died, she claimed the Principality; but those who held it gave her curt answer. She heard that the Lord Infante En Ferrando, son of the Lord King of Mallorca, was in Sicily and had neither wife nor territory. And she thought that there was no man in the world with whom her daughter would be so well situated, provided that he received, freely or by force, all her right to the Principality. And so she sent her messengers to the Lord King of Sicily and to the Lord Infante En Ferrando. In the end it was agreed that the lady and her daughter should come to Messina, and then, if the damsel was what she was said to be, the marriage would please them. The lady, with her daughter and full ten damsels and as many ladies, and twenty knights and twenty sons of knights, and other retinue came to Messina, where much honour was shown her. And when she was at Messina, the Lord King and the Lord Infante saw the damsel and, if they had given him the whole world, the Lord Infante would not have exchanged her for anything, but was so pleased with her that a day was a year to him until the matter was concluded. Indeed, he told the Lord King positively that he wanted this damsel to be his wife, and no other in the world. And it was no wonder if he was enamoured of her, for she was the most beautiful creature of fourteen one could see, the whitest and rosiest and the best. And she was the most learned damsel, for her age, of any in the world. What shall I tell you? The Lady of Matagrifon endowed her daughter during her lifetime and after her death, with all the barony of Matagrifon and all the rights she had with the barony, to do and say according to her will, without any condition.

And when this was done and the documents made of the wedding gifts, by the grace of Our Lord the Lord Infante took my Lady Isabel to wife,*with great ceremonies and a great feast made by the Lord King and my Lady the Queen and all the barons of Sicily and the Catalan and Aragonese and Latin knights and all the others of Messina; and the archbishop of Messina said the mass, and the feast lasted full fifteen days, so that everyone marvelled how pleased all were.

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And when the feast was over, the Lord Infante took her to Catania with her mother, with all the retinue that had come with her, and gave her Catalan ladies and Catalan damsels, and wives and daughters of knights. And when they were at Catania the Lord Infante made great gifts to all who had come with her; and so they stayed full four months at Catania. And then the lady, mother-in-law of the Lord Infante, returned to the Morea with her retinue, cheerful and content, and the Lord Infante, cheerful and content, stayed with my Lady the Infanta. And it pleased God that she became pregnant, whereat great rejoicing was made when it was known. And when the lady was pregnant, the Lord Infante prepared to go to the Morea with full five hundred horsemen and many afoot.

CCLXIV

How I, Ramon Muntaner, sent a message to the Lord King of Sicily to entreat him of his mercy to allow me to go to Catania where the Lord Infante was with the Infanta his wife who gave birth to a son called Jaime; and how the said Lord Infante prepared to pass into the Morea.

And whilst he was getting ready I heard of it at Jerba and, however much had been given me, I would not have refrained from going to him, and, with him, wherever he wished to go. I sent a message to the Lord King, asking him to be pleased to allow me to come to Sicily. And the Lord King was content and I came to Sicily with all the elder men of the island, who came with me in a galley and a leny, and I left the castle of Jerba and the island under a good chief. And the first place at which I landed in Sicily was Catania. And there I found the Lord Infante well and cheerful and my Lady the Infanta pregnant; before eight days had gone by, she gave birth to a child and had a beautiful son, for which a great feast was made. And when I had descended from the galleys, I had two bales of carpets brought on shore, which came from Tripoli, and anibles and ardiens and almaxies

and aquinals and mactans and jucies and jewels.¹⁹⁶ And I had all these displayed before my Lady the Infanta and the Lord Infante and presented them with all, whereat the Lord Infante was very content. And then I departed from them and went to Messina; the Lord Infante told me he would be there before fifteen days had gone by and that he wished to speak to me at length.

And, when I was at Messina, fifteen days had not gone by before a message came that my Lady the Infanta had had a beautiful son, born on the first Saturday in April of the year 1315. May God grant everyone as much joy as I had. And do not ask me if the Lord Infante was joyful and all they of Catania. The feast made in Catania lasted over eight days. And the Lord Infante had him baptised in the cathedral of the blessed Lady Saint Agatha and had the name of Jaime given to him. And if ever an infant was born endowed with all beauty, this Infante En Jaime was. What shall I tell you? When the Lord Infante En Jaime had been baptised and the lady was out of danger, the Lord Infante came to Messina. And when he was at Messina I offered myself to him, in person and property, to follow him wherever he pleased. He was very grateful to me for it and said to me:—"You have to go to the Lord King who is at Piazza, where you will find him, and give up to him the castle and island of Jerba and the Kerkennas, and then you will return to Us and then we shall settle all We have to do."

And so I took leave of him. And whilst I was taking leave of him, a message came to him to hasten to Catania, for my Lady the Infanta was ill, she had been seized with fever and dysentery. And so he rode and, that night, entered Catania. And when my Lady the Infanta saw him, she was better; but she made her will before she got worse, and then confirmed it;

¹⁹⁶'Anibles,' short coats open in front; 'aquinals,' slippers worn over a kind of leather socks. called 'almaxies.' 'Mactans,' a piece of linen or cloth intended for the making of a garment. 'jucies,' a waistcoat with sleeves worn by women over their dress; it was also the name of a jerkin with short sleeves worn under the coat of mail. 'Ardiens,' which means 'very modest,' may designate some article of dress giving a special appearance of modesty.

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and she left the barony of Matagrifon and also all the rights she had in the Principality to her son, the Infante En Jaime, and, if the Infante, her son, should die, she left it to the Infante En Ferrando, her husband. Now it is the truth that it was full two months since her mother had died of illness at Matagrifon, but she knew nothing of it, nor did the Lord Infante wish anyone to tell her whilst she was pregnant, nor likewise after she had been delivered, until she had gone to mass. And therefore the Lord Infante had prepared everything for his journey, and only waited until the Infanta should have been delivered and had gone to mass; after which he and she were to embark at once. All things were ready for embarcation.

CCLXV

How the Infanta, my Lady Isabel, wife of the Lord Infante En Ferrando of Mallorca, passed from this life; and how I, Ramon Muntaner, gave up the islands of Jerba and of Kerkenna to the Lord King of Sicily and. went to where the Lord Infante En Ferrando was.

What shall I tell you about it? The Infanta, as it pleased God, passed from this life thirty-two days after the Infante En Jaime, her son, was born; and she died in the arms of the Lord Infante En Ferrando. And he and all the city made the greatest mourning ever seen. And, with great ceremonies, as for one who was pure and had confessed and received Holy Communion and Extreme Unction she was put into a beautiful tomb, near the body of the Holy Virgin, Saint Agatha, in the church consecrated to her in Catania.

And after this misfortune had happened, the Lord Infante came to Messina to embark and to go to the Morea. And I went to the Lord King whom I found at Piazza, and I went to Palermo and, in the presence of the noble En Berenguer de Sarriá and many other richs homens of Sicily and knights and citizens, I surrendered to him the castles and islands of Jerba and Kerkenna. And would it pleased God that.. all who wish us well may render as good an account of what is entrusted to them as I did to the Lord King of Sicily of the said islands, which I had held seven years; namely,

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first for two years during the war, and then three years, when he granted them to me by favour, and then for two years because of the war with King Robert.

And, as soon as I had surrendered the islands and had the letter of discharge, I took leave of the Lord King and returned to the Lord Infante whom I found in Messina, preparing to embark. And I told him that I had come to serve him and to go on board the galleys and also to lend him all I had. And on the day I told him this, he said to me he would answer me on the following day. And next day, when he had heard mass, he summoned a great number of knights and of men of good birth and before all he said to me: —“En Ramon Muntaner, it is the truth that you are the man to whom We are more beholden than to any other.” And here he gave many good reasons and acknowledged how I had lost, in his service, all I had brought from Romania; and, again, that I was put into prison with him, and how King Robert had done me much hurt because of him; and how I had lent him of my fortune in Romania and given up all I had; and, again, how I had left all the charges I had in the Company for him, and many other services which I do not remember, which he heard I had done him; especially that, for love of him, I had given up the command of Jerba, which I had had for seven years; again, that I had lent him, at that juncture, all the money I had. “And so,” said he, “so many are the services you have rendered me that I could not reward them at all. But now We have arrived at a case in which the service We beg of you will surpass all the other services you have rendered Us; and We beg you, in the presence of these knights, to grant Us this service.” And I rose and went to kiss his hand and gave him many thanks for the praise he had given me and for holding himself well served by me. And I said to him: —“Lord, command what you wish me to do; whilst there is life in me, I shall fail in nothing, Lord, that you command me to do.” “Now know,” said he, “what this is that We wish you to do for Us. We will tell it you. It is the truth that We have great need that you should go with Us on this journey; you will be much needed in it, and understand-that We shall miss you greatly; but so dear is to Us that service that We wish all other things given up for it.

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CCLXVI

How the Lord Infante En Ferrando of Mallorca entrusted to me, Ramon Muntaner, the Lord Infante En Jaime, his dear son, in order that I should carry him and deliver him to the Queen, his mother; and gave me full authority by a formal document to do whatever I wished.

It is the truth that God has given Us this son En Jaime, by my Lady, my wife, and so I beg you to receive him and carry him to the Queen, Our mother, and deliver him into her hands. And proceed to hire ships or fit out galleys or anything you know by which you consider you would go most safely. And We will write a letter to the honourable En Berenguer Despuig, Our knight-procurator, to give you all that you will have advanced and to believe all that you will tell him in Our name; and so, likewise, shall We write to my Lady the Queen, Our mother,¹⁹⁷ and to the Lord King of Mallorca, Our brother. And We will have a letter of full powers in the four quarters of the world made for you; namely, from East to West and from South to North, and what you shall promise or do or owe for Us to knight or man afoot or to any other person, We shall hold for well done and valid, and, on no account, will We fail in it; and We pledge to this all territories and castles and villages We have, or expect to take with the help of God. And so you will go with full power from Us. And when you shall have delivered Our son to my Lady Queen, Our mother, you shall go to your house and shall review and settle all your affairs; and then, when you have settled all your affairs, you shall come to Us with all the company, horse and foot, you can. And the Lord King of Mallorca, Our brother, will give you as much money as you shall ask for, to pay the Company you will bring Us. And this is what We wish you to do for Us."

And I, who heard these things, was much amazed at the great charge he was putting upon me, namely the charge of his son; and I entreated him to give me a companion. But he said that he would not give me a companion,

¹⁹⁷Esclaramunda, daughter of the Count de Foix.

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but that I should get ready and should guard his son, as a man should guard his lord or his lord's son; and I rose at once and went to kiss his hand and I crossed myself and accepted this sacred command. And the Lord Infante at once commanded En Oton de Monells, knight, who was guarding his son in the castle of Catania, to deliver him to me; and that, from that day onwards, he should hold him for me and for no other person, and that, whenever I wished, he was to deliver him to me. And of that En Oton de Monells rendered me oath and homage and did as he was commanded. Wherefore, from that day onwards, the Infante En Jaime, son of the Lord Infante En Ferrando, was in my power, and on that day it was forty days since he was born and no more. And so likewise the Lord Infante En Ferrando had a procurator's charter drawn for me, as has been said already, with pendant seal, and all the other charters.

CCLXVII

How the Lord Infante En Ferrando of Mallorca, passed into the Morea and took Clarenza by force of arms and took all the district and how all they of Clarenza and of the Morea took oath to him as head and chief.

And when this was done he embarked at a suitable hour in Messina and went to Clarenza and landed near the city, at a distance of two miles. And the host came out of Clarenza, with full two hundred horsemen, to defend it against him. What shall I tell you? The almugavars who were with the Lord Infante and the cross-bowmen landed and attacked these people, and they drove them away and cleared the place and meanwhile the horses were landed. And when about fifty horsemen had landed and the Lord Infante had put on his armour and was apparelled and upon his horse, he had the banner unfurled, for he would wait no longer for the rest of his chivalry; rather, he made his attack with these fifty horsemen and with the almugavars; and he proceeded to attack the enemy, and defeated them, so that they fled towards the city, and the Lord Infante and all his company followed them, attacking them and stabbing them. What shall I tell you? Together with them they entered the city and killed all they

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pleased, and they would have killed them all, but, when they were within the city, all the people cried: —“Mercy, Lord! mercy, Lord!” And upon this, he rallied his followers and forbade that anyone should be killed thenceforth.

And so the galleys and all his fleet came to the city and, every one entered within. And the people of the city assembled and took the oath to the Lord Infante En Ferrando as lord, and rendered him all homage; and they knew well that to him belonged the Principality, through my Lady, his wife. And as soon as they of the city of Clarenza had taken the oath to him, he went to besiege the castle of Bellver, which is one of the most beautiful castles of the world and is near Clarenza. And he attacked it vigorously, and set up catapults and, in a few days, pressed it in such wise that it surrendered to him. And then he rode about the country, and all the places surrendered to him willingly, for he had had the testament of Prince Louis read publicly, which entailed the Principality on the Lord Infante’s mother-in-law, so it belonged to her by the entail and because she long survived her sister the Princess, so that all knew the Principality was to return to her. And then he showed the grant that she had made of it, in her lifetime, to the Infanta; and then how, likewise, when she was dying, she made a will and left as heiress, my Lady the Infanta, her daughter; and then he showed how my Lady the Infanta, in her will, had left it to the Infante En Jaime, her son, and again that she entailed it upon the Lord Infante En Ferrando, if her son should die. And when the Lord Infante had demonstrated this in public in Clarenza, letters about it went through all the country. And so all understood that, by right, the Principality belonged to his son, and failing his son, that it should belong to himself. And so all obeyed him as their natural and rightful lord; and the Lord Infante ruled them in truth and justice.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of the Lord Infante and shall turn to speak of his son, the Infante En Jaime.

How I, Ramon Muntaner, apparelled myself to pass into Catalonia with the Lord Infante En Jaime, to his grandmother; and how I had news that they of Clarenza had equipped four galleys in order to capture the said Infante; and how I landed at Salou on All Saints Day.

It is the truth that when the Lord Infante departed from Messina, I hired a ship of Barcelona, which was in the harbour of Palermo at the orders of En P. Desmunt, and ordered it to come to Messina and from Messina to Catania. And so, likewise, I sent there a lady of quality, a noble lady who came from Ampurdan and was called my Lady Agnes de Adri and had come to Sicily as companion of the noble Lady Isabel de Cabrera, wife of the noble En Berenguer de Sarriá, and had had twenty-two children, and was very devout and good. And so I obtained from the said Lady Isabel and from the said noble that they would leave her to me, and that I would entrust the Lord Infante En Jaime, son of the Lord Infante En Ferrando, to her; and, in their courtesy, they left her to me. And I entrusted the Lord Infante to her, for it seemed to me that she must know much about children; and also because of her worth and because she was of good and honourable lineage. And, besides, there was there a good lady who had been wet-nurse of the Lord Infante En Ferrando, whom my Lady, the Queen of Mallorca, had sent him when she heard he had married. And then I had other ladies, and the Infante had a good wet-nurse of good constitution, who was from Catania and nourished him abundantly. And besides his wet-nurse, I had two others put on board the ship, with their infants, so that if one failed the others should be ready. And I put these two on board with their infants, in order that their milk should not spoil, rather they should suckle their infants every day until they were wanted.

And thus I ordained my passage and fitted out the ship very well and put into it full a hundred and twenty men of arms of good birth, and others; and I put on board all we should want for our living as well as for defence. And when I had the ship ready at Messina, an armed barge came

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from Clarenza, which the Lord Infante was sending to the Lord King of Sicily to let him know the favour God had shown him. And so, likewise, he sent to tell it me at length, in order that I should be able to recount it to the Lord King of Mallorca and to my Lady the Queen and to his friends; and he sent me letters to give to my Lady the Queen, his mother, and to the Lord King of Mallorca, and he let me know that he begged me to leave Sicily soon. And, assuredly, I was hastening, but I hastened with greater joy when I knew these good news. And so I went to Catania by land, and made the ship sail from Messina and ordered it to come to Catania. And a few days after I came to Catania, the ship arrived and I made every one embark.

And when I wished to take the Lord Infante on board, En Oton de Monells assembled all the Catalan and Aragonese knights who were there, and the Latins and all the citizens. And before all he said:—"Lords, do you acknowledge that this is the Infante En Jaime, son of the Lord Infante En Ferrando and son of my Lady Isabel, his wife that was?" And all said:—"Yes, for we were all at his baptism, and have seen him since and know him, and are certain that this is he." And upon this, the said En Oton had a public letter made of it. And then he repeated the same words, and they answered him in the same way, and he had another letter made of it. And then again he repeated them once more and had another letter made. And then he put him in my hands and in my arms and wished to have another letter from me, to say that I acquitted him from the oath and homage he had rendered me and that I acknowledged having received the Infante. And all this done, I carried the Lord Infante in my arms out of the city, with over two thousand people following me, and I put him on board the ship, and all made the sign of the Cross over him and blessed him. And on that day a carrier of the Lord King Fadrique came to Catania, bringing from him two suits of clothes of cloth of gold and various presents for the Lord Infante En Jaime.

And so I set sail from Catania on the 1st of August of the year 1315. And when I came to Trapani I had letters which told me to beware of four armed galleys which had been equipped against me, to take the Infante; for they reckoned that, if they took him, they would recover the city of

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Clarenza. And I. who knew this, strengthened the ship yet more and put in much more armament and men. And I assure you we were ninety-one days without either I or any of the ladies on board going on shore, and we stayed. twenty-two days at the island of Saint Peter and twenty-four ships, between Catalan and Genoese, joined us there, and we all departed together from the island, for they were all going West. And we had so great a storm that seven ships were lost and we and the others were in great danger. However, it pleased God that, on All Saints Day, we landed at Salou, without the sea doing the Infante any harm, nor to me, nor did he leave my arm, night or day as long as the storm lasted. I had to hold him because the wet-nurse could not sit up, so ill was she with the sea, and the ladies the same; they could not get up nor walk.

CCLXIX

Recounts how I, Ramon Muntaner, delivered the Lord Infante En Jaime to my Lady the Queen, his grandmother, who was at Perpignan; I delivered him with all the solemnity with which an Infante or a son of a king should be delivered.

