PORTRAIT OF THE ENEMY: «SARACENS» IN THE CATALAN GRAND CHRONICLES

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The expansion of the Realms of Aragon from 1213 to 1350 is recorded in four contemporary chronicles: the *Llibre dels feyts* of James the Conqueror, the *Llibre del rey En Pere* of Bernat Desclot, the *Crònica* of Ramon Muntaner, and the *Crònica* of Peter the Ceremonious (1). Since much of the conquered territory was taken from Muslim hands, this study will examine what each of the chronicles has to say about its Muslim enemy, what attitudes are expressed, and how these attitudes change throughout the period covered.

The Catalan Grand Chronicles are best understood as royal or dynastic histories. In form they are influenced by the *chansons de geste* of the troubadours (2). Center stage is given to the chivalric deeds of the king and his knights in battle with only minor asides showing life between wars. Consequently, little to no insights are gained on conquered Muslims living under Christian rule. Muslims only concern the chroniclers when they are involved in war: either as a fierce enemy to be overcome by feats of arms and wily negotiations, or as an uneasy ally to be exploited as vassals and skilled mercenaries.

(1) For the best general background on the four chronicles see M. DE RIQUER, *Història de la Literatura Catalana,* vol. I (Barcelona, 1964), 394-501. There is very little of a general nature written on the chronicles in English. Arthur Terry devotes half of a chapter to them in *A Literary History of Spain: Catalan Literature* (London, 1972), 24-30; as does J. N. HILLGARTH in *The Spanish Kingdoms,* vol. I (Oxford, 1972), 233-38. The best edition of the chronicles is F. SOLDEVILA, *Les quatre gran cròniques* (Barcelona, 1971). The English translations of the four are: *The Chronicles of James I, King of Aragon,* trans. John Forster, 2 vols. (London, 1883); *Chronicle of the Reign of King Pedro III of Aragon,* trans. F. L. Critchlow, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1928-34); *The Chronicle of Muntaner,* trans. Lady Goodenough, Hakluyt Society nos. 47 and 50, 2 vols. (London, 1920-21); *Pere III of Catalonia: Chronicles,* trans. Mary and J. N. Hillgarth, 2 vols. (Toronto, 1980). While the above translations were consulted, the English translations in this article are my own.

(2) HILLGARTH, *Spanish Kingdoms,* I, 235. See also ALISON GODDARD ELLIOTT, «The Historian as Artist: Manipulations of History in the Chronicle of Desclot», *Viator,* 14 (1983), 195-209; BEATRICE J. CONCHEFF, «The Hypothetical Epic-Narrative Sources for the Catalan Chronicles of Jaume I, Desclot, and Muntaner», Unpublished Ph. D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1976. For attitudes towards the Muslims in the *chansons de geste* see NORMAN DANIELS, *Heroes and Saracens,* (Edinburgh, 1984).

The *Llibre dels feyts* of James the Conqueror is the earliest of the four chronicles. It is considered an autobiographical work in which the king participated (3). It covers the period from 1213 to 1276 with particular attention given to the periods 1228 to 1245 and 1265 to 1274. The action centers on two major conquests undertaken by James: Mallorca and Valencia. Consequently, references to Muslims are numerous; there are more Saracens in this chronicle than in the other three combined.

The attitude of James toward his Muslim enemies is complex. He seems to respect their fighting abilities and relates several accounts of particularly brave Saracen warriors. One lone soul on foot faces off against four mounted Christians on a Mallorcan beach, while 10 Muslims hold out in a tower in Valencia against overwhelming odds (4). In both cases the soldiers are killed, but their refusal to surrender is admired. The chronicle records, as well, a speech by the king of Mallorca encouraging the people of his besieged city to hold out against the Christians. «One Saracen after that wars better than two had been before» (5). A fierce opponent does increase the stature of the victors; James, however seems sincere in presenting these conquests as hard-fought and not easily won.

In addition to recording his heroic feats in the heat of battle, James devotes many chapters to his ability to parley with his enemies and negotiate a surrender. Mallorca City is taken by storm. The Muslim citizens of Valencia City and Burriana are expelled. However, other cities won by James —Peñíscola, Almenara, Paterna, Uxó, Nules, Castro, Bétera, Bufila, Bairén, Alcira, Játiva, Elche, Murcia— are acquired through negotiation. When dealing with the Muslim representatives of these various cities, James takes pride in his knowledge of Muslim ways, especially of their dietary laws. To the negotiators from Almenara he sends a fine heron «alive, for I knew their usage and that they would not have it if already dead» (6). In Murcia he offers «entirely new cooking pots» to the Muslim representatives so that «they might take the meat and cook it» according to their own laws (7). This practice of plying one's adversary with food and drink appears to be standard policy for James. He will not discuss any business with the negotiators from Uxó and Nules until «they are well warmed with food and wine» (8).