And when I came to Salou the archbishop of Tarragona, called monsenyer En Pedro de Rocaberti, sent as many sumpter beasts as were wanted and the house of En Guanesch was given to us for a lodging. And then, by short journeys, we went to Barcelona, where we found the Lord King of Aragon, who received the Lord Infante very well and wished to see him and kissed him, and blessed him. And then we went on, in rain and much wind and bad weather. And I had a litter made (in which the Lord Infante and the wet nurse went), covered with waxed cloth and over it scarlet silk cloth, and twenty men carried the litter hanging from their necks by straps. And we took twenty-four days to go from Tarragona to Perpignan. And, before we got there, we met Fray Ramon Saguardia with ten riders, whom my Lady the Queen of Mallorca had sent us to accompany the Lord Infante. Neither Fray Ramon, nor four carriers the Lord King of Mallorca sent us, parted from us until we came to Perpignan.

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And when we came to Boulou, to cross the waters of the river,¹⁹⁸ all the men of Boulou issued forth and the principal men took the litter and passed the Lord Infante over the river in the litter suspended from their necks.

And that night, the consuls, with a great number of the notables of Perpignan and all the knights who were there, came to us, and many more would have come out, but the Lord King of Mallorca had gone to France. And so we entered the town of Perpignan with great honour shown us and we went to the castle where my Lady the Queen, mother of the Lord Infante En Ferrando, was and my Lady the Queen, wife of the King of Mallorca. And both, when they saw us going up to the castle, descended to the chapel of the castle. And when we came to the gate of the castle, I took the Lord Infante in my arms and there, with great joy, I carried him into the presence of the Queens who were seated together. And may God give us such joy as my Lady the Queen, his grandmother, had when she saw him so beautiful and good, with his pretty, laughing face, and dressed in cloth of gold with a Catalan cloak and long fur robe and a handsome cap of the same cloth on his head. And when I came near the Queens, I knelt down and kissed the hands of both, and made the Lord, Infante kiss the hand of my Lady the Queen, his grandmother. And when he had kissed her hand, she wished to take him up in her hands, but I said to her:—"My Lady, by your leave and mercy, be not displeased that, until I have relieved myself of the charge I hold, you do not have him." And my Lady the Queen laughed and said she was content. And I said to her: "My Lady, is the Lord King's representative here?" And she said:—"Yes, Sir, behold him here." And he stepped forward and, at that time, the King's representative was En Hugueto de Totzo. And then I asked for the bailie and the magistrate and the consuls of the town of Perpignan, and they also came; and I asked for the public notary, and he came. And, besides, there were present many knights and all the burgesses of Perpignan. And when all were present, I summoned the ladies and wet-nurses and knights and sons of knights, and

¹⁹⁸The Tech.

the wet-nurse of monsenyer En Ferrando and, in the presence of the Queens, I asked them three times:—"Do you acknowledge that this child I hold on my arm, is the Infante En Jaime, eldest born of the Lord Infante En Ferrando of Mallorca, and son of my Lady Isabel, his wife?" And all answered yes. And this I said three times, and each time they answered that, assuredly, he was he I said he was. And when I had said this, I told the clerk to make me a public letter of it. And then I said to my Lady the Queen, mother of the Lord Infante En Ferrando:—"My Lady, do you believe that this is the Infante En Jaime, son of the Infante En Ferrando, your son, whom he had by my Lady Isabel, his wife?" "Yes, Sir," said she. And three times thus likewise, in the presence, of all, I asked her and so likewise she answered me yes, that she knew it to be so, and that "assuredly this is my dear grandson, and as such I receive him." And of that I had a public letter made, witnessed by all the aforesaid. And I said:—"My Lady, do you declare me, in your name and in that of the Lord Infante En Ferrando, worthy and loyal and acquitted of this command in all I was bound to you and to the Lord Infante En Ferrando, your son?" And she answered:—"Yes, Sir." And thus likewise I spoke three times and each time she answered that she declared me worthy and loyal and acquitted, and that she absolved me of all I was bound to towards her and her son. And of that also a letter was made.

And when all this was done, I delivered the Lord Infante to her at the proper time and she took him and kissed him more than ten times; and then my Lady the young Queen likewise kissed him more than ten times, and then my Lady the Queen took him back and delivered him to my lady Pereyona,¹⁹⁹ who was near her. And so I departed from the castle and went to where I was to lodge, namely in the house of En Pedro Batle; and this was in the morning. And after dining, I went to the castle and gave the letters I was bringing from the Lord Infante En Ferrando to my Lady the Queen, his mother, and also those I was bringing to the Lord King of

¹⁹⁹Pereyona, woman of Pereyo or Perello.

Chronicle

Mallorca,²⁰⁰ and told her all the message which had been entrusted to me. What shall I tell you? I stayed fifteen days at Perpignan and, every day, I went twice to see the Lord Infante, for my grief was so great when I parted from him, that I did not know what to do with myself; and I should have stayed there longer if it had not been that the Feast of the Nativity was approaching. And so I took leave of my Lady the Queen and of my Lady the young Queen and of the Lord Infante and of all those of the court and paid all those who had followed me and took back my Lady Agnes de Adri to her village and to her house near Bañolas. And my Lady the Queen was very pleased with me and all the others. And I went to Valencia, where my house was, and came there three days before the Nativity, in good health and cheerful, by the favour of God.

And it was not long before the Lord King of Mallorca came from France and had great pleasure in his nephew, and, at once, like a good lord, he, with my Lady the Queen, ordained his life as was suitable for the son of a king.

CCLXX

How the Lord Infante En Ferrando of Mallorca sent for knights and men afoot; and how before they came to the Morea the said Infante passed from this life and all the territory was seized by monsenyer En Juan brother of King Robert.

And much time had not gone by when the Lord Infante sent a message to the Lord King of Mallorca, to send him, through me, knights and men afoot. And my Lady the Queen and the Lord King of Mallorca sent to tell me to get ready and to provide a good company of horse and foot to take to him and that he would have about twenty thousand libras given me in Valencia for raising companies. And I provided myself with a company at once and helped many with money of my own. But fifteen days had not

²⁰⁰Sancho I.

gone by, when an order came to me by a runner, not to do anything in the matter; that Arnaldo de Caza had come from the Morea in the big ship of the Lord Infante, and that he, with the said ship, would get people in Mallorca, for he would pass that way and so, in an unlucky hour, they revoked the command and I did not go. And En Arnaldo de Caza made agreement with one man and another in Mallorca and stayed so long and delayed so much that, when he came to the Morea, the Lord Infante had passed from this life, which was the greatest loss the House of Aragon had had for a long time in the death of a king's son. And I do not say to you that that house, alone suffered loss, for the whole world did. He was the most accomplished knight and the bravest of any king's son in the world at that time, and the most upright and the wisest in all his acts. And his body was carried to Perpignan and it was well for my Lady the Queen, his mother, that she knew nothing about it, for God had taken her to His Holy Kingdom. And it can be said of her that she is a saint in Paradise, for there was not in the world another so devout and humble or a better Christian. And so she went to Paradise before she saw the mourning for her son. And the body of the Lord Infante was placed in the church of the Preachers at Perpignan. God keep his soul and put him amongst the saints in Paradise.

And, when he had died, it was not two months before 1316 the other prince died.²⁰¹ And then all the country was seized, and to-day monsenyer En Juan,²⁰² brother of King Robert, holds it. May God ill His mercy bring a time when it shall return to that Lord Infante En Jaime, whose it should be by right.²⁰³ And God grant me to see it and to enable me, a grey-haired man, to help with the small power and knowledge He has entrusted to me.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of these Lords of the House of Mallorca and shall turn to speak of the Lord King of Aragon and his sons.

²⁰¹Louis of Burgundy.

²⁰²John, Count of Gravina in Apulia.

²⁰³The Infante Jaime succeeded his uncle Sancho I as King of Mallorca in 1325, and was dispossessed of his kingdom by his cousin and brother-in-law Pedro IV of Aragon, in 1344.

Chronicle

CCLXXI

How the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon agreed to send the Infante En Alfonso, his son, to conquer the Kingdom of Sardinia and Corsica with the assistance given him by the Lord King of Mallorca with twenty galleys.

It is the truth that the Lord King of Aragon, seeing his 1322 sons grow big and tall and accomplished, convoked Cortes in the city of Gerona, at which the Lord King of Mallorca and all the barons of Catalonia were present. And there it was announced that he would send his son, the Lord Infante En Alfonso, to conquer the Kingdom of Sardinia and Corsica which should be his; because it seemed to him and his people that it was a great reproach to him that he had not conquered it, as he had called himself King of Sardinia so long.²⁰⁴ And there, in the end, all held it for well, and above all the Lord King of Mallorca offered to him to equip twenty galleys at his own expense and to provision them; and that he would send two hundred horsemen and men afoot. And when he had made this offer, all the richs homens and citizens and bishops and archbishops and abbots and priors offered him support of contributions; so that the succour the Lord King found in Catalonia was marvellous. And so, also, he came to Aragon and there likewise great offers were made to him; and the same in the Kingdom of Valencia. What shall I tell you? Every man exerted himself so much that it may be said that no lord ever had such handsome aid from his subjects as he had from his. And at once, at a suitable hour, he came to Barcelona and had sixty galleys and many armed lenys made, and hired many ships and terides and ordained that they should go with the Lord Infante, and also others from Aragon and Catalonia and from the Kingdom of Valencia and from the Kingdom of Murcia. And so, likewise, the Lord King of Mallorca had twenty new galleys made and then fitted out the knights and the other companies and he went with the chivalry and had a recruiting table set up.

²⁰⁴Sardinia and Corsica had been bestowed on Jaime II. of Aragon by Boniface VIII in 1297.

Muntaner

And as soon as the galleys were finished and the men had all been enlisted and the Lord King of Aragon and the Lord Infante En Alfonso and the Lord Infante En Pedro likewise had gone here and there settling the journey, all hastened to it as much as they could.

And it is the truth that everyone is bound to advise his lord for his good in all he is able, the great as well as the small; and if, peradventure, he is a man who cannot speak to the king, if he knows anything useful he must tell it to another who shall tell the king; or he must send and tell it him in writing; and then the Lord King is so wise, that if he recognizes that it is good, he will do it, if not, he will refrain; and he will remember that this man will have said it with a good intention and will have eased his conscience and will have done his duty. Wherefore I, when the journey was announced, made a sermon which I sent to the Lord King and to the Lord Infante by En Comi, for the ordaining of the said good expedition, which admonition you shall hear now. And he carried it to Barcelona for I was not well enough to ride or go there.

CCLXXII

Recounts the sermon which I, Ramon Muntaner, sent to the Lord King, about the expedition to Sardinia and Corsica, by way of advice to give to the Lord Infante En Alfonso, or at least to remind him of everything.

[²⁰⁵

In the name of that true God who made Heaven and the thunder,
In the metre of Guy de Nanteuil²⁰⁶ I shall make a fine sermon
To the honour and praise of the House of Aragon.

²⁰⁵This chapter is very imperfectly preserved in all the editions of the Chronicle, and only an approximate rendering can be offered.

²⁰⁶A poem by Hugo de Villeneuve of which a MS copy of the XIVth century is in Venice, in the Biblioteca Mariana. This MS had been the property of the Venetian family of Recanati. — Bofarull.

Chronicle

And in order that suitable be the salutation
Let every one of you say, if you please: the Virgin grant us
Sense and understanding to work for our good,
In this world and the next, and that to salvation
May come every count, viscount and baron
Who in this fine expedition of Sardinia, without reserve
Engages himself and his land and his property;
And follows the noble Infante En Alfonso, who is its gonfalonier,
And gives all Spain increase and glory.
From East to West and South to North
Will tremble all those who under the sceptre
Of his valiant father, King En Jaime, are not yet.
And I wish you all to know that this is the lion
Of whom the Sibyl tells us; he with the device of the pales,²⁰⁷
Will cast down the pride of many a noble manor.
Who they are I will not tell now; you well understand me.

II.

And now I wish you to know my meaning;
For all the discourse consists only
In the points which I will tell you truly.
The first is, the person who preaches to the people,
The second, the people who well hear and understand him,
The third is the moral which from the sermon results.
Then about the first, I tell you it is foolish
To send up another into the pulpit, when he knows himself
How to speak with certainty for and against his proposition
And knows how to forward his purpose.
Of the second, the people who, without murmur,
Must all listen to it very peaceably

²⁰⁷An allusion to the coat of arms of Catalonia.

Muntaner

For he knows how to turn it to their improvement.
But amongst these his preaching is worth but little,
For the Gospel says that the seed is lost
Which is cast among stones and thorns and rocks.
And the third, I tell you, should be the foundation
Of the proposition he expounds, if he tells it truthfully.
Wherefore on this I shall found my discourse and be brief
About this fine expedition which is pleasing to us all.

III.

Then, Lord Infante, as from your vassal,
Hear my reasoning, for plenty of toil
Have I seen in this world, more than any of my kind.
And therefore be pleased to consider the sea;
From it take your succours who will make many an assault.
Put no tersols into the fleet and so, successful
Will be your feats; no hauberk or helmet
Will resist you, if twenty galleys the admiral
Causes to be made, light before the wind,
In which arbalesters will go as to a dance.
Their arms will not fail them, rather, strong in the battle
You will find them when needed, like a ready tool
All that comes before them they never miss.
Have them amongst your followers, Lord; nothing more is needed;
For all are of one mind, and none quarrel among them.
And so it is the truth that the value of a crystal
Is not prized higher by any in the world than is the fine coral
Fished in Sardinia taken with the metal
They can array for you, Lord with a rope
They bring it before you all safe and bright.

Chronicle

IV.

Therefore I have begun with what concerns the sea
For he must hold the sea who wishes to conquer
The Kingdom of Sardinia and make it tremble;
And then all the world will tremble. But this you cannot do
Unless you take along your followers fresh for the attack, for the hitting.
And never with fresh tersols can a man go
If he makes them act as steersmen or arbalesters, who must ward off the
blows.
Neither should sailors in the prow or rowers be put to the test,
For arbalesters should shoot at their ease
So that by sea or by land nothing can oppose them.
And upon this theme I could speak at length,
And give good reasons it is not for me to tell.
Therefore Lord Infante, Jesus Christ guard you.
All your followers hold in high trust,
And honour; and power to the admiral give,
And let no other command there,
But he, after you, and thus honour
He will earn you in all affairs you wish to undertake.
A hundred galleys or more I know you can lead
Armed lenys, sageties²⁰⁸ more than could be imagined.

V.

Fifty ships, Lord, I know you will take with you,
Lenys, strong terides, and many other vessels,
For in all of them, thank God, you have your followers.
Therefore be the embarking pleasant and free,

²⁰⁸Ferryboats for crossing rivers; also, boats with lateen sails.

Muntaner

And let them be at Port Fangós promptly.
Let them come on a day assigned, and the big ships
Let, my Lord, be put in the bay, and then the skiffs,
In order that the enemy, always on the watch, may do you no harm
Nor damage. This I pray you: be on your guard,
For with treacherous people I tell you you will strive.
Wherefore it is necessary, Lord, that you remember
Not in their words nor in them to trust.
And all the galleys you shall keep close to the land
And so in the bay shall apparel them
To be thus ordained; and on guard you will put
Some four armed lenys, to whom a banner you will give.
This being done, then you need never fear
That hurt can do you any man whom you do not love.
Rather in God's keeping you will embark nobly.
May He give you honour and joy and all you shall wish.

VI.

And again I implore the Royal Majesty
That into each galley be ordained
Two steersmen and two men in the prow who, without any neglect,
Feed the horses, that not one be forgotten,
But that his needs be well supplied.
For the followers in the expedition, until they are used to it,
Have much to do for themselves, before they know well
Each his duty; let this be commanded them,
And so all will go fresh and rested.
And each knight be accustomed
That where his horse goes he shall be put
With all his company, in order that they be ready
With their horses all well arrayed.
And if it were done otherwise, it would be folly,
For the passage is brief; therefore, gay and content,

Chronicle

He will go with all his belongings, but if he were at a distance
He would sadly think that all was badly done
And he would not be dumb who wishes to go forward.
He who leaves his horse may consider himself lost,
He may come to a place where he will be despised.

VII.

And to increase your power you will ordain, Lord,
That the almogatenes²⁰⁹ and the other chief leaders
Of the almugavars, who are the flower of the world,
Go in the galleys, and ten companies of theirs
With each; and the others, in great bands,
Will go in the ships, wherever honour calls them.
Let victuals be ordained, according to their value,
So that all have enough, great as well as small;
And in each vessel let there be one who ordains
All those things which make welfare.
And into each ship, put, to inspire fear,
Three arbalesters de tour, and let who wishes you ill rue it.
And catapults, mangonels I pray you do not omit
Axes, layas²¹⁰ with a thousand good workmen,
You, Lord, shall take with you; and a hundred tapiadors,²¹¹
Carpenters and blacksmiths who fear not heat.
And then, with God helping, you need have no fear,
For no towns nor castles, cities, manors nor towers
But will surrender to you, if with great grief
They do not wish to die or be disgraced.

²⁰⁹Captains of the almugavars.

²¹⁰Two-pronged hoes.

²¹¹Builders of cob walls.

Muntaner

VIII.

And when this, Lord, is done and accomplished
In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost
And His sweet Mother, whom I pray not to forget you,
And all the saints with joy and delight
Keep you in their guard and hand, as the saying is.
The good King of Mallorca will make you such a feast
That all will tell you that nothing was lacking.
And after that, Lord, let all who wish cry, long and clear,
With faith: To the island of Saint Peter!
Refresh the horses if they have grown weak,
And, in the meanwhile, the fleet will get ready,
All vessels, to pass to Sardinia, great and small.
Ah ! he that sees that day will be full of joy
That so many counts and viscounts and varivesors come forth
So nobly arrayed, who heartily are pleased
To serve the most high Lord Infante, who is blessed
By all who see him, and is the most gallant man
Ever born, whom none have ever seen cast down
And, in deeds of arms, I know there is none stronger.

IX.

All the knights who with you will go
Are your countrymen and valiant and strong,
All of honourable birth; there is no deceit in them
And they are two thousand of which no king can boast
That he has any as good, and there will be at the same time
Ten thousand almugavars who will always follow you
And many other retainers who will not ask
That you give them nought of your own, for in their hearts they have
No other wish than to serve you, as being truly
Your subjects and this they will show

Chronicle

If anyone opposes your demands.
Then, Lord, when all shall be in Sardinia,
In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost,
Proceed to go by land to Cagliari, destroying
Towns, castles and cities which do not obey you.
At the same time the fleet to the said castle goes
And, within the palisade they shall find in the port,
They put themselves in line, as I have said before.
And you shall see arbalesters attacking the walls
Who down from the air would bring a little bird as it flies.

X.

And whoever is within Cagliari
Will have his heart gladdened when lands
The valiant admiral En Carros and puts on shore
So many brave Catalans who will have come by sea.
Cagliari will say nothing to us, for all the world will tremble.
No one can show me that, since the world was made,
Any man has made such an expedition with his own men only,
Without putting in any man else, nor bringing with him
Any but people of his country. Then, what king could
Come forward who could do anything against him?
Ah, when they see, at Cagliari, the standard appear
Up high on the mountain, fluttering so bright
And behind it all the host with many a banner
Of many an honourable man following it!
And after marching, I know his camp he will pitch,
The illustrious Lord Infante, who will greatly rejoice,
When by surrender or by force Cagliari he will enter.
And henceforth my advice I shall cease
For it will not be needed, for no one will know better
Than each man in his counsel, and God Who will guide him.

XI.

One thing, Lord, remember if you please;
Do not forget what I shall tell you ;
That you leave no man of the Communes neither here nor there,
Neither in castle nor in town; and I shall not be silent about it,
For it would not be right that I should be, because their heart true
Never will be; wherefore I will show clearly
Much of their wickedness which in my time I have seen;
For to the virtuous King, your Father, they have given many a strong proof
And to the virtuous King Fadrique they have caused dismay.
Covertly like thieves they do everything, so wickedly,
And recovered Monaco, whereat they were most joyful
To all your ancestors they were traitors.
Surely God will make them pay dearly, confounding them in this world.
From their false protestations there never comes
Naught but betrayed trust, and otherwise you will never find it.
But the Sardinians descend from your people here,
Wherefore show them favour, being their light and guide,
For they will be loyal. And I wish to tell you
In Corsica to put people from near Moncayo
And from the mountains, of whom each should be proved.

XII.

Now I wish to conclude my admonition
And I pray God, Who is Light and true Splendour
That the noble Lord Infante be in His keeping,
And counts and viscounts, barons and all the prelates
Who go with him and all the Bernardine monks;
And that shortly, with great joy, he send
Good news to his father, the virtuous King, who much
Anxiety will have, until he knows the true facts.

Chronicle

Then, Lords and Ladies, who are listening to this sermon,
Pray to God that a good issue come
To the houses of all friends and intimates.
And in order that this should from God be obtained
Let all stand up and all say
Of Paternosters three for the Holy Trinity,
In honour of His Mother who was without sin,
That she entreat her dear Son, that it be granted to us
And that the name of Aragon be exalted,
And that neither Pisans nor others may treachery
Carry out or ordain, and that Saint George going by the side
Of the noble Lord Infante, be his companion.

And, assuredly, I sent this sermon to the Lord King of Aragon and the Lord Infante En Alfonso, in order that they should remember what it was necessary they should do. And if so be that my advice was not adequate, at least it was to remind them of things; and so it was good, for one advice brings another, a better one; for everyone speaks for or against. And there, by the grace of God, all I said in that sermon was carried out, except two things, of which I was greatly displeased and am still and shall be always. The first was that, as the twenty light galleys were not made, the admiral and the host suffered much annoyance and contempt from the Pisan and Genoese galleys, which they would not have suffered if they had had twenty light galleys. And the other was that, when the Lord Infante had landed with all his chivalry and men afoot, he did not go straight to Cagliari, he by land and the fleet by sea though the fleet, in fact, did go. If all had come to Cagliari together, by sea and by land, they would have taken it at once, before taking Iglesias, and the men would all have remained well and fresh, for they would have had with them all their goods and all their victuals and wine and medicines and preserves, which they carried in the galleys, whereas, in Iglesias, they had nothing they could use. And, so, only these two things I regretted greatly; but, nevertheless, by the favour of God, all turned out well. But it might have been well and better.

CCLXIII

How the Lord Infante En Alfonso departed from Port Fangós and landed at Palmas dels Sols where the judge of Arborea and a great number of Sardinians received him as their lord and how he sent the admiral to besiege Cagliari.

It is the truth that when the Lord King and the Lords Infantes had collected and reckoned in their kingdoms all that was needed for the journey, the Lord King, together with them, ordained that, on a day assigned, all men should come to Port Fangós by sea and by land. And on this day which was ordained, and even before, every man came there. The people were so willing to go that it was not necessary to seek them in the country, but all came whom the Lord King and the Lord Infante had ordained. And I should not say those who were ordained to go, for three times as many came. And this was well shown at the embarkation, for more than twenty thousand men of arms had to remain behind, for neither the ships nor the galleys nor the lenys nor the terides could carry them. And so, with the grace of God, all embarked and the Lord King and my Lady the Queen and all the Infantes came to Port Fangós. And the Lord Infante En Alfonso took leave of the Lord King, his father, and of my Lady the Queen and of the Infantes, and so likewise did my Lady the Infanta. And the Lord King accompanied them to the armed barge where they assembled and embarked; and my Lady the Queen did the same. And so, at the suitable hour, the Lord Infante and my Lady the Infanta, his wife, embarked and everyone proceeded to do the same. And on that day they had fine weather and set sail. And when they were in the waters of Mahon, the twenty galleys of Mallorca and the ships and terides and lenys joined them. And the Lord King and my Lady the Queen stayed that day on the seashore, looking at them until they had lost sight of them, and then they went to the city of Tortosa and the other people all went home.

And the Lord Infante En Alfonso had fine weather and assembled all the fleet at the island of San Pietro. And when they were all assembled they

Chronicle

went to Palmas dels Sols and there all the chivalry and the almugavars landed. And, immediately, the judge of Arborea²¹² came there with all his power, to receive him as lord, and a great number of all the Sardinians of the island and those of the city of Sassari surrendered to him. And there they made an agreement, by the advice of the Judge, that the Lord Infante should go and besiege Iglesias. And this the judge did because, from Iglesias, much hurt had been done to his land, greater than from Cagliari or any other place. And so the Lord Infante set up his siege before Iglesias and sent the admiral with all the fleet to besiege the castle of Cagliari, with viscount Rocaberti who was already besieging it with two hundred armed horsemen and two thousand men afoot, whom the Lord Infante had sent previously in ships from Barcelona. And they sat down before Cagliari and were already holding it so closely that every day they captured men out of it and had taken from them a great part of the huerta. And when the admiral arrived you may reckon that, what between him and the viscount, they pressed them hard. And there were, within, over three hundred horsemen and full two thousand men afoot.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of the viscount and the admiral who agreed very well in all things, as they were cousins-german, and must turn to speak to you of the Lord Infante.

CCLXXIV

How the Lord Infante En Alfonso took Iglesias and went to besiege the castle of Cagliari and erected opposite the said castle of Cagliari another castle, with another town, called castle Bonaire.

When the Lord Infante was besieging Iglesias he attacked it every day and shot with catapults and constrained them in such manner that they had plenty of misfortune and so much distress that, assuredly, they did not

²¹²Sardinia was divided into four judicatures. each under a judge who was a veritable sovereign.

know what to do. But the Lord Infante and all his host likewise had so much sickness, that the greater part of his followers died of illnesses and he, himself, was very ill. Assuredly he would have been in great danger of dying, if it had not been for the great care of my Lady the Infanta. To God and her all must be grateful for his life.

But, however ill the Lord Infante was, for no physician or other man, would he leave the siege; rather, many times with the fever upon him he would put on his armour and order an attack. By his good endeavour and his expertness in chivalry he reduced the town to such a state that it surrendered to him. So the Lord Infante and my Lady the Infanta and all the host entered the city of Iglesias and garrisoned the fort well with our people, and left there those it seemed to the Lord Infante should be left; and so he left a commander there and also one at the city of Sassari. And then he came to Cagliari and built, opposite the castle of Cagliari, a castle with a town and gave it the name of Bonaire. And he besieged Cagliari so closely that not a single man dared come out, wherefore it can clearly be seen that, if he had come there first, he would have taken Cagliari more quickly than he took Iglesias. What shall I tell you? They of Cagliari suffered great trouble and were awaiting succours which were to come from Pisa, which succour arrived a few days after the Lord Infante had entered Cagliari.

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CCLXXV

How count Ner came to succour Cagliari with full eight hundred German knights and four hundred Pisans and six thousand men afoot and thirty galleys; and how they fought with the Lord Infante En Alfonso, and the count fled and all the Germans and Pisans were killed and the count died a short time after from the wounds he had received.

And the succour was this: that the count Ner²¹³ came as captain and brought full twelve hundred horsemen, amongst whom were eight hundred German knights. who are considered the most accomplished knights of the world, and the others were Pisans; and he brought full six thousand men afoot with some wicked Sardinians who joined them and who were from the country towards Cabo Terra; and also of those retainers of Tuscany and Mantua with long lances, each one of whom is considered as good as a knight; and thirty-six galleys, what between Pisans and Genoese; and many terides and lenys which were carrying knights and horses. And they came to Cabo Terra and there set on shore the chivalry and all the foot-soldiers and three hundred cross-bowmen who were there.

And when they had set them on shore, all the shipping went to the island of Rosa, where there is a good harbour, and the terides were all fortified with castles and were placed in the bay ready for defence. And when this was done the galleys went towards the castle of Cagliari and the Lord Infante had thirty galleys armed, and no more; and he, in person, went on board the galleys and issued forth to fight with the Pisans and the Genoese and many terides and lenys which were there; but they were so

²¹³Villani says he was the son of Count Nieri (syncope of Raynieri or Rayner) who was then the chief lord of the Commune of Pisa, and Captain General of their household troops. In other histories and chronicles, amongst them in the Chronicle of Don Pedro IV, he is called Manfred, son of Guido. Both Count Raynieri and Count Guido were of the family of the counts of Donoratico, and it is by that name that he is mentioned by Moisé and Buchon. – Bofarull.

courteous that they did not wish to await them, rather they went away as a good horse goes away from before foot-soldiers. All that day they kept at this, that, when the Lord Infante made his men row, they fled, and then returned when they liked. The Lord Infante saw that he could not alter this; he left the galleys and ordained how every part of the siege should be carried on. Within the castle there were full five hundred horsemen, and over two hundred who had entered, who had been at Iglesias. And so the force within was great; wherefore the Lord Infante thought that, on no account, would he let those who had come join those within, and he established the siege in such wise that, if any within issued out to succour those without, the besiegers could prevent it. And whilst the Lord Infante was ordaining this, the galleys of the Pisans and the Genoese came to where the galleys of the Lord Infante were. And the admiral En Carrós dismantled all his galleys, except twenty, into which he mounted, thinking they would accept battle; but this they would not do. The admiral sent them a message that, if they wished to fight him, he would meet them with fifteen galleys; but that they would not do either. And then the Lord Infante and the admiral recognized that they lacked the twenty light galleys which I had said in my sermon they ought to have, for, assuredly, if they had had them, even forty Pisan or Genoese galleys had not dared to come; for, whilst those twenty had occupied them, the others would have attacked them in the rear. And so you can understand what a mistake that was. Now I shall cease to speak to you of the galleys and must turn to speak to you of the Lord Infante and his enemies.

When the Lord Infante had ordained with the admiral the matter of the sea and of the siege, and that the admiral should be commander of all, he decided who should go with him. He did not wish to have with him more than four hundred armed horses and fifty men on light horses and about two thousand men afoot, what between almugavars and retainers.

And in the night he issued forth from the siege and placed himself where count Ner had to pass to go to the castle; and all night he stayed in battle array. And at dawn they saw count Ner coming, his men formed in line, marching as well as ever you saw men march in battle array. And the Lord Infante, who saw them likewise ordained his battle and gave the van

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to a nobleman of Catalonia, called. En G. de Anglesola, and he, with his banner, with all the chivalry, came in close formation with all the soldiery on foot in the van where he saw the others had theirs. What shall I tell you? The hosts approached each other and count Ner, by the advice of an expert German knight called Horigo, who had come out of Iglesias and knew the Lord Infante, ordained that twelve knights should be at the orders of the said German, Horigo, and should have no other object than the person of the Lord Infante. But likewise it was ordained that twelve men afoot should not leave the stirrup of the Lord Infante, and that well-known knights should guard his person and his banner, for the Lord Infante did not leave his banner. What shall I tell you? When the hosts were near each other, each proceeded to attack most vigorously; no more cruel battle could ever be seen, nor one in which one came against the other so resolutely. The Germans and our chivalry became so mingled that the twelve knights with the German, Horigo, came to where the Lord Infante was. And the Lord Infante, who knew that they were coming specially for him, gave the first of them such a blow with his lance, that he thrust it right through him, so that he cast him dead to the ground. And then he seized his mace and rushed upon another and gave him such a blow on the helmet he was wearing that his brains issued out of his ears. What shall I tell you? With his mace he cast four men dead to the ground. And then the mace broke and he seized his sword, and cleared such a space for himself that nothing could resist him. And when seven knights of the twelve saw that the other five had been killed by the hand of the Lord Infante, and saw the marvels he was performing, they agreed that they would all attack his horse and bring him to the ground, And so they did; all seven together attacked his horse and killed it and the Lord Infante fell to the ground together with the horse; and, at this same juncture, they killed the horse of his standard bearer, and the standard fell to the ground. And when the Lord Infante fell to the ground, his sword fell out of his hand in the fall. He kept hold of only half; the other half was gone; it had broken in two pieces. But he did not lose his presence of mind, rather he freed himself from the horse which was lying upon him. He was very strong and the bravest knight in deeds of arms of any in the world. He drew the bordon he wore in a belt and, seeing

his banner on the ground, bordon in hand he went to lift it up; he raised it and held it in his embrace. And upon this, one of his knights, called En Boxadors, dismounted from his horse and went and took the banner, and gave up his horse to the Lord Infante; and the Lord Infante mounted at once and made two knights take the banner. And when he had raised the banner and had mounted, he saw before him the seven knights and recognised the German, Horigo, and with the knob of the bordon fixed against his chest, he rushed towards him and gave him such a blow in the middle of the chest that he pierced him through and through, and he fell dead to the ground, so that he could never go back to Germany to tell news of this battle. What shall I tell you? When the said Horigo's companions saw him dead, they wanted to flee, but they fled towards the Lord Infante and those who were with him, in such wise that all twelve remained there, and of these twelve, seven died by the hand of the Lord Infante.

And, when these had been killed, the Lord Infante rushed on with his banner and then might you see feats of arms, for never could so great a deed be seen performed by so few men. In this attack the Lord Infante met count Ner, and hit him so hard through the first quarter of his shield with a lance he had taken from a retainer of his, that he cast him to the ground. And this was a great feat of arms. By sheer force the Gel mans and Pisans mounted count Ner who had more than ten wounds. And, when he found himself on horseback, he left the battle with about ten horsemen, whilst the press was great, and fled to the castle of Cagliari. And he found the chivalry of the castle of Cagliari, full five hundred men, outside, awaiting what would happen they dared not go forth to the battle, because if they did, the admiral En Carros would immediately attack them in the rear. And the admiral could not leave the siege either, and so they had all plenty to do. When they of Cagliari saw count Ner they held their cause for lost. What shall I tell you? The battle was very hard; the Germans and the Pisans suddenly drew away to seize a hill, but the Lord Infante and his men did so also, so that it seemed like a tournament, and they watched each other. Now I shall speak to you of the men afoot.

When the almugavars and the retainers saw the battle of the knights begin, about two hundred proceeded to break their lances in half and went

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amongst the knights to hamstring horses; and others attacked the footsoldiers so vigorously that each one threw down one with his dart, and then they threw themselves upon them in such wise that, in a few hours, they had them discomfited or dead. Thus full two thousand men were drowned in the marsh and the others were all killed, and of those who fled or hid among the bushes when they entered the island, or wherever they were found, not one was taken alive, for they were all killed.

And when the Lord Infante and his men had rested a little, they rushed in close formation upon the enemy, and the enemy did the same, except about eighty horsemen of count Ner who, not finding him while the battle was hard and cruel, fled to Cagliari; but the others fought on, And if the first assault in the battle had been vigorous, more vigorous still was that of the second, with so few people. The Lord Infante was wounded in it, in the face, by a bordon. And when he saw the blood run down his face, I need not tell you he was provoked to an angry mood; no lion ever went for those who had wounded him as he did for these men. What shall I tell you? He made great thrusts with his bordon. Woe to him he reached, for one blow was enough. What shall I tell you? He went about the field, now here, now there, nothing could resist him; he and all his men fought vigorously, all did well, richs homens, knights and citizens. The others were all dead and vanquished; there did not escape, what with those who entered Cagliari and those who fled to their ships, more than two hundred. And these likewise would not have escaped, if it had not been the doubt the Lord Infante had of the siege. And so the Lord Infante and his men searched the field, and, with great joy and great gain, returned to the host. And the fleet of the Pisans turned, full of grief, and fled and they came to Pisa with their bad news, which they brought themselves. And the Lord Infante sent an armed leny to Catalonia, to the Lord King, his father, and let him know all the event as it had happened, and requested him to send him twenty light galleys, because of the great insults he had had to endure from the galleys of the Pisans.

And when the Lord Infante had returned to the siege, I need not tell you whether he pressed Cagliari hard. All the Sardinians who were in the island surrendered to him. And the judge of Arborea came there with all

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his power on the second day after the battle and had great joy and pleasure in the victory God had given to the Lord Infante. Nevertheless he was much displeased that he and his men had not been there, but, assuredly, it was not his fault, for when the Lord Infante had taken Iglesias, by his leave the judge returned to his property to visit his places and, as soon as he had visited them, he assembled his forces and came to Cagliari. You may therefore understand that he remained away from the battle for two days; however, when he came to the host of the Lord Infante with all his power, the Lord Infante and he and the admiral and the other richs homens between them pressed Cagliari so hard that those within were on the point of death. A day came when those within saw count Ner had died of the wounds he had received in the battle; and of those who had entered Cagliari, there were few who were not carrying a royal device on their bodies, namely the royal device of the fair lance cuts and fair sword cuts which the men of the Lord Infante had given them. And with such device had count Ner and the others fled from the battle.