The terms granted by James to surrendering cities recorded in the *Llibre dels feyts* can be characterized as generous. In many cases leading citizens are given gifts of cattle, clothing, horses, and land (9). James even adds an

(3) RIQUER, *Història*, I, 398-408. See also R. I. BURNS, S. J., *Muslims, Christians and Jews in the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia* (Cambridge, 1984) for a discussion of this point in Appendix I, 285-288.

(4) James the Conqueror, *Llibre dels feyts*, chaps. LX, CCLXVIII.

(5) Ibid., LXXIX: «*valia més un sarraí que dos no feïen d'abans*».

(6) Ibid., CCXLIV: «tota viva per ço quant sabíem llur costuma que no la volien morta».

(7) Ibid., CCCCXXXVIII: «*olles noves*», «*en què coguessen la carn*».

(8) Ibid., CCLII: «fossen escalfats del menjar e del vi».

(9) Ibid., CLXXIV: Peñíscola; CCXLIV: Almenara; CCXLIX: Uxó, Castro, and Nules; CCCVIII: Bairén.

extra bribe of 300 besants for Mohammed, a negotiator from Elche (10). More striking is that, in 10 out of 13 surrender treaties whose terms are outlined in the chronicle, specific mention is made of the right of the Muslims to keep their own laws (11). In Murcia the Muslim leaders are allowed to «proclaim the customary hours of prayer» and retain the right to «judge Saracens according to their own laws» (12). In addition to granting its prior laws and customs, James allows the city of Alcira to become a sanctuary for captive Muslims: «any captive who might escape to Alcira should be free» (13). We should not, however, interpret these generous terms as indicative of any special favor granted to the Muslims by James. Rather, it is a matter of expediency, a way of avoiding both the bloodshed and the expense of a long siege. As James tells the alcaid of Bairén, «cutting down the wheat and the trees is not a good thing» (14). James is often trying to stay one step ahead of his nobles as well. The king has greater control over the spoils of a city gained through negotiation. James's pragmatic attitude is best revealed when he quotes the old adage: «he who does not give what grieves him, does not get what he likes» (15).

Once an agreement is made, James is meticulous about keeping his part of the terms, even in the face of opposition within his own camp. In Murcia he hears complaints from his sons and several nobles about the terms granted to the Muslims and how those terms are to be interpreted, but he adamantly refuses to acquiesce to their demands (16). In Valencia he takes one of his nobles to task for stealing land from Muslims, which he returns with an apology (17). James's protection of his Muslim subjects goes so far that he puts some of his own men to death «because of their attempting to take goods from the Saracens and carry off some women and children»(18). Even when expelling Muslims from Valencia because of revolts, James promises a safeconduct and «would take no ransom or service money from them» (19). In matters not strictly stipulated, however, James is quick to act to his advantage. He thus converts the main mosque of Murcia to a Christian church, much to the horror of the city's Muslim populace (20). Once trust is broken, all restraints are dismissed. James reacts gleefully to the misconduct of the alcaid of Játiva: «it pleased me for this reason that he had broken the agreement which he had with me and so I had cause to go against Játiva» (21).

(10) Ibid., CCCCXVIII.

(11) Ibid., CLXXXIV: Peñíscola; CCXLIX: Uxó, Castro, and Nules; CCCLIV: Paterna, Betera, and Bufila; CCCXXX: Alcira; CCCCXVIII: Elche; CCCCXL: Murcia.

(12) Ibid., CCCCXL: «tenir sa llei en cridar», «en jutjar los sarraïns, com llur llei».

(13) Ibid., CCCXXX: «tot catiu sarraí que vingués a Algezira que fos alforro».

(14) Ibid., CCCVIII: «per talar lo pa ne els arbres no era bo».

(15) Ibid., CCXLIV: «qui no da ço que dol, no pren ço que vol».

(16) Ibid., CCCCXLVI-VII.

(17) Ibid., CCCVI.

(18) Ibid., CCLXXXIII: «quant volien tolre als sarraïns robes, e emblar algunes sarraïnes e tosets».

(19) Ibid., CCCLXIX: «no voliem pendre servii d'ells».

(20) Ibid., CCCCXLV-L.

(21) Ibid., CCCXXXIII: «plac-nos per aquesta raó, car ell nos havia trencada la covinença que havia ab nós, e sobre açò havíem raó de venir sobre Xàtiva».