CCLXXVI

How they of Cagliari thought to enter Castle Bonaire but the Lord Infante En Alfonso discomfited them; and of the crime they of Cagliari committed against En Gilabert de Centellas and other knights; and how the Pisans resolved to make peace with the Lord Infante En Alfonso.

And when they of Cagliari saw count Ner dead and themselves in such disaster, they, one very hot day, at noon, when they of the host of castle Bonaire and the Lord Infante and the others were sleeping or eating, put armour on their horses and apparelled, horse and foot, issued forth, without they of the siege at Bonaire knowing anything about it. The first to see them were Catalan fishermen, who saw them come down from the castle of Cagliari and, began to cry:—"At them! to arms! to arms!" The Lord Infante, who had been sleeping with his épaulières on, heard the cry and put on his iron cap and seized his shield and hung it round his neck. He always had two of his horses ready saddled, and he mounted one; and

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the first to be at the gate of the siege was he, but soon there were with him more than two thousand followers, what with almugavars and retainers and seamen; and so likewise knights attended him, some in armour and some without. The Catalans and Aragonese have that advantage over other people, that the horsemen, whenever they are engaged in a war, go about with the épaulières on and their iron caps near at hand, and they keep their horses ready saddled. And as soon as they hear a disturbance, they have nothing more to do but to take their shields and their iron caps, and they mount their horses and consider themselves as well armed as the other knights wearing hauberk or cuirass. And the men afoot all keep their lance and their dart at the door of their lodging or tent and at once run to the lance or dart when they hear anything, and as soon as they have their lance or dart they are fully armed. And so, when they heard the noise, they were at once upon the enemy, so that to say and to do was all one. They of Cagliari had expected they would be as long putting on their armour and arraying themselves as they were themselves, wherein they found they were mistaken. The Lord Infante with the chivalry came thus to meet them and it was unfortunate for the Pisans that they had come so far expecting to enter the gate of castle Bonaire. The Lord Infante attacked them so vigorously that, soon, they of the castle of Cagliari had to turn. Should I tell you more about it? The Lord Infante with the admiral, who is of the most accomplished knights of the world, and with the others proceeded to overthrow horses and to attack with lances, and when the lances were broken, you would have seen them giving, mace in hand, the most desperate blows of the world. And of the footsoldiers I need not tell you; they did nothing but transfix horsemen and men afoot with their lances. And they did so much that, of full five hundred horse who had issued forth and full three thousand foot. there did not remain two hundred horsemen; for all the rest had been killed. And of men afoot not a hundred escaped, and if they had had a larger field, and had not reached the castle of Cagliari so soon, not one would have escaped. And so this fight was as good as the battle which destroyed those of the castle of Cagliari, and you may understand with what ardour they of the Lord Infante came to the fight when En Gilabert de Centellas and others entered Cagliari mingled with

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the enemy, hitting and stabbing, remembering nothing else, but only to attack. In consequence of which the Pisans committed a great crime, for, after they had made them prisoners, they killed them. And such crimes they and all men of the Communes are ready to commit; it displeases God, Who commiserates them.

And when the Lord Infante had driven them to the gates of the castle of Cagliari, he returned to the siege, cheerful and content. And those within were in great grief and at once sent messengers to Pisa and let them know all that had happened and bid them send them help, for, thenceforth, they did not see that they could defend themselves against the power of the Lord Infante. And when they of Pisa heard this news, they held themselves for undone and, at once, thought they were altogether lost if they did not in some manner make peace with the Lord King of Aragon and the Lord Infante. And in this opinion, in which all agreed, they appointed messengers to whom they gave full powers to negotiate this peace.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of them and shall speak of the Lord King of Aragon.

CCLXXVII

How the Lord King of Aragon sent the Lord Infante En Alfonso twenty light galleys; and how a messenger of the Pisans negotiated a peace with micer Barnabo Doria who made himself spokesman for the peace between the Commune of Pisa and the Lord Infante.

When the Lord King of Aragon had received the news which the Lord Infante sent him of the battle he had won, he had, at once, twenty light galleys built at Barcelona and at Valencia And, incontinent, he started the twenty galleys and had an enlisting table put up at Barcelona for eight galleys, and for two at Tarragona, and at Tortosa for two more, and at Valencia for eight, which eight galleys of Valencia the honourable En Jaime Escriva and I, Ramon Muntaner, were commissioned to equip. And so it was effected; within eight days the said eight galleys Of Valencia were equipped and went to Barcelona. And whilst they were going to Barcelona

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all the others got ready, and it was ordained by the Lord King that the commander of them should be the honourable En Pedro de Belloch, an accomplished and expert knight who lives at Vallés. And the said twenty galleys departed from Barcelona and in a few days came to Cagliari. And when the Lord Infante saw them he had great joy and pleasure in them; and they of Cagliari held themselves for lost, for they saw well that, thenceforth, they could have no hope of help, neither from Pisan nor Genoese galleys, for these twenty galleys would cut them off from all the world. And, meanwhile, the messenger from Pisa had come, and arranged with micer Barnabo Doria who had made himself spokesman for the peace between the Commune of Pisa and the Lord Infante En Alfonso.

CCLXXVIII

How peace was made between the Lord Infante En Alfonso and the Pisans and with what covenants; and how they of Bonifacio and other places in Corsica did homage to the Lord Infante En Alfonso.

In the end many things were discussed about the peace, and the Lord Infante would never consent to a peace between them, if they did not surrender the castle of Cagliari to him; and, in the end, peace was concluded in this way: that the Commune of Pisa should hold the castle of Cagliari from the Lord King of Aragon, and should be his vassals, and that they should give it him, *Postat, Hirat, Popagat*,²¹⁴ whenever the Lord King

²¹⁴The “right of entry into a castle in peace and war (*potestas irati et paccati*) is a condition frequently attached to James’ grants, together with a stipulation for the service of a certain number of knights and the reservation of justice of blood.” —James the First of Aragon, F. D. Swift, p. 136, note 2.

Bofarull, however, says: “*Postat hirat pagat* is no right, as some of the foreign translators have understood, but is the conditional clause of the surrender, found in many feudal documents, by which the acceptor promises to keep the castle for the overlord in war (*ira*) as in peace (*pace*); therefore these words are nothing more than the transcription, more or less fanciful, of ‘*potestas*’ and of the barbarous latin words ‘*iratus*’ et ‘*paccatus*,’ which occur very frequently in feudal documents.”

or the Lord Infante or their procurators wish it, and so likewise to all those who come after them; and again that the Commune of Pisa renounced all claim they had to the island of Sardinia or to any place in the island. And, again that, at the castle of Cagliari, there should remain no boundaries whatever, except the huerta at the foot of it, namely, a part of the huerta in front and the other part should belong to Castle Bonaire. And again, that no trading whatever be allowed in the castle of Cagliari, except between Pisans; again, that no leny be allowed to enter the harbour, except Pisan lenys; again, that no Sardinian should be allowed to come there to buy or sell anything, rather that they of the Castle of Cagliari be obliged to come and buy all things at Castle Bonaire; and again, that the Pisans should be bound to support the Lord King and his men against all men who would wish to do them damage in the island of Sardinia. And the Lord Infante promised them that, like other merchants, they should trade throughout the island of Sardinia, and throughout all the other places and territories of the Lord King of Aragon, as other strangers do; and that they should pay the same dues as Catalan merchants pay at Pisa.

And when all this was signed and sworn on both sides, the banner of the Lord King of Aragon with a hundred knights of the Lord Infante entered the castle of Cagliari and was placed on the highest tower of the said castle.²¹⁵

²¹⁵Two treaties of peace were made; one during the siege on the 13th of the Kalends of July 1325 (Incarnation) at the house in which the Infante was lodged, between the Infante and the ambassadors of the Communes; and the other between the Communes, the Infante and the King at Barcelona on the 7th of the Kalends of May 1326. "Secundum morem Barchinone Dominice vero Incarnationis anno 1327 indicione nona Secundum morem civitatis Pisse." In the first treaty, which is the one mentioned in the text, Bene, Syndic of the Communes, cedes, in their name, to the Infante Castra et fortalicia de Aqua freda de Terranova Villapetrese et omnia alia fortalicia que hodie tenentur en dicta insula Sardinie pro Comune Pise et absolvit omnes homines dicte insule ab omni fidelitate et sacramento quibus tenentur ipsi Comuni et mandabit eis quod deinceps obediant dicto Domino Infanti et sucesoribus suis perpetuo tanquam eorum Domino et sibi homagium faciant et fidelitatis juramentum. – Bofarull.

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And so the peace was signed and sworn and the gates of the castle were kept open, and everyone could enter. And the Pisans and the Pullis²¹⁶ of Cagliari did likewise amongst the host and at the castle of Bonaire. And when this was done, the Lord Infante sent the honourable En Boxados to Pisa with the messenger from Pisa, in order that the Commune should approve and grant all that had been done; and they thus approved and granted.

And when they of Corsica knew this, they of Bonifacio and of the other places in Corsica came to the Lord Infante and did homage to him. And so the Lord Infante was lord of all Sardinia and Corsica. If you consider it well, it was much better for him that the Commune of Pisa should become his feudary and the Pisans his vassals, than if he had possessed the castle of Cagliari. And besides, castle Bonaire was peopled in such manner that, before five months had gone by, it was walled and full of new houses, and there were in it, of Catalans only, over sixty thousand men of arms. Wherefore, henceforth, castle Bonaire will always be superior to the castle of Cagliari, should the Pisans want to rebel.

CCLXXIX

How the Lord Infante En Alfonso returned to Catalonia and left the noble En Felipe de Saluça as procurator-general and the noble En Berenguer Carros as commander of Castle Bonaire and Pedro de Lebia and Agustin de Costa as treasurers of the island.

And when this was done the Lord Infante, at the advice of the judge of Arborea, departed from the villages and towns and left there, as procurator-general, the noble En Felipe de Saluça, to administer his affairs with the advice of the Judge. And he left, as commander of the castle of Bonaire and all that district, the noble En Berenguer Carros, son of the

²¹⁶Either the inhabitants of the suburb called La Pula, or natives of Apulia inhabiting the City. — Bofarull.

admiral, and he left En Semanat as commander of Sassari, and then did the same in each of the other places. And he left, as treasurers of the island, the honourable En Pedro de Lebia and Agustin de Costa, a citizen of Mallorca. And, when he had ordained and settled every place, as well of Sardinia as of Corsica, he left the noble En Felipe de Saluça with about three hundred horsemen of the followers in our pay and likewise, of those afoot, there remained about a thousand in the pay of the Lord King. And all this done, he took leave of the judge and of the noble En Felipe de Saluça and of the noble En Berenguer Carros and of the others and embarked with my Lady the Infanta, with all the host and all the fleet, and returned to Catalonia, in good health and cheerful, with great honour. And he landed at Barcelona where he found the Lord King and my Lady the Queen and the Lord Infante En Juan, archbishop of Toledo, his brother, and the Lord Infante En Pedro and the Lord Infante En Ramon Berenguer and the Lord Infante En Felipe, son of the Lord King of Mallorca, and all the chiefs of Catalonia who had assembled to ordain succours to be sent to the Lord Infante in Sardinia. And when the Lord Infante and my Lady the Infanta had landed there, on the sea-shore, the Lord King and all the Infantes and my Lady the Queen came there and received them there with great honours. What shall I tell you? At Barcelona and throughout Catalonia and Aragon and the Kingdom of Valencia and the Kingdom of Murcia and in Mallorca and Roussillon the feast was very great which all the people made on the arrival of the Lord Infante and my Lady the Infanta. And there the Lord King and the Lord Infante bestowed many gifts and favours on all those who had come with the Lord Infante and all returned amongst their friends, cheerful and content.

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CCLXXX

How the Lord King En Sancho of Mallorca passed from this life and left as heir his nephew, the Infante Jaime, son of the Lord Infante En Ferrando, and how he was buried at Perpignan in the church of Saint John.

It was not long after this that the Lord King of Mallorca fell ill. And he had gone, for the hot weather, to Cerdagne, to a place in which he delighted much, called Formigueres, [1325] and there he passed from this life, which was a great loss, for never was a lord born in whom there was more truth and justice than in him. And it can be said of him what it would be difficult to say of any other, that, at no time, was there in him any rancour or anger against his neighbour, and this is the truth. And he made his will and left the kingdom and all his territory and all his treasure to his nephew, the Lord Infante En Jaime, son of the Lord Infante En Ferrando. And if the said Infante should die without male children of lawful wedlock, all should go to the other son the Lord Infante had, by the second wife whom he married after he had taken Clarenza, the niece of the King of Cyprus, whom he sent for and married, who was and is still of the most beautiful ladies of the world, and of the best and wisest; and he took her, like the other, a child and a maiden; she was not more than fifteen years old. He did not live with her more than a year, but, in that year, he had a son by her, whom the lady keeps in Cyprus. And when the Lord Infante had passed from this life, she returned to Cyprus with two armed galleys. And so the Lord King[^] of Mallorca entailed the kingdom on that Infante, if the other Infante should die, which God forbid; rather, may God give him life and honour as long as he lives, as to one who is the wisest child for his years born within the last five hundred years. And further, the said Lord King En Sancho of Mallorca made a clause, that, if both should die without male children born in lawful wedlock, the kingdom and all the territory should return to the Lord King of Aragon. And so, when he had died, they brought him from Formigueres to Perpignan, where he had bequeathed his body to the cathedral called Saint John's. And there the funeral was made

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very splendidly, as was due to such a lord as he was. And as soon as he was buried, they set the Lord Infante En Jaime upon the said royal throne and, from that day onwards, he took the title and was called King of Mallorca and count of Roussillon and Conflans and Lord of Montpellier; wherefore, henceforth, when I shall speak of him, I shall call him King of Mallorca, to whom may God give life and health for His service and preserve him to his peoples. Amen.

Now I shall cease to speak of him and must turn speak to you of the Lord King of Sicily.

CCLXXXI

How the Lord King of Aragon surrendered Reggio and the other castles which the Lord King of Sicily had in Calabria to the Holy Apostolic Father to hold in trust; and how the Apostolic Father shortly after surrendered them to King Robert whereat the said Lord King of Sicily was greatly displeased.

It is the truth that the Lord King of Sicily had the city of Reggio in Calabria and the castle of Santa Agata and the castle of Gaylano and the castle of Mota and other places. And it was ordained in the treaty of peace which the Lord King of Aragon negotiated between the Lord King of Sicily and King Robert, that that should be done about these castles which the Lord King of Aragon should think well. The said castles and the city of Reggio were put into the hands of the Lord King of Aragon; he sent knights of his to hold them for him, but, a short time after, he amended this and wished that this city of Reggio and those castles and places which the Lord King of Sicily had in Calabria should be delivered to the Holy Father and, by him, to whoever he wished, but the Holy Father to hold them in trust in such manner that, if ever King Robert fought against the King of Sicily, he was bound to return those castles and that city to the Lord King of Sicily, in order that he should make use of them. And again, there were other covenants which I need not recount. And when all this was done and the Pope held the castles, much time did not go by before the Holy Father, like

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a virtuous lord, thinking in good faith that no evil could arise on any side, had the city of Reggio and the other places delivered to King Robert. And when King Robert had the said places he had great pleasure thereat, and the Lord King of Sicily, when he knew it, was greatly displeased; but nevertheless he had to suffer it, and especially as there was peace between them and they remained long at peace, and King Robert ruled the said places, well.

CCLXXXII

How the galleys of King Robert broke the tunny nets of Sicily, wherefore war broke out again between the Lord King of Sicily and King Robert; and how the said King Robert sent his son the Duke to Sicily with a great force but he had to return to Calabria without having gained anything.

Afterwards, as the devil works all evil, war broke out again between these two lords. Whose the guilt was, it is not for me to decide; for concerning such lords, one should speak nought but all the good he knows; and so I do not wish to say, nor ought to say, on whose side was the fault, but no more than that war began again when the galleys of King Robert again broke the tunny nets of Sicily and took lenys and merchant barges which belonged to Sicily; and then those of Sicily did the same to those of King Robert. The Lord King of Sicily sent En Blasco de Alagon and En Berenguer Senesterra and other richs homens and knights to Calabria and they raided a great part of Calabria and took Terranova by assault and sacked it and other places; and then they returned to Sicily, cheerful and content, with great gain. And so behold war established again.

And when things were thus, King Robert made great preparations for passing into Sicily and the Lord King En Fadrique prepared himself very well, for he knew how to defend himself, and he garrisoned the cities of Messina and Palermo and Trapani and all the coast places very well. And he also had all the inhabitants of manors inland put into the towns and castles which were strong and well defended. And so the island was well prepared for defence. And the Lord King ordained Catalan and Aragonese

chivalry, who were not to separate from the appointed richs homens and knights. And also, it was likewise ordained that they were not to separate from the Lord King En Pedro, his son, and that all of them should be prepared to succour and aid wherever it was necessary. And so likewise he ordained that micer Simon de Vallguarnera, a knight of Peralada who had served him for a long time, should go about all the island with a hundred horsemen and two hundred almugavars, and should go to whatever place King Robert should come to with his force.

And when this was done and ordained, before long King Robert sent his son, the Duke,²¹⁷ with all his forces, to be head and chief in Sicily. And he landed before Palermo, at the Admiral's bridge, and there were a hundred and twenty-four armed galleys and six great ships and many terides and many lenys and barges; and there were altogether three thousand armed horse and innumerable men afoot. And when they were on shore and had been plundering for three days, they approached the city, and this was in the month of June of the year 1325. And, within, were the count of Claramunt and Don Blasco de Alagon and other richs homens and knights, and En Simon de Vallguarnera who, as soon as he saw them land at Palermo, came into the city with the hundred horsemen and two hundred almugavars who were with him. And if ever you have seen a city well ordained for defence, Palermo was that. Those within ordained that no man should appear on the wall when the enemy erected their ladders and cranes and other engines they had made for the attack, but that, when the ladders and the other engines were put up and the men were on them, suddenly the trumpets and. nakers should sound and every man should attack the enemy with stones, balisters de tour and balisters with crossfoot lever and with pitch and liquid tar and fire; and so it was fulfilled in this way: on the third day after landing they approached the wall and put up their ladders and their engines. And when the men were on them, as you have heard before, they of the city threw themselves upon them in such manner that, on that day, there died the admiral of the twenty-five armed

²¹⁷Charles. Duke of Calabria.