To this point one might characterize James's attitude toward his Muslim adversaries as enmity tempered with respect. Battles are heated, but treaties are made and kept in good faith; and religious differences are not a central issue. This attitude changes rather abruptly, however, in the latter half of the *Llibre dels feyts*. Beginning in chapter 361 with the Valencian revolts, the Muslims are transformed from a respected enemy to traitorous infidels. Upon hearing of the revolt, James, who so frequently granted the right to maintain religious practice to his Muslim subjects, responds with religious zeal: «it would please me greatly if where the name of Mohammed has been proclaimed and invoked there should the name of our Lord Jesus Christ be called upon» (22). It greatly angered James that the Muslims would have the audacity to revolt. He sees it as a personal affront that «they would give me reason to go against them when I left them in my own country and did not cast them out of their homes nor treat them badly» (23). His anger extends from the rebels to his Muslims subjects in general. He takes exception to the lack of concern displayed by the alcaid and leading citizens of Játiva during the Valencian revolt: «how joyfully they came before us, and were not moved by our troubles but went away so lightly» (24). This hardened attitude remains beyond those chapters relating the Valencian revolt. James's deathbed advice to his son Peter is to expel all the Muslims from Valencia: «for they are all traitors; while I was acting kindly toward them they were striving to do me injury, and deceive me whenever they could» (25).

In order to understand this shift in tone it is necessary to return to the original composition of the *Llibre dels feyts*. Literary scholars posit that the work was written in two stages: the first ending at Játiva in 1244 and the second at Barcelona in 1274 (26). The last chapter of stage one is 360, relating the fall of Biar in 1244. The narrative gives only sketchy details of the next 19 years to begin again in earnest in 1264. Why James glosses over these two decades of his middle years has remained a literary mystery until the recent work of R. I. Burns, S. J. By examining all the documentary evidence Burns presents this intervening period as a time of great crisis for James (27). Continuing trouble with Muslim opposition in Valencia, loss of influence in Southern France, frustrated dreams of a crusade to Byzantium, and conflicts with his son, Alfonso, all conspired to pull the king's life off the path of successive victories recorded in the *Llibre dels feyts*. «This was not time for self glorifying memoirs: real life had burst the fantasy asunder and had demoralized the king as editor of his own life» (28). The Muslim revolt, presented in

(22) Ibid., CCCLXI: «a nós plau molt que allí on llongament és cridat e invocat lo nom de Mohamet, serà-hi apellat lo nom de Nostre Senyor Jesucrist».

(23) Ibid., CCCLXIV: «ells me donen raó que vinga sobre ells, jo retenent ells en ma terra, e no gitant-los de llurs albergs ni faent-los mal».

(24) Ibid., CCCLXII: «com són entrats alegrament denant nós, e no es són esquivats del nostre mal sinó que s'ho han passat lleugerament».

(25) Ibid., DLXIV: «per ço com eren tots traïdors; nós faent bé a ells, punyaren tots temps de fer a nós greuge, e a nós decebre si poguessen».

(26) RIQUER, *Història*, I, 403-407; BURNS, *Muslims, Christians and Jews*, 281.

(27) BURNS, *Muslims, Christians and Jews*, see especially chapter X, 239-284.

(28) Ibid., 281.

the chronicle as a minor footnote to the Valencian crusade, raged for a decade, continually focusing James's attention away from other pressing affairs. It also embarrased him in front of Christendom when the crusade he had declared won in 1245 continued to smolder until 1258 (29). It is no wonder then that when the crisis passed and the thread of narrative was again taken up, James's trust and respect for his Muslim foes had been shattered.

The *Llibre dels feyts* ends in 1276 with the death of King James. As Peter the Great takes up his father's crown, the *Llibre del rey En Pere* of Bernat Desclot continues the history of the House of Aragon. Desclot, a royal official perhaps of ecclesiastical background writing between 1283 and 1288, begins his work with a genealogical sketch of the Counts of Barcelona (30). The vast majority of the chronicle, however, is devoted to Peter's reign which ended in 1285. Military exploits are again the focus, as Desclot relates in great detail Peter's conquest of Sicily in 1283 to 1284, and his subsequent defense of Catalonia against the French invasion of 1285. The Muslims are not the primary enemy in either encounter. They are relegated, therefore, to a few and, for the most part, minor references.

Peter faces off against a Muslim enemy twice in the chronicle of Desclot: early in his career while quelling revolts in Valencia and later in raids on El Collo in North Africa in route to Sicily (31). In both cases, despite superior numbers and fierce fighting, the Muslims are quickly outmaneuvered and completely overcome. Peter's exploits in El Collo seem to be merely a testing ground for his men prior to encountering the real enemy, King Charles. And the Catalans certainly rise to the occasion. After an initial battle where thousands of Muslims are killed with no mention of any Christian casualties, the Muslims are completely intimidated. Though the mountains were «covered with Saracens, both horse and foot, they dared not descend into the plain» (32). When the main battle is over, the Christians continue to challenge