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galleys which were there from the city of Genoa, and there died with him more than a thousand Genoese, and so, likewise, there died, of the other persons, over two thousand; they had a lesson which will always be remembered. And after this disastrous day, they remained three days without going near the wall of the city, and on the fourth day they came, prepared to offer battle.

And if they had had an unsuccessful fight on the first day, this one was much worse, for there likewise they lost many people.

And so the Duke saw that he could do nothing; he departed thence displeased and went, by sea and by land, to Mazzara. And before he reached it, micer Simon de Vallguarnera had entered it with his company, and he at once issued out to fight them. What shall I tell you? They also tried to attack Mazzara and there as well they took great damage. And then they departed from Mazzara and went to Sciacca; and there likewise, micer Simon de Vallguarnera had entered with his company before they reached it, and there likewise they took great damage. What shall I tell you? Departing from Sciacca, they came to Caltabellota and to Cattolica and Girgenti and then to Alicata and to Naro and Terranova and Caltagirone and to Scicli and to Modica and to Syracuse and to Noto and to Bucheri and to Forla and to Palazzolo and to Xoma and to Nola and to Ragusa and to Agosta and to Lemi and to Catania. And, at each of these places micer Simon de Vallguarnera was before him with his company, doing much damage to his host. And then he helped to defend the places, so that he followed him in such manner, that no man could leave the host to get grass nor anything else without being either killed or taken prisoner. Thus he did him great damage. He had to leave Catania and he went to embark in his fleet to the left of Catania and, on leaving there, he went along the coast and landed sometimes, but never went near the city of Messina. And then he reviewed his company and found that he had lost full half his people, some by sickness, some in deeds of arms. And so also, knowing that the Lord King of Sicily, his uncle, was in the plain of Milazzo, he prepared to go and fight him. And he thought that the Lord King Fadrique would come against him with a great force of sound and rested men and that they were all of one mind and will, but that he was with worn-out men, who had had

great disappointments and who were of various nations and various minds, wherefore the battle would not be safe for him. And so he embarked and passed into Calabria, to the city of Reggio, greatly displeased. And so he should be, for, in all Sicily, he had not been able to take one estate nor manor nor town; rather he pondered on the great damage he had taken.

And so, lords, you who shall hear this book, consider the treasure and the men who were destroyed in this expedition and what fruit it has borne for the good of Christians. Because, if it had pleased God and the rulers of the Holy Catholic Faith, it would have been much better that this should be spent to the honour of the Holy Catholic faith against Granada, than where it was spent and wasted. And believe that all will come to the same end who pass into Sicily, namely those intending to take the island from the Lord King of Sicily and his family, who render the Holy Roman Church all they should render unto it.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of these affairs of Sicily and will turn to speak of the great deceit and great wickedness which is in the Communes, of which I have already told you part; but he who would put down all their crimes in writing would not have enough with all the paper made in the town of Játiva. But in order that the crimes of the Communes be manifest throughout the world, I wish to recount to you what the Genoese did to the Lord King Fadrique; and also the crime they committed against the Lord King of Aragon; and likewise I will tell you of the Commune of Pisa. And therefore all the kings of the world would do very wisely to beware of trusting the men of the Communes in anything, for if they do, they will always find themselves betrayed.

CCLXXXIII

Of the great crimes the Commune of Genoa committed against the Lord King of Sicily and always commits against the House of Aragon.

It is the truth that the Lord King of Sicily, as one who is entirely of the Ghibelline party, must help the Houses of Doria and Spinola and the other

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great Houses which left Genoa and went to Savona, with money and chivalry and galleys and victuals. Thus God and he have supported them in the city of Savona against the Guelph party, which remained in the city of Genoa; so it is certain that it is God and His aid and that of the Lord King of Sicily which has upheld them. And when the Duke, son of King Robert, passed into Sicily, those aforesaid, of Savona, promised to help the Lord King of Sicily with their galleys and the said Lord King counted much on them. But if he had remembered well how often they had failed the Lord King En Jaime, his brother, when he was King of Sicily, and how often they had failed himself, he would have expected nothing of them. But it is so with lords, that, when God grants them a long life, they often change their counsellors, through death or otherwise, and young counsellors bring any lord into great danger. For although it may be that they are wiser than the former ones had been, they cannot know things as well as those who are old, who have seen and heard. With only half the learning, an old man will know how to give better advice than the young in all matters of war, because he will have seen many more deeds of arms and heard more than a young man. And so, from the things of the past, a man can foresee the things of the present and the future. Wherefore I can assure you that, if the good count En G. Galceran were alive, or Don Blasco de Alagon, or En Huguetto de Ampurias, count de Esquilace, or many other Catalans and Aragonese who have passed from this life, or again if micer Mateo de Termens and micer Vinciguerra de Palozi and others were alive, the Lord King of Sicily would not have lost as much as he did in helping the Genoese, for they would have reminded him of former times. And as he has been deceived now, he and all kings who trust in the Communes will always be deceived. And it is well that I should record for you the treachery which the Genoese committed against the Lord King of Sicily now, in this expedition of the Duke to Sicily.

It is the truth that the Lord King of Sicily sent to Savona for succour of galleys, and sent money there; and they offered to help him with twenty-five galleys, and he remained in expectation that it would be done. But the Genoese acted in such manner that all the summer went by. And the Duke came out of Sicily and had passed from near Messina to Calabria, as you

have heard, before the galleys were equipped. And when they knew that the Duke was out of Sicily and had passed into Calabria, then they left Savona and came towards Trapani, which is two hundred miles distant from where the Duke was. And so you can understand whether they would meet him, or what the help was the Lord King of Sicily had from the Genoese, or how well the money served him he had sent for the equipping of the galleys. And this mock and defection were not enough; rather, they reflected that they could also do an ill turn to the said Lord King of Sicily with the twenty-five galleys which should have served him. They agreed with the Commune of Pisa that twenty-two galleys they had taken from Savona should serve the Commune of Pisa against the Lord King of Aragon; and the Commune of Pisa gave them a thousand florins a month in order that they should go with a fleet from Pisa and put victuals and succour of men into the castle of Cagliari. And again, they ordained in the covenants that Gaspar Doria, who was admiral of the twenty-two galleys, should be admiral of Pisa; and that all should receive land in Sardinia; and thus the covenant between them and the Commune of Pisa was made. And so this is truly the service they did the Lord King of Sicily, making covenants with the Pisans against the King of Aragon who is his elder brother. And it does not seem that such deeds, so dishonourable before God and before the world, could bear any good fruit ; rather, Our Lord the true God, Who is truth and justice, judges everyone according to his merits. Wherefore the House of Aragon and its descendants have always progressed and will progress in truth and justice and good faith; therefore God exalts and increases them, and gives them victory in all things, and confounds and casts down those. who oppose them with deceit and cunning.

Now I wish to recount to you the end of this disloyal league made between the Commune of Pisa and the Genoese of Savona; how it ended and how the justice of Our Lord the True God worked against them and always will work against those who walk in wickedness and deceit.

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CCLXXXIV

How two light galleys of the Pisans entered within the palisade of the castle of Cagliari with victuals; and how the admiral En Francisco Carros took them with the whole of the slave crews; and how this becoming known to the Pisans, they arranged to go and succour the said castle of Cagliari.

It is the truth that when the league was made between them it was with the same intention as the league made between the rat and the frog, who meant to deceive each other, as you will find in the fables of Æsop; and because both had wicked intentions, the hawk came and carried them both off. And thus it happened to those who made the league, each with treachery and with the wicked intention of deceiving and betraying the other. And the power of the House of Aragon, which is the eagle, came across them and has devoured and destroyed them all, and always will, please God.

You must know that, when the fleet was ordained in Pisa to go and succour the castle of Cagliari, there were twenty-three Genoese galleys and twenty-five Pisan and six vessels and five ferry boats and one ship and many barges, also of Pisa, so that, altogether, there were full sixty sail which left Pisa. And when the noble En Francisco Carros, the admiral of the Lord King of Aragon, knew that this fleet was coming against him [1325] and was coming to succour the castle of Cagliari which the said admiral was besieging, he thought that, on no account, should the said succour of men, who were bringing victuals to put into the castle, enter it. And he ordained all his dispositions like one who is of the best knights of the world and of the wisest, and he thought about former things and of the coming events, as you shall hear now.

I fully believe that you know already that two months had not passed since all this, when two light galleys of the Pisans came to the palisade in the night, without the admiral En Carros perceiving it, and entered within the palisade; and they were light rowing galleys and brought victuals

which they put into the castle of Cagliari. And in the morning, when the admiral saw the galleys within the palisade, he was much displeased; however, by the help of God and his cleverness, all turned out well and to his great profit and joy. He at once besieged the two galleys, so that they could not come out of the said palisade without falling into his hands. And he held them so closely besieged that the slave crews of the said galleys cat more than they had brought. And when he saw them in this situation, one night he fell upon their rear by sea and by land, and surprised them in such manner that he took the two galleys with the slave crews and all. And they were thus served by the Catalans; they massacred them all and not more than thirty escaped alive. After it was daylight they found these alive and did not kill them. After a man is taken prisoner it is not right to kill him. But iron fetters were made for them and they were set to work at the wall and ditch the admiral was having made at the said place, Bonaire. In a short time it was made one of the most beautiful cities one could have seen made in ten times the space of time. I want you to know that, at that time, it was found that there were there over six thousand good men, all Catalans, with their wives, and it was not three years since the admiral had begun to build it, when he was besieging the castle of Cagliari and the Lord Infante was besieging Iglesias. Wherefore the Pisans may know that the city of Bonaire could always, alone, besiege the castle of Cagliari. And in order that you should understand what sort of place for trade Bonaire is, I wish you to know that, when the admiral heard that the fleet had departed from Pisa and that there were full sixty sail, as you have heard before, he reviewed the force which was in the city of Bonaire and found that there were fourteen great ships, of which twelve were Catalan and one of the King of France which had come from Cyprus, and the other was Genoese and had come from the city of Genoa and the admiral had captured it; and also, there were thirty-six Catalan single-deck lenys and, besides, the admiral had twenty-two galleys and five vessels which were there, and eight, what with armed lenys and small barques he had had made to go on the lake. And all this shipping he had put in line before the palisade of Cagliari, because of what he had seen the two galleys do. And he

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apparelled them thus in order that no one should be able to enter within the palisade.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of the city of Bonaire and the admiral and must turn to speak to you of the Genoese and the Pisans.

CCLXXXV

How the judge of Arborea captured eighty Pisans and sent them to the admiral who likewise had taken a hundred and fifty prisoners; and how on Christmas day, between galleys and lenys, fifty vessels arrived before Cagliari to succour it, of which the admiral En Carros took seven and the others were defeated and had to flee.

When that fleet had departed from Pisa and came to the mouth of the Busnayre, the Genoese lost a galley which ran ashore, of which galley about eighty men escaped alive. And the judge of Arborea who knew this sent a company to where the galley was stranded and they took all the eighty men and sent them with a rope round their necks, to the admiral at Bonaire who, at once, had strong fetters made for them and had them set to work at the wall and ditch of Bonaire. And so likewise, at that time, a Genoese galley of Savona, which came from Flanders, was driven by a storm to the island of San Pietro and broke up and about a hundred and fifty men escaped. And the admiral heard this at Bonaire and sent to the island and took all the hundred and fifty men, and did with them what he had done with the others. What shall I tell you? On Christmas day of the year 1325 the twenty-two Genoese galleys and the twenty-five Pisan and six, between armed lenys and ferry boats arrived before Cagliari. The other shipping they had left at Bonifacio and they had come separately, for they expected to enter the palisade of Cagliari and to be able to put in the victuals they were bringing. But the admiral had ordained the entrance in such manner that nothing could enter without passing through his hands. So, on Christmas day, they came before the line of ships and of the other shipping of the Catalans and they tried stratagems all that day. And on Saint Stephen's day they tried to attack at one angle of the shipping, but

they took great damage there and could do nothing. And next day, which was Saint John's day, they turned to the other angle and likewise could do nothing, rather there also they took great damage. And on Innocents' day, they went to Cabo Terra, and took in water and then again returned to attack an angle of the ships. And all these attempts they made with ten light galleys, in order that the admiral should be drawn out of line with his galleys, and when he had broken the line and had come against the said ten galleys (which they did not fear much, for it was in their power to flee by rowing) the other galleys would row hard and enter within the palisade with the victuals. And thus they expected to put succours into Cagliari; but the admiral knew all they wanted to do, wherefore he would not move from his post.

And so on Christmas day, which fell on a Wednesday, and on Thursday and Friday and Saturday, they went on in this way. And on the following Sunday, the admiral made everyone dine in the morning, and commanded that every man who was in his galleys (of which there were eighteen, without the boats) should put on armour. And he had it cried throughout the galleys that, if they fought, the battle should be royal, that each man should keep what he gained, except the prisoners and the galleys, which would belong to the Lord King; that he was absolutely resolved, if he saw a good opportunity, to meet the enemy in battle that day. And so he remained prepared to fight. And when this was done and ordained, the Genoese and Pisan galleys came thus ordained for battle: they put, in the first line, seven galleys, five Genoese and two Pisan, all seven fastened together, under En Gaspar Doria, who was their admiral; and then all the others followed astern. And the seven approached so close to the galleys of the admiral En Carros, with prows foremost, that they came within a dart's throw. And when the admiral saw these seven galleys so near, he sent an order from mouth to mouth to his galleys, that, without any noise and secretly, they should detach the cables of their anchors, because if they shipped their anchors, the enemy would go away at once, for they could go faster with twenty oars than the galleys of the admiral with a hundred and fifty. And so, very quietly, each let go the cable into the sea, neither the Genoese nor the Pisans perceived it; and at once, they began to row and,

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before those seven galleys could turn, the admiral was in their rear, and proceeded to attack in such manner that they killed over eleven hundred men whom they found on deck and, altogether, full four hundred Genoese and two hundred Pisans below. And so the admiral had all the seven galleys with all the people, dead or prisoners. And the rest of the Genoese and Pisan galleys turned their heads, which were towards the seven galleys, and proceeded to go away. And En Gaspar Doria, like the braggart he was, when the battle was at its height, proceeded to flee in a barge he had astern, and mounted into a galley which was astern of him and belonged to a brother of his. And when the said seven galleys were taken, the admiral pursued the others; but it was in vain-he could not overtake them. And so he returned, cheerful and content, amongst his men and everyone had gained so much that all became rich, and the admiral took away from no man anything he had gained.

And when the Genoese were at a distance, they sent a galley with a message to the admiral, and sent to beg him to be pleased to allow their messenger to come and review the prisoners, in order that they might know who were killed and who had escaped. And the admiral was content, and so he saw them all and there had escaped alive four hundred and eleven Genoese and two hundred Pisans who had gone below, as I have told you before. And when he put them all down in writing, they wanted to give the admiral, as ransom for the Genoese, all the victuals and arms they were bringing and all the other things they were carrying in the galleys which had escaped. But the admiral told them that he would not give up to them the meanest amongst them all; rather should they help to make the ditch and wall of Bonaire, and so they went away full of grief.

And see what fruit they got out of the wicked preparations they had made and of the treacherous league they had made with the Pisans. One thought to deceive the other, and the admiral of the Lord King of Aragon came across them and devoured them and scattered them all.

How the galleys of the Pisans and Genoese which had been scattered and delivered out of the hands of the admiral En Carros fought the ship of the noble En Ramon de Peralta in such wise thai after losing three hundred Genoese they had, full of grief, to leave the said ship; and how the Pisans endeavoured to break all the covenants they had with the Lord Infante.

And four days after this had happened and the galleys of the Genoese and Pisans were returning full of grief, they met a Catalan ship in which the noble En Ramon de Peralta was with sixty knights whom the Lord King of Aragon was sending to Sardinia; and another ship in which were sixty knights who were likewise of En Ramon de Peralta; and it was full ten miles ahead of the other. And so it was their fate to encounter the Genoese who made sixteen attacks on it, but could do nothing against them, and the galleys lost more than three hundred men whom the Catalans killed, and many wounded, so that they parted from the ship in such wise that they will never hear it mentioned without grief. And you can all recognize that it was the work of God, for the admiral En Carros did not lose more than three men in all these attacks, and En Ramon de Peralta, in his ship, only lost one wild knight. Wherefore all should endeavour to act loyally; God will be with him who acts loyally and him who acts with disloyalty God will confound and bring to destruction. For everyone can see evident miracles daily, for God takes vengeance in this world. And this you can recognize now manifestly by the affairs of the Pisans, for the Lord Infante En Alfonso made peace with them in the manner you have heard before; in no way did the Lord Infante and his men ever fail them in anything they had promised. And in this mind he concluded peace and in the same mind departed from Sardinia and returned to Catalonia, thinking that thenceforth, as he was at peace with the Pisans, he need not tarry there. But the wicked Pisans made the peace which they concluded with the evil intention that the Lord Infante should return to Catalonia; for, when he had left, they thought to confound very soon the Catalans who had remained.

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And this was seen; they soon showed it, for they, at once, had many victuals put into the castle of Cagliari and had many soldiers, horse and foot, sent there, and they garrisoned the said castle of Cagliari.

And when they had done all this, they prepared to break all the covenants they had with the Lord Infante and all the treaty of peace. What should I tell you about it? They never met a Catalan alone that they did not, at once, cut his throat, so that in A short time, before the Catalans perceived it, they had killed and thrown into a well full seventy, who were found when the Catalans perceived what they were doing. And so, likewise, they proceeded to equip barges and with these, if any barge issued from the castle of Bonaire, they went towards it and took it and sent it to the bottom. And so you may know what trust can be put in them; no faith nor truth whatever are to be found in them. Wherefore see how Our Lord the true God is going to destroy them for their evil works. They, themselves, have cut the rods with which they will be beaten, and they have brought back the war to their own hurt. You have seen and have heard already how they fared so far and shall see again what will happen. For, when they had fought that rich horn, En Ramon de Peralta, they went away sorrowfully, and the said rich horn landed, cheerful and content, at the castle of Bonaire with both the ships, and he landed the chivalry and the footsoldiers he was bringing, and they were well received by the admiral and by all those of Bonaire, and a great feast was made for them and great honour shown them.

A short time after, the admiral and En Ramon de Peralta made an agreement that the chivalry and the footsoldiers should go by land and the fleet by sea to assault Stampace, which is the town of Cagliari, and is well walled by itself, and well peopled, for all the Polins²¹⁸ were at Stampace with their wives and children, for only soldiers had remained in the castle of Cagliari.

²¹⁸Either the inhabitants of the suburb called La Pula, or natives of Apulia inhabiting the City. — Bofarull.

How the followers of the admiral En Carros and of the noble En Ramon de Peralta prepared to enter Stampace and took it by assault, and so fought with those of Stampace that they left alive neither man nor woman nor child and how the said place was deservedly punished for its sins.

And as they had ordained, so they did. At dawn of day they surrounded the walls of Stampace and scaled them so vigorously that they were regardless of the danger there might be for them, whilst the seamen went towards La Pola.²¹⁹ And the battle was very hard, for those within defended themselves very resolutely and they had prepared the place well, so that nothing was wanting that was necessary for the defence. What should I tell you about it and what more should I say about it? The seamen invaded the wall by assault and prepared to enter. And when they of Stampace saw they were invaded, they all went to the part where the horsemen were, and the horsemen approached the wall and also invaded it. What shall I tell you? The banners of the admiral En Carros and of the noble En Ramon de Peralta prepared to enter Stampace and then might you see a cruel battle; they of Stampace and a great number of those of the castle who had come down, made great efforts, because of their wives and children, whom they saw being killed. But Our Lord the true God, Who wished to punish them for their crimes, sent defeat down upon them, not one remained alive, nor one of their wives and children. There died likewise the commander and the warden of the castle and a great number of soldiers. At that juncture the Catalans thought they would enter the castle, but those who were within saw how their people had been killed, and the great destruction, and shut the gates and walled them up with stones and mortar.

And the Catalans, when they had killed everybody, proceeded to raid the goods which were in the town of Stampace; and the goods and chattels

²¹⁹? Cabo di Pula.

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there were innumerable, so that they gained so much, that those who were there in person will be rich for ever. And when they had done this they returned, on the following day, and saw the walls and houses being demolished and everything levelled to the ground; and the said nobles ordained that the men should take all the stone and the wood they wanted, and bring all to the city and castle of Bonaire. All, immediately, proceeded to load barges and carts, and to carry all to Bonaire and they built and erected good houses. And they ordained the church of the Minorite friars, which was very rich, to be taken down and moved to Bonaire, in honour of monsenyer Saint Francis. There the convent of the Minorite friars was moved also; thenceforth there were to be no Minorite friars in it, but Catalans, and they should form a Province by themselves, and likewise all the orders in Sardinia and Corsica should be filled with Catalans.

And so, Lords, you who shall hear this book, penetrate your hearts with the power of God, for you see clearly what vengeance Our Lord, the true God, took within a year of those wicked people who, by treachery and disloyalty, brought back the war upon the Lord King of Aragon who had treated them with kindness and compassion. And, again, God has taken vengeance upon that place, Stampace, which was inhabited by the most wicked people in the world and the most sinful; for there is no sin the heart of man can imagine which was not committed in Stampace, so that the stench of it went up before God. And if you say: "En Muntaner, what are those sins you are speaking of?" I could tell you that there was pride and arrogance and the sin of lewdness in all ways, in such wise that God sent the destruction He sent upon Sodom and Gomorrha, for by fire He burnt and consumed it all. And besides, usury was practised publicly, and they had an account with everyone, and the sin of gluttony was worse there than in any other place in the world. Also this place always provided Barbary with iron and steel and all kinds of wood and victuals, which did great injury to all Christendom. And besides, every pirate and robber was welcome there, whoever he may have injured; and, of all sorts of gambling it was the chief place and, besides, so much evil was done there it would be impossible to write it all. Wherefore see what vengeance Our Lord the true God (blessed be He) took in a few hours. Therefore he is foolish who has no

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fear nor dread of God, for Our Lord suffers much, but there it was meet that His justice also should work upon the wicked, for, if it did not, the righteous could not last in the world.

And henceforth I must cease to speak to you of the castle of Cagliari, which is being besieged, or of those within who are walled in, or so, likewise, of Stampace which is laid low and is all sacked and burnt, and must turn to speak to you of the Lord King of Aragon and of the Lord Infante En Alfonso and of the Lord King of Mallorca.

CCLXXXVIII

How the Lord King En Jaime of Mallorca had the high and pious monsenyer En Felipe of Mallorca, his uncle, given him as guardian, who negotiated and obtained that the said Lord King of Mallorca should have to wife my Lady Costanza, daughter of the Lord Infante En Alfonso.

It is the truth, as you have heard before, that, when the Lord King En Sancho of Mallorca had passed from this life, the Lord Infante En Jaime, son of the Lord Infante En Ferrando, was seated on the royal throne and, from that hour onwards, was called King of Mallorca, and is still and will be many years, if it be God's pleasure. And it was ordained by the richs homens and knights and prelates and citizens and townsmen that the very high and pious monsenyer En Felipe of Mallorca, his uncle, should be appointed as guardian of the said Lord King of Mallorca. And it was done as had been ordained. And after monsenyer En Felipe became guardian, he negotiated and brought to good issue that the said Lord King of Mallorca, should have to wife the daughter of the Lord Infante En Alfonso, son of the very high Lord King En Jaime of Aragon. The Pope gave a dispensation for this, marriage; and it was made in great concord and love and with the consent of the Houses of Aragon and Mallorca; wherefore all their subjects had and have and always will have great joy and pleasure and profit in it. God in His mercy give them health and a happy life. The said Lord King of Mallorca, when this marriage treaty was signed, was only eleven years and a few months old. And the Infanta, who is called my Lady Costanza, was

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not more than five years and a few months old. God grant them His favour in such manner that the marriage be completed and that they have sons, pleasing to God and an honour and advantage to them and their peoples. And this marriage treaty was signed by both parties in the year of the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ 1325.

Now I shall cease to speak to you of the Lord King of Mallorca and of monsenyer En Felipe who governs the country for the Lord King, his nephew, and must turn to speak to you of the Lord King of Aragon and of the Lord Infante En Alfonso.

CCLXXXIX

How the Lord King of Aragon and the Lord Infante En Alfonso sent such succours to Bonaire that they of Cagliari held themselves for lost and the Pisans had to treat of peace with the said Lord King and to surrender the castle of Cagliari to him.

When the Lord King of Aragon and the Lord Infante En Alfonso saw the Pisans wickedly and iniquitously trying as much as they could to obtain succours from many sides in order to raise the siege of Cagliari, they proceeded to have galleys and terides built and ordained that knights and footsoldiers be sent to Sardinia every day. Also, when the marriage of the Lord King of Mallorca was settled and signed, he had six galleys and two ships equipped at Mallorca which, with a great succour of many men, he sent to the castle of Bonaire, in aid of the Lord King of Aragon; and so, likewise, many ships and lenys and terides of Catalonia went there, which all went full of expert men, so that, in a few days, the Lord King of Aragon and the Lord Infante had sent so much chivalry and so many people and so many terides and galleys that those who were within the castle of Cagliari held themselves for dead men. and sent to ten the Commune of Pisa to succour them; for, if they did not, they could not hold out. But the Pisans, knowing the great force the Lord King had sent there, held all their affair for lost and thought that thenceforth they could not preserve the said castle of Cagliari, rather they would rejoice if the Lord King of Aragon let them

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live in peace in the city of Pisa. And so, they sent to the Lord King of Aragon messengers with full powers who came to Barcelona where they found the Lord King and there, very humbly, they entreated him and the Lord Infante to be pleased to forgive them what they had done against them and told them that they surrendered to them the castle of Cagliari and all they possessed in Sardinia.

And the Lord King and the Lord Infante, moved by compassion (because they and their ancestors have been and are full of pity and charity and compassion), forgave them and concluded a peace with them in such manner, that they, incontinent, surrendered freely the castle of Cagliari and all they possessed in Sardinia; and the Lord King granted them leave to trade throughout Sardinia and in all his territories in safety and security; they, however, paying the bridge tolls and the taxes on merchandise and the other taxes which are ordained and shall be ordained by the Lord King. And again, they might have consuls and representatives in the cities of the Lord King, as the Catalans have, and will have, in the city of Pisa.

And the said peace thus concluded, the Pisans, very joyous at having found mercy from the Lord King and the Lord Infante, went to surrender the castle of Cagliari to the Lord King of Aragon and to the knights the Lord King appointed to represent him; and also, the said Pisans had to surrender to him all the other places held for them in Sardinia.

CCXC

How God always punishes a man who breaks the peace; and how the Pisans surrendered the castle of Cagliari to the Lord King of Aragon and, for him, to the judge of Arborea; and how they went out by the seaward gate and how the royal standard and pennons were set up on the castle of San Pancraccio.

And so you can understand how they have been destroyed for their deceit. If they had not broken the first treaty of peace they concluded with the Lord King, they might still have the castle of Cagliari and the other places; but they, as you have heard already, cut the rods with which they

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have been beaten. And you may be sure that he who breaks the peace, trespasses against the commandment of God Who left us peace and desires peace. And so let everyone be careful what he promises at the signing of peace for, assuredly he should keep it as he will have sworn and promised it and should on no account turn back on it; and if he does, it will not be to his advantage, rather God will be against him in all his undertakings. What shall I tell you? The messengers of Pisa and the other knights chosen by the Lord King went so long that they came to the castle of Cagliari and they sent a messenger to the judge of Arborea, who was procurator-general for Sardinia for the Lord King of Aragon. And he came at once to the castle of Bonaire and, likewise, there came there En Felipe Boyl who was commander in the war for the said Lord King, and Emboxados who was in the place of the admiral. And the messengers of Pisa spoke with those of the castle of Cagliari and, on Monday, on the ninth day of June, in the year of the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ 1326, they surrendered the said castle of Cagliari to the said Lord King of Aragon, and for him, to the judge of Arborea and to the said noble En Berenguer Carros and to the said En Felipe Boyl and to the said Emboxados, who entered the castle of Cagliari with full four hundred armed horse and full twelve thousand retainers, all Catalans. And they entered by the gate of San Pancraccio and the Pisans went out by the seaward gate and embarked in four galleys and in a ship, which the said officers of the Lord King had apparelled for them, and which brought them to Pisa.

And when the said officers had entered within, the noble En Berenguer Carros and the Company of the Lord King set up a large royal standard of the said Lord King on the castle of San Pancraccio and then, on each of the towers, small royal pennons. And by the favour of God, when banner and pennons were set up on the towers, there was no sign of wind at all; but as soon as they were planted the wind came from the SouthWest, the finest wind of the world, which spread out all the banners and pennons, and it was the most beautiful sight there ever was for those who love the House of Aragon, and for their opponents, it was the worst. And here the Te Deum was cried and there were so many people, Catalans within, and many Sardinians, and they of Bonaire without, who all said the responses

to the Te Deum together, that it seemed as if Heaven and Earth were crumbling.

And so the officers of the Lord King garrisoned the castle with very good men, horse and foot, in such manner that, henceforth, God will be served there, and all will find there truth and justice, in such manner that the House of Aragon and Catalonia will always, with the help of God, derive honour therefrom. And so the Catalans, with the help of God, can reckon that they will be masters of the sea, on the understanding, however, that the Lord King and the Lords Infantes his sons, and all their subjects, acknowledge that this comes to them by the favour of God, and that they do not pride themselves upon it and do not think that this honour and many others God will grant them, come to them through their valour and power, but that only the power and favour of God have done this. And if such is the mind of the said Lords and their subjects, count upon it that all their deeds will go from good to better; there is nothing else in the world but the power of God (blessed be He and His mother, Our Lady Saint Mary) Who has granted them this favour.

And whilst this great feast was being made in Cagliari and in Bonaire by the Catalans, the Pisans, sorrowful and afflicted, embarked and went to Pisa as soon as they had surrendered the castle and the other places in Sardinia which were held for the Pisans. And God in His mercy give us greater joy than they had in Pisa when they saw these, their people, enter. However, they comforted themselves in as much as they had obtained peace with the Lord King of Aragon, for all held themselves for dead men if they had not obtained peace. And thenceforth they and the other Communes will do wisely in not undertaking a war against the said Lord King. And so Pisa recovered all the prisoners who were in prison at Bonaire, and the Genoese those of Savona. And so you can see to what end that compact came which the Pisans and they of Savona had made through their wicked deeds, and also what those can hope for from God who do not walk in truth and justice; or you see how these were confounded and cast down for their evil doings.

And so Our Lord the true God, because of the loyalty and justice which are found in the House of Aragon, granted it this favour, and grants and

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will grant it others like it. Amongst other favours God granted to the Lord King of Aragon En Jaime, he granted him this of having, by my Lady Queen Blanca. who was the daughter of King Charles (as I have told you before) and who was a very virtuous and good lady, five sons and five daughters, all of whom he saw settled and endowed in his lifetime.

And I must tell you in what manner and how the eldest son, who was called the Infante En Jaime,²²⁰ was Procurator-General of all the dominions of the Lord King, his father and as long as he administered the said office exercised strict justice, as well towards the great as towards the small. But after holding this office for a short time, he renounced all the dominions and all the world and, for the glory of Our Lord the true God, he took the habit of the order of the knights of Montesa and lived and will live if it please God, whilst he has life, for the service of God in the said order. Wherefore, henceforth, we need speak of him no more. He has given up the dominion he might have had in this, world in order to possess the Kingdom of God. May He in His mercy grant it him. Amen.

And the next son, who was called the Lord Infante En Alfonso, who is he of whom I have spoken to you before, had, after the Lord Infante En Jaime had renounced the inheritance of his father, the title of eldest-born, and the oath was taken to him, as lord and king, after the Lord King his father, of all the dominions and territories of the Lord King his father; and he conquered Sardinia, as you have heard before, and has maintained, and

²²⁰The Infante Jaime had been accepted and sworn fealty to as heir and had sworn at the Cortes at Saragossa to keep up the rights, customs and usages of Aragon. His disorderly life, his injustice and violence as Procurator-General earned him the hatred of his future subjects. He long refused to marry his betrothed, Leonor of Castile, and suddenly announced that he wished to become a monk, cynically declaring however, that this resolution was in no way inspired by religious motives. He was induced to consent to the Church celebration of his marriage, in order that Aragon should not lose the towns and fortified places which formed the Infanta's dowry, but he left his bride at the altar to which he had been brought almost by force and disappeared for a time. At the Cortes at Tarragona he renounced his claim to the throne and soon after entered the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. His life thereafter was as scandalous as before. (See Lafuente: 'Historia de España.)

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will always maintain, the way of truth and justice, as one of the most gracious lords of the world and, personally, the most accomplished knight there ever was in the Kingdom of Aragon. Although there may have been many good knights, yet it is so in this blessed House that, by the grace of God, it ever goes from good to better, and will do so from now onwards, if it please God.

CCXCI

How the Lady Infanta, wife of the Lord Infante En Alfonso, passed from this life after he had had by her the Infante En Pedro and the Infante En Jaime and a daughter; and goes on to tell who those five sons of the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon and my Lady Queen Blanca are.

And this Lord Infante En Alfonso had to wife one of the noblest ladies of Spain who was not a king's daughter, and the richest; namely, the daughter of the very noble En Gombado de Entenza and through her he had the county of Urgel and all the barony of Antillon and all the barony of her father, En Gombaldo. And each of these baronies is a great possession. And so he was very well married, to a very high-born and very rich lady. And she was one of the most learned ladies of the world; a big book might be made about her learning; and she was a very good Christian and did much good in her lifetime for the glory of God. And by this lady, the Lord Infante, who survived her, had two very gracious sons of which the eldest was called En Pedro and the younger En Jaime; and he had a daughter who is Queen of Mallorca, whom, when she was very young (five years old) they gave to wife to the Lord King En Jaime of Mallorca. And all this she saw done in her lifetime. And then, as it pleased God, the said Lady Infanta, wife of the Lord Infante En Alfonso, passed from this life in the city of Saragossa, on the last Tuesday in October 1327 of the year and she was buried next day, which was the feast of the Apostles Saint Simon and Saint Jude, in the church of the Minorite friars of Saragossa. God in His mercy keep her soul as He keeps the soul of a blessed and virtuous lady. She received Holy Communion and the Last Unction and confessed many

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times, as one who was very Catholic and pleasing to God and the world, and so God wanted her in His Kingdom still a young girl; and great mourning and weeping was made for her in the said city of Saragossa. And so she ended her days in the service of God, as it pleased Him to ordain.

The other son of the said Lord King En Jaime of Aragon is called the Infante En Juan, and he is Archbishop of Toledo, and one of the best Christians of the world, so that God worked miracles through him in his lifetime; for he is one of the most gifted prelates of the world, as well in preaching as in all sciences and all the other good gifts a virtuous, accomplished and honest lord should possess. God keep him in His mercy.

And the fourth son is called the Lord Infante En Pedro and is a very gifted and wise Lord, and very prudent, amongst the most prudent princes of the world, and accomplished, though so young, in all learning. And the Lord King, his father, endowed him and did so much, that he made him count of Ampurias and Ribagorza, and each of these counties is noble and important; and, also, he is to inherit a very noble castle and a very noble place in the Kingdom of Valencia. And so it can be said that he is as well endowed as any king's son who is not a king.

And the fifth son of the said Lord King En Jaime of Aragon is called En Ramon Berenguer, who is, like his brothers, very wise and gifted; no man of his age could be found in the world more full of all talents and all goodness; and the Lord King, his father, endowed him and made him count of Pradés and lord of the barony of En G. de Entenza and also of a very good place he gave him in the Kingdom of Murcia. And so it can be said that he, likewise, is very nobly and honourably endowed and that he can lead the life suitable for a king's son. And so the said Lord King saw his sons very well endowed in his lifetime.

And his daughters he endowed thus: he gave the eldest to the Lord Infante En Pedro of Castile, who was the son of King En Sancho of Castile; and his other daughter he gave, afterwards, to the noble Don Juan, son of the Infante En Manuel of Castile; and his other daughter he gave to the Duke of Austria, who is one of the greatest barons of Germany; and the fourth he put into the order of Sixena, which is the most honourable women's order there is in Spain, and, of that order, the Infanta is prioress,

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as one who is a very virtuous lady; and his fifth daughter he has ordained to give to wife to the son of the prince of Taranto.

CCXCII

How the Lord King En Jaime of Aragon after having confessed many times and received the sacraments of the Church passed from this life and was buried at Santas Creus; and how the Kingdoms of Aragon and Valencia came to the Lord Infante En Alfonso.

And so the Lord King En Jaime saw, in his lifetime, all his sons good and handsome and wise before God and the world. And when he had seen all this and God had granted him this favour, he was seized with an illness of such a nature and so severe, that he suffered much anguish, wherefore he, as a virtuous lord, and good and gracious, and full of the Holy Catholic Faith, confessed and received the Sacrament many times and received Extreme Unction and all the Sacraments of Holy Church. And when he had received them all in his right mind and good memory, he folded his hands and embraced the crucifix and put his spirit in the hands of Our Lord Jesus Christ, on Monday, the second of November of the year 1327, at the hour the lights are lit. Our Lord the true God and His blessed Mother, Our Lady Saint Mary, with all the Celestial Court, received his soul and placed it amongst the faithful in glory. And so the said Lord King En Jaime of Aragon died at Barcelona, on the aforesaid day, and left his body to the monastery of Santas Creus, where the body of the blessed King En Pedro, his father, lies. And so it was carried with great solemnity and with great weeping and great cries and with great grief of all his subjects to the said monastery of Santas Creus and was buried, and his sons and some of his daughters were there, and prelates and a great number of the best men of his dominions. God, in His mercy, keep henceforth his sons and all his peoples under His guard and protection. He is in a good place and he was born for the good of his soul and of all his subjects. He had a good beginning and a good middle life and made a yet better end; and see what

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favour God showed him for the faith and goodness and truth which were in him. Wherefore everyone should endeavour to do well, for God sees it.

And so, henceforth, the Lord King En Alfonso, his son, King of Aragon and Valencia and of Sardinia and count of Barcelona and Urgel, must make good endeavour and do much good, for he has had so bright a mirror in his father. And he has had such a beginning that his acts-should go from good to better, and will do so, if it please God; and he should be, as he is bound to be, a father and ruler to his brothers; and should remember that there are no sons of kings and queens in the world born of better parents than they are, and that they have all issued from the same womb. And so, likewise, may he, in his mercy, be minded to support the Lord King Fadrique, his uncle, and his sons, who are his own cousins german on both sides; and in no wise to let anything the King of Sicily is ruling be taken away from him. For whilst it pleases God and him, this House will be strong and secure to the glory of God and his own, and to that of all his race and to the great advantage of all his subjects. He can reckon that he is King of Aragon and of Valencia and of Sardinia and of Corsica and of Mallorca and of Sicily; of all he is head and chief and they are at his orders. If he wishes it the Kingdom of Mallorca is at his orders, as much as the Kingdom of Aragon, and so likewise the Kingdom of Sicily. If he pleases he can have and hold these Kingdoms for his own House. He and the Lord King of Mallorca and the Lord King of Sicily being of one mind and supporting each other, as it should be, can count upon it that they will be superior to all the kings and princes of the world, Christian as well as Saracen, and to all the Communes. But if the contrary should happen, which God forbid, and there should be differences between them, you may reckon upon it they would destroy each other. Wherefore it is needful that the Lord King En Alfonso fix his mind on this, that all strength and truth is in God and in him who is head and chief of all. May it please him to remember the saying of the Catalans, that not everyone is a man's friend who smiles in his face. And so, let him rule the Houses of Mallorca and Sicily who bear his scutcheon, under which they must live and die. and maintain them against all men on earth, and let no wicked people put other thoughts in his heart; and let him remember the proverb of the rushes which it is meet such lords

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should remember. God in His mercy, give him courage and good will and give him full measure of His favour. Amen.

And if anyone asks me: —“En Muntaner, what proverb is that of the rushes?” it means this: if you tie all the rushes tightly with a rope and want to tear them out all together, I tell you that ten men, however well they pull, cannot tear them out in any way they may try; but if you take off the rope, a boy of eight can pull out the bush, rush by rush, so that not one remains. And so it would be with those three kings; if there were any differences or discord between them (which God forbid) you can reckon upon it that they have such neighbours that they will destroy first one and then the other. Wherefore it is necessary that they should beware of such a thing; for whilst all three are of one mind and support each other, they need fear no other power in the world; rather, as I have told you before, they will always be superior to their enemies.

CCXCIII

How the Lord King En Alfonso of Aragon with all his brothers and his richs homens came to the town of Montblanch, where he held a council to decide to which part of his territories he should go; and so came to Barcelona and there took the oath and swore to keep the usages and privileges of all Catalans and they made oath to him as their chief and lord.

Now I shall speak to you again of the Lord King En Alfonso, by the grace of God King of Aragon and of Valencia and of Sardinia and Corsica and count of Barcelona. After the said Lord King, his father (to whom God grant His holy glory) was buried and all ceremonies due to him had been performed, the said Lord King En Alfonso, with all his brothers and all the prelates and richs homens and knights and citizens, came to the town of Montblanch and at that place held his council as to what part he should go to, whether to Aragon or to the Kingdom of Valencia, or whether he should return to Barcelona; for he wished to do his duty to each of these provinces, as his ancestors had done. And there it was finally decided that he should go to Barcelona to receive the homage of prelates and richs homens and

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knights and citizens and burgesses and of all his adherents in Catalonia, and that there a parliament and conference should be held with all the Catalans. And so the Lord King, at a suitable hour, went to Barcelona with all the prelates and richs homens and knights and citizens and townsmen, and then he sent to summon his adherents who were not present to come to him. And meanwhile, he went to visit places in such manner that, at the blessed feast of the Nativity, he came to Barcelona, which feast was held with few diversions and little cheer, by reason of the death of the Lord King, his father. And the feast over, he did all he had to do at Barcelona and, fully and very graciously, he swore to uphold the usages and privileges and exemptions of all Catalans and they took the oath of fidelity to him as lord, as he who was the heir of the very high Lord King En Jaime, his father (to whom God grant His holy glory).

CCXCIV

How the Lord King En Alfonso of Aragon ordained that prelates and richs homens and knights of his dominions should come to Saragossa on Easter-day, because he wished to be dubbed a knight and to be crowned with the sacred crown of the Kingdom.

And all this done, he thought that, as the holy apostles and disciples of Our Lord God Jesus Christ had been left disconsolate, so his subjects were in great grief through the death of the Lord King, his father, and that, like Jesus Christ, he should, on the next Easter-day, which was Sunday the 3rd of April of the year 1328, comfort and cheer himself and his brothers and all his subjects. And he ordained that, on the aforesaid Easter-day, prelates and richs homens and knights and messengers and citizens and burgesses of the principal towns of the dominions should come to Saragossa; and on that holy day he would be dubbed a knight and would be crowned with the blessed and fortunate crown, with the greatest ceremony and feast with which a king had ever been crowned in Spain, or in any other provinces that I know. And of this he had letters made which he sent to prelates and richs homens and knights and burgesses throughout all his dominions.

How the Lord King En Alfonso departed from Barcelona and came to the city of Lérida and visited a great part of those territories; and how the Kings of Tlemcen and of Granada sent him great presents and jewels; and how all the nobles began to apparel themselves to go to Saragossa to the coronation.

And all this done, he departed from Barcelona and went to the city of Lérida and visited a great part of those territories and every man was apparelling himself to go to that glad feast of his coronation. And I will not tell you that only the barons of his territories apparelled themselves; rather, there came, from Sardinia, the son of the judge of Arborea and two nephews of the said judge of Arborea; and there came, together with them, in three armed galleys, the honourable Emboxados, admiral of the said Lord King of Aragon and Governor of Sardinia, and many other honourable men; and, also, there came messengers, with great presents and jewels from the King of Tlemcen, and messengers, likewise, with great jewels and presents, of the King of Granada, and there came many franklins of Castile, and many more would have come if it had not been for the war of the King of Castile with the noble En Juan Manuel, son of the Infante En Manuel of Castile. And also there came many franklins of Navarre and Gascony and of Provence and of many other parts, so that the congregation of people who assembled in the city of Saragossa on the day of the said holy feast of Easter was so great that it was estimated that there were altogether more than thirty thousand men on horseback. And so the Lord King En Alfonso came to Saragossa in the week of Palm Sunday and then, afterwards, there came the Lord Archbishop of Toledo, his brother, and afterwards came the Lord Infante En Pedro his brother, count of Ribagorza and Ampurias, with more than eight hundred horsemen; and the Lord Infante En Ramon Berenguer, his brother, count of Pradés, with full five hundred horsemen and then came the noble Don Jaime de Ejérica, with full five hundred horsemen; and his brother, Don Pedro de Ejérica

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with full two hundred horsemen, and then the noble En Ramon Folch, viscount Cardona, likewise with much chivalry, and then the noble A. Roger, count of Pallars, with a great company of horse and foot, and then the noble En Lope de Luna, with great chivalry and then En Dalmau, viscount of Castellnou, likewise with a very good company of knights and of other very good followers, and then the noble En Oton de Moncada, with a very good company of accomplished knights, and then the noble En G. de Anglesola, with a great company and then the noble En Berenguer de Anglesola, and then En Ramon de Cardona, and then the noble En G. de Cervelló, and then the noble En Eximeno Cornel and the noble En Pedro Cornel and the noble En Ramon Cornel, and the noble En Pedro de Luna and the noble En Juan Ximeno Daroca, and the noble En Felipe de Castro and the noble En Amoros de Ribelles and the noble En G. de Erill and the noble viscount de Vilamur and the noble En Ponce de Caramany and the noble En Gilabert de Cruilles and the noble En Alfonso Ferrandez de Ixer, and the noble En Pedro Ferrandez de Vergar and the noble En Beltran de Castellet, and the noble En Pedro de Almenara and the noble Err Gombau de Trameset and the noble En Artalillo de Foses and the noble En Eximeno Perez de Arenos and the noble En Sandorta de Arenos and the noble En Ferran de Abeylla and the noble En Jofre, viscount de Rocaberti and the noble En Bernardo de Cabrera, viscount de Monsoriu. And all came very richly appavelled with good retinues on horseback and on foot. But a message came to them that the countess of Ampurias, aunt of the said noble En Bernardo de Cabrera, had died, and so he had to remain behind; but there were many of his company. And so, likewise, there came the noble En Pedro de Aregail and many other nobles of Aragon and Catalonia and of the Kingdom of Valencia, and of the Kingdom of Murcia and of the other provinces, all with much chivalry which it would be a mighty affair to enumerate and write down. And also there came, with much chivalry, the Master of Calatrava, the Master of the order of Montesa and the Comendador of Montalban, and the noble Frey Sancho de Aragon, the castellan of Amposta, of the order of chivalry of the Hospital of Saint John. And there came likewise the aforesaid Archbishop of Toledo and the Lord Archbishop of Saragossa, and the Archbishop of Arborea aforesaid, and the

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Lord Bishop of Valencia and the Bishop of Lérida and the Bishop of Osca and the Bishop of Tarazona and many other bishops, abbots and priors.

And so likewise we six were there, who were sent by the city of Valencia, and we went there with a great company. Every day we fed, of our own beasts, fifty-two; and we had full a hundred and twelve persons there and brought trumpeters and a kettledrum player, and a player on the añafil²²¹ and on the dulcimer, all of whom we clothed in the royal livery, with royal pennons, and all well mounted. And we all six brought our sons and our nephews with jousting harness, and kept open house from the day we left Valencia until we were back, for everyone who wished to dine with us. And at the Court, we gave garments of cloth of gold and others to juglars, and we brought a hundred and fifty wax tapers from Valencia, each weighing twelve pounds, and we had them all coloured green, with the royal coat of arms.

And so likewise there were six notables from the city of Barcelona, very well arrayed and well ordained and with very fine wax tapers; and so likewise there were four from the city of Tortosa and also some from the other cities and important towns of all the provinces of the said Lord King, for all endeavoured to come with great splendour. What shall I tell you about it? Never had there been so great a feast in any part of Spain, made by such important people.

CCXCVI

Of the nobles the Lord King En Alfonso dubbed knights at his coronation and of those made by the Infante En Pedro and the Infante En Ramon Berenguer and also of the many new knights made at the same time.

And as I have named to you some of the prelates and richs homens and other important people who assembled at the said feast, it is right that I should name to you also the nobles whom the Lord King made new

²²¹A Moorish musical instrument.

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knights on that glorious day, and the nobles the Lord Infante En Pedro likewise made knights, and also the Lord Infante En Ramon Berenguer. And the noble En Ramon Folch and all these nobles also made many new knights, as was ordained in the way you will hear further on.

First the Lord King dubbed knight on that day the noble Don Jaime de Ejérica, and the said noble made twenty knights. And then the said Lord King dubbed the noble son of the judge of Arborea a knight, and it was ordained that, as soon as he was in Sardinia, he should make twenty new knights, ten Catalan and ten Aragonese, whom he should endow in Sardinia, for he could not do it at this Court as he had not time to apparel them; but it meant the same thing as, when he has received them in his house, he will make them knights and endow them in Sardinia. And then the Lord King made the noble En Ramon Folch, viscount Cardona, a knight and the said noble at once dubbed three nobles knights; namely, En Ramon de Cardona, his brother, and the noble En Amoros de Ribelles and the noble En Pedro, de Regal; and each of these nobles made ten knights. And then the Lord King dubbed the noble En Lope de Luna knight and the said noble at once made twenty knights. And then the Lord King dubbed the noble A. Roger, count of Pallars, knight, and the said noble made at once twenty knights. And then the Lord King made the noble En Alfonso Fernandez, lord of Ixer, a knight, and the said noble made at once fifteen knights. And then the Lord King made the noble En G. de Anglesola a knight, and the said knight made at once ten knights. And then the Lord King dubbed the noble Don Juan Ximeno Daroca, knight, and the said noble at once made ten knights. And then the Lord King made the noble En Berenguer de Anglesola a knight and the said noble made at once ten knights. And then the Lord King made the noble En Pedro Cornel a knight, and the said noble made at once ten knights. And then the Lord King made the noble En Oton de Moncada a knight, and the said noble made at once ten knights.

And when the Lord King had dubbed these richs homens knights, the Lord Infante En Pedro dubbed the noble En Dalmau, viscount Castellnou, knight, and the said viscount made at once ten knights. And then the Lord

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Infante En Pedro made the noble En G. de Eril a knight, and the said noble made at once ten knights. And then the Lord Infante En Pedro made the noble viscount Vilamur a knight, and the said noble made at once ten knights. And then the said Lord Infante En Pedro made the noble En Gilabert de Cruilles a knight and the said noble made at once six knights. And then the Infante En Ramon Berenguer rose and made three richs homens new knights and each of these dubbed, at once, some ten, some eight, knights. And the said nobles whom the Lord Infante En Ramon Berenguer made knights, were the first he ever made. What shall I tell you? After these lords and richs homens had made these new knights, many other richs homens of Catalonia and Aragon made many knights. I tell you that I counted two hundred and fifty-six new knights, besides the nobles. And, assuredly there were many more, for no man could keep count of them so great was the crowd of people. And all these new knights Were clothed in cloth of gold, trimmed with miniver, and these garments they gave to juglars; and then they put on other garments of scarlet silk-cloth and all had cloaks trimmed with miniver or ermine, and short coats and gowns of scarlet silk-cloth. or coats of mail; and of the horses and housing and bridles I need not tell you; for nowhere could a man ever see such beautiful harness. And it was ordained that every rich hom on leaving the church should ride with his new knights.

And so they went to the Aljaferia, which is a palace of the Lord King, and no one rode by their side, but each noble, riding on a valuable horse, placed himself at the head of the new knights he had made. He who would see good horses, handsome and well arrayed, here he could see them. And sons of knights carried before them, on horseback, each the sword of his lord, or of his brother, or of his relation who was a new knight; and, behind, came the other sons of knights, carrying their arms on horseback, and so no one else dared ride with them; rather, each went thus with trumpets and kettledrums and flutes and cymbals and many other instruments. Indeed, I tell you that there were over three hundred pairs of trumpets; and there were other juglars, wild knights and others, more than a thousand, so that the shouts and the noise were such that it seemed as if heaven and earth were crumbling. And, in this order, with great rejoicing,

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all went from San Salvador of Saragossa to the Aljaferia. And so also, besides this there were over three hundred bornadors²²² and full a hundred knights and sons of knights and burgesses throwing at targets. And, besides, there were full a hundred horsemen from the Kingdoms of Valencia and Murcia showing their horsemanship. And besides there was, behind the Aljaferia, a walled-in field, where you could see bulls killed;²²³ each parish brought its bull decorated with the royal devices, and they brought him amidst the sounding of trumpets and great cheer, and all brought their huntsmen who killed the bulls. And besides you would see, in the streets, women and damsels and many very notable people dance. What shall I tell you? The rejoicing was so great that no one was minded to do anything but look on here and there, and all was so well arranged that no man made any disturbance with another.

And this feast lasted from Easter Eve until the Friday after Easter, in the most beautiful weather of the world and the greatest peace there ever was amongst people. No one can say that there was a bad word spoken by one person to another, from the greatest to the meanest, from the day we assembled at Saragossa until the day we departed; rather, they assembled in great concord and in great concord dwelt there and, in great concord and love, separated. And all had good lodgings, so well had the notables of Saragossa ordained it. And everyone dined with the Lord King on Easter Eve and on Easter Day and on the Monday, as often as everyone pleased, for, as long as the Court lasted, the door was not shut. But when the three

²²²From "borne" the end of the lance used in jousts. The site of the jousts and tourneys in Barcelona is still called "Born."

²²³Bofarull says that this is perhaps one of the earliest mentions of bullfights, especially of bullfights in the old dominions of the crown of Aragon. In the *Libro de Cántigas* written by order of Alfonso X of Castile, is found an illustration depicting what is bun-baiting, rather than a bullfight. The spectators, men, women and children, are on the roof of a house, and the bull in the street below. Sharp-pointed bolts have been shot at him from above, and one is sticking in his forehead; two short shafts ending in what looks like a bunch of sharp points stick in his shoulder and flank, and several wounds are depicted besides. One man, from his safe elevation, flourishes a cloth; a rope or chain is also used for irritating the animal.

days were over, the Lord Infante En Pedro, and the Lord Infante En Ramon Berenguer each made a great banquet. On Tuesday the Lord Infante En Pedro invited the Lord King and all the richs homens and prelates and knights and citizens and all men who wished to dine with him. And on that day, the Lord Infante En Pedro held a very splendid court and made many gifts to richs homens and knights and citizens and all other manner of people. And on the following Wednesday, the Lord Archbishop of Toledo did the same at the house of the order of the Minorite friars of Saragossa, where he lodged. And on Thursday, the Lord Infante En Ramon Berenguer did the same. What shall I tell you? Thus the Court was maintained in all things with great cheer until Thursday at vesper-time, in fine, clear weather and, on Friday, there came, by the grace of God, a good rain over all Aragon and Catalonia and the Kingdoms of Valencia and Murcia and lasted until the following Sunday and all that day. And so the land, which needed it much, had a full measure of the favour of God, as well in having a good lord, as in a good peace which the Lord King had at that time with all the peoples of the world, which cannot be said of any king in the world; and, also, he lived in great joy and peace with all his followers and, besides, the land had a sufficiency of good rain. And so, may it please Our Lord to give him life and health and to preserve him to his subjects, as be is the most gracious lord and the wisest and the most accomplished knight there is in the world, and the most catholic, and of the best Christians of the world.

And there were his two gracious sons, namely the Lord Infante En Pedro, the eldest, to whom oath of fidelity has been taken as Lord King of Aragon, after the Lord King his father, and the Lord Infante En Jaime, who is count of Urgel. And both these gracious Infantes, his sons, girded on the swords of a great number of the richs homens who were dubbed knights and bestowed many gifts and favours on them. And so all the Court was blessed in all ways by God and Our Lady Saint Mary, and all His blessed saints. Amen.

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CCXCVII

How the Lord King En Alfonso dubbed himself knight at Saragossa and in what manner; and of the ceremony with which he received the sacred Crown of the Kingdom.

Now, as I have spoken to you of the Court, how it assembled by the grace of God, I want to tell you in what manner the Lord King dubbed himself knight and received the sacred Crown; and in what manner he went to keep watch in the church of Saint Salvador in Saragossa; and what was the manner of the ceremony of the blessed order of chivalry he bestowed on himself, and of the ceremony of the coronation; and in what manner he issued from the church; and in what manner he entered his palace of Aljaferia.

And I want you all to know that, from the church of San Salvador, which is the church of the see of Saragossa, to the Aljaferia it is over two great miles and I wish to tell you this because I want all those who will read this book to know in what manner the Lord King dubbed himself knight and in what manner he placed the crown on his head, with what ceremony of blessings and masses and a fine orison; and in what manner his horse was led by the bridle until he was back in his palace; for it is good for all of whatever condition they be, to know these things.

It is the truth that, at vesper-time on Good Friday, the Lord King sent to tell everyone that, on Saturday morning, Easter Eve, when it was time to sing the Alleluia, all should quit the mourning they were wearing for the Lord King, his father, and that every man should trim his beard and begin the feast. And he invited all men, without distinction, as I have told you before, for three days. And so, on Saturday morning, at the time of the Alleluia and as the bells were ringing, every man was appalled as the Lord King had commanded for beginning the feast. So we who were for the city of Valencia, left our lodging (which was within the city near the said church of San Salvador), riding at the head of our bornadors and trumpeters and players of kettledrums and of the dulcimer and the drum and other instruments, all six of us, two by two, very richly dressed and

arrayed and our squires riding also. And so we began our feast going through the centre of the town to the Aljaferia. And, when we had started everyone else started too. You would have heard suddenly the greatest noise of the world, of trumpets and all the other instruments. And thus we rode and made this feast until the hour of dinner, and then, when we had dined at the Aljaferia, we all returned to our lodging with the same ceremony. And when the bells were rung for vespers, everyone prepared to light the tapers, each in the place ordained for him and from the Aljaferia to San Salvador you could not tell where there were most tapers. They were not moved from the place assigned for them; in every place it had been written on the wall how many there should be, and so all were placed in proper order.

And when the bells were ringing madly, the Lord King issued from the Aljaferia to go to San Salvador, ordained as you shall hear. First of all came, on horseback, all the sons of knights who were carrying the swords of the noble knights; and then came the swords of the nobles who were to be new knights; and after the swords of the said nobles came the sword of the Lord King, carried by the noble En Ramon Cornel; and after the sword of tire Lord King came two carriages of the Lord King with two wax tapers; in each wax taper there were over ten quintals of wax. They were lighted, though they were hardly wanted, for the other lights were so numerous that one could see as well as if it were bright daylight.

And behind the two wax candles, came the Lord King, riding on his horse, with the most beautiful harness ever made by the hands of masters, and the sword was carried before him, as I have told you already, the richest and most beautifully ornamented that Emperor or King ever carried; and behind the said Lord King came his arms, which a noble was carrying, and two other nobles were on each side of the arms, so the arms were carried along, by him who carried them, between two nobles. And so, also, did the noble En Ramon Cornel go, carrying the sword between two nobles.

And behind the arms of the Lord King came all the nobles he was to make new knights, two by two; and behind them came the nobles the Lord Infante En Pedro was to make knights, and then came those nobles whom

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En Ramon Berenguer was to make knights, and then those whom En Ramon Folch was to make knights, and after the richs homens came the others who were to be new knights, two by two. And after them, when they had all gone past, there came likewise all the arms, all arranged two by two, and all the arms of the noblemen and their swords were carried by knights, and those of the other knights were carried by sons of knights. And so, all in order, riding their horses, dressed in rich cloth of gold and with very beautiful harness, two by two, as I have told you already, they came behind the Lord King. No other man dared to ride there except the Lord Infante En Pedro and the Lord Infante En Ramon Berenguer, who went about ordaining everything, so that no man should go out of the order assigned.

And so, by the grace of God, amidst a great noise of trumpets and kettle-drums and dulcimers and cymbals and drums and other instruments, and with wild knights shouting all together "Aragon!" and the names of the Houses to which the richs homens belonged, the Lord King came to the church of San Salvador; and it was long past midnight when he and his retinue came to the church. And there all kept watch together, saying orisons, and rejoicing and singing in praise of Our Lord Jesus Christ. And thus they spent all that holy night, and very devoutly heard matins, at which were present all the archbishops and bishops and abbots and priors who said all the prayers with great devoutness. And when it was full daylight, the Lord Archbishop of Saragossa put on vestments for saying mass, and the Lord King placed the crown and the sword on the high altar with his own hands at the proper hour, and put on a surplice, as if he were going to say mass, and then put over the surplice the royal dalmatic, the richest Emperor or King ever put on; and, at every garment he put on, the archbishop said the orison which is ordained to be said by the canonical law. And then the Lord King put the stole over his neck and round his shoulders, as it is directed to be put, and this stole was so rich, with so many pearls and precious stones, that it would be difficult to say how much it was worth; and then he put on the maniple, also very rich and valuable. And, when all this was done, the archbishop of Saragossa said mass with great solemnity. And when mass was begun and

the epistle had been read, the Lord King ordered hi; spurs to be put on, the right spur by his brother the Lord Infante En Pedro, and the left by the Lord Infante En Ramon Berenguer. And when this was done, the Lord King went to the altar and took the sword and, holding it, threw himself down in prayer before the altar and the Lord Archbishop said a very fine orison over him. And when it was finished, and the Lord King had said the prayer, he kissed the cross of the sword and girded it on himself, and then, when he had girded it on, he drew it from the scabbard and brandished it three times. And the first time he brandished it, he defied all the enemies of the Holy Catholic faith; and the second time, he engaged to defend orphans, wards and widows; and the third time, he promised to maintain justice all his life, towards the greatest as well as towards the least, and towards the stranger as well as towards his friends. And when he had done this, he returned the sword to its scabbard and when the Gospel had been sung, he offered himself and his sword to God, to hold him in His keeping and give him victory over all his enemies. And the Lord Archbishop anointed him with chrism on the shoulder and on the right arm, and thus he heard mass. And when mass had been said, the Lord King ungirded his sword himself and put it back on the altar, near the crown.

And after the Archbishop of Saragossa had said this mass, the Lord Infante En Juan, Archbishop of Toledo, brother of the said Lord King, put on his vestments'.. And when he had put them on and had begun mass, the Lord King himself took the crown from the altar and placed it on his own head; and when he had done this, the Lord Archbishop of Toledo and the Lord Infante En Pedro and the Lord Infante En Ramon Berenguer adjusted it for him. And when the Lord King placed the crown on his head the said Lords Archbishops and Bishops and Abbots and Priors and the Lords Infantes with them, cried in a loud voice: *Te Deum laudamus*. And as they were singing this, the Lord King took the gold sceptre in his right hand and put it in his left and then took the orb in his right; and, at each thing taken up, the Lord Archbishop said a great orison.

And when all this was done and the Gospel had been sung, the Lord King again, with a low obeisance, offered himself and his sacred crown to God, and knelt down very humbly before the altar, and the Lord

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Archbishop finished saying mass. And, when it had been said and the Lord King had fully received the grace of God, and his chivalry and his sacred royal sovereignty, and was anointed and consecrated King and Lord of the Kingdoms of Aragon and Sardinia and of Valencia and Corsica, and of the county of Barcelona, he went to seat himself before the altar of San Salvador, on the royal throne, and he placed the sceptre and orb on the altar, and sent for all the nobles I have named to you already and dubbed them all knights in the order you have heard before. And as each rich hom. was made a knight, he went to the chapel which was assigned to him, and there he made. his new knights. And the Lord Infante went thus likewise to his chapel which was assigned to him, and dubbed the four richs homens knights, and the Lord Infante En Ramon Berenguer and the noble En Ramon Folch did the same. And these richs homens whom they made knights, also went each to the chapel assigned to him and made the knights he was to make; and when all the richs homens had made their knights, they went with them to the Aljaferia, as I have told you before. And when all this was done, the Lord King took the orb in his right hand and the sceptre in his left and thus, with the crown on his head and with the orb and sceptre, he issued out of the church and mounted his horse, and they carried his sword before him and his arms behind him, in the order you have heard already that they had done at night, when he went to watch in the church.

And if you wish to know what the crown was like, I tell you that it was of gold and all covered with precious stones, such as rubies and ballas rubies and sapphires and turquoises and emeralds, and pearls as big as pigeons eggs and, in front, it had a fine carbuncle; and it was a handsbreadth in height, and it had sixteen fleurons, and everyone, merchants and lapidaries, estimated it to be worth fifty thousand libras *of Barcelona. And the sceptre was of gold and was full three palms long, and on the top of the sceptre there was a ruby, the most beautiful ever seen, full as big as a hen's egg. And the orb was of gold and had on the top a gold flower with precious stones, and on the flower a cross very richly adorned with precious stones.

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And the horse was the best arrayed there ever was. And so he mounted his horse, dressed in his dalmatic, with the stole and the maniple, and with the crown on his head and the orb in his right hand and the sceptre in his left. And, fastened to the horse's bit, were two pairs of reins, one pair was part of the bridle fastened to the neck of the horse, and this was held by the Lord Infante En Pedro on the right, and on the left by the Lord Infante En Ramon Berenguer and by many nobles of Catalonia and Aragon. And the other reins which were of white silk and were full fifty palms long, were held by richs homens and knights and citizens on foot and, behind them, we six from Valencia and six from Barcelona and six from Saragossa and six from Tortosa and of the other cities held the reins. So that the whole length of reins was held up by men on foot and no other man rode near them, except he who was carrying the sword in front of all the holders of the reins and, besides him, he who carried the arms; and each of these was accompanied by two nobles, as you have heard already. And behind the arms of the Lord King came, on horseback, most beautifully arrayed, the richs homens whom the Lord King had made new knights. And thus, with this joyfulness, showing his royal majesty, anointed and consecrated and blessed of God and of all, amidst great rejoicing, as you have heard before, he came to the Aljaferia. And assuredly, before he got there the hour of nones²²⁴ had long gone by.

And so, his horse being thus led, he entered the royal palace and dismounted, with the crown on his head and the orb in his right hand and the sceptre in his left, and thus went up to his chamber. And after a long while, he issued from the chamber with another crown on his head, a smaller one, as the other was very heavy; but yet this one was not so small that it was not half a palm high, and was so rich and beautiful that it was estimated at over twenty-five thousand libras. And I wish you to know that when the Lord King was on his horse and left San Salvador, what he was wearing and the harness on the horse was estimated at a hundred and fifty thousand libras of Barcelona. And so, as I have told you already, the Lord

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King, with the smaller crown on his head, and holding the orb and sceptre, came to sit down and dine. And on the right hand side of the table, a stool of gold had been appparelled for him, on which he placed the orb and, on the left, another stool of gold on which he placed the sceptre. And there sat at his table (which was eighteen palms long), on his right, his brother the Lord Infante, and his brother Monsenyer En Juan, Archbishop of Toledo, at some distance from him. And on the other side, further from him, sat the Lord Archbishop of Saragossa, and the Archbishop of Arborea sat beyond the Archbishop of Saragossa. And at another table sat the bishops, and at another the abbots and priors. And then, on the other side, on the right, sat all the richs homens who had been dubbed knights that day, and beyond them all the new knights who had been dubbed knights that day. And the Lord King sat so much higher than all others that all could see him. And after that, we citizens were ordained to sit, all in good order, so that each had the place due to him; and they ordained noble servitors and knights and sons of knights to attend on each of us, according. to the ceremony and honour due to each. And all were very splendidly attended to and provided for, and it was marvellous how many people were present; no one who has not been there could imagine it.

And as I have told you in general how all were attended upon, I must turn to tell you how the Lord King, in particular, was attended upon. It is a fact that the Lord Infante En Pedro wished to be major-domo on this festal Easter Day, and he ordained the matter as you have heard. He himself and the Lord Infante En Ramon Berenguer presented the finger-bowl to the said Lord King. And it was ordained that the said Lord Infante En Ramon Berenguer should serve the cup to the Lord King, and then twelve nobles should serve, together with him, at the table of the Lord King. And the Lord Infante En Pedro, with two nobles – all three hand in hand and he in the middle – came first singing a new dance he had composed; and all those who were bringing the dishes responded. And when he came to the table of the Lord King he took the bowl and tasted the contents and set it before the said Lord King, and then set down the carving board. And when he had thus placed the first dish before the Lord King, and had finished the dance, he took off the cloak and tunic of cloth of gold trimmed with ermine

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and many pearls which he was wearing, and gave them to a juglar, and, at once, other very rich garments were ready for him, which he put on. And he kept the same order with all the dishes served; at each dish which he carried, he sang a new dance he, himself, had composed, and gave away the garments he was wearing, all very splendid. And there were full ten dishes served. And every time when he had set a dish before the Lord King and had tasted it, the nobles and knights and the other servitors placed upon the tables so many dishes that no one could have made any improvement upon it.

CCXCVIII

How after he had received the crown of the Kingdom a very rich scat was erected for the Lord King En Alfonso on which he sat with his richs homens and knights; and how the juglars En Romaset and En Comi sang there.

And when the Lord King and all dined in the royal palace, a very rich and splendid seat was erected for the Lord King and for the Archbishops to sit in the same order in which they had sat at table. And the Lord King, with the crown on his head as he had sat at the table, and with the orb in his right hand and the sceptre in his left, rose from the table and came to sit on the aforementioned seat in the palace. And around him, at his feet, sat nobles and knights and we citizens. And when all were seated, En Romaset, the juglar, sang in a loud voice a new serventesch before the Lord King, which the Lord Infante En Pedro had composed in honour of the said Lord King; and the theme of the serventesch was this: that the Lord Infante told him in it what the meaning is of the crown, the orb and the sceptre, and how according to their meaning, the Lord King should act. And in order that you should know, I will tell you briefly; but if you wish to know it more exactly, refer to the said serventesch and there you will find it told more clearly.

The meaning of the crown is this; that the crown is round and as in a round thing there is no beginning nor end, it signifies Our Lord, the True,

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Almighty God, Who has no beginning and will have no end; and because it signifies God Almighty it has been placed on the King's head, and not in the middle of his body, nor at his feet, but on his head, where the understanding is; and therefore he should remember God Almighty and be resolved to gain, with this crown he has taken, the crown of Heavenly glory, which is an everlasting Kingdom. And the sceptre signifies justice, which he should practise in all things; as the sceptre is long and strong, and like a rod which beats and punishes, so does justice punish, to prevent the wicked from doing evil and to improve the condition of the good. And the orb signifies that, as he holds it in his hand, so should he hold his dominions in his hand and power and, as God has entrusted them to him, he should defend and rule and govern them with truth and justice and mercy, and should not consent that any man, either for himself or for another, should do them any injury.

And so the Lord King understood the serventesch very well, and the moral it carried and, if it pleases God, he will put it into execution in such manner that everyone will be content. God grant him this favour.

And then, when En Romaset had said the aforementioned serventesch, En Comi said a new song the Lord Infante En Pedro had composed; and because En Comi sings better than any other Catalan, he gave it to him to sing. And when he had sung it, he was silent and En Novellet, a juglar, rose and spoke seven hundred rhymed verses which the Lord Infante En Pedro had newly composed; and the theme and the moral were all about the rule the Lord King should exercise over the ordaining of his court and all his officials, as well in his court as in all his provinces. And all this the Lord King heard favourably, as the wisest lord there is in the world and, therefore, if it be God's pleasure, he will thus carry it out.

And when all this had been sung and said, it was vesper time, and so, regally, with the crown on his head and the orb in his right hand and the sceptre in his left, he went up to his chamber to rest, for well he needed it; and we all went to our inns. And all the city was given up to rejoicing, as I have told you before. And thenceforth it may be said that so regal and generous a court has never been held, nor one so joyous and with such great ceremonies. May Our Lord the true God let him reign many years in

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His service and for the good of his soul, and to the profit and exaltation of all his dominions and of all Christendom. Amen.

And so you can understand how the said Lord King has wished to resemble Our Lord Jesus Christ, Who comforted, by His Resurrection, in this blessed feast of Easter, the Virgin, Our Lady Saint Mary, and His holy blessed Apostles and Evangelists, and His other Disciples, who before were all sad and sorrowful at His Passion. And thus the subjects of the said Lord King of Aragon were all sad at the death of the good King En Jaime, his father, and he, on this holy and blessed Easter day, has cheered and comforted them all in such manner, that, if it pleases God, we shall live cheerful and content as long as we are in this world. Amen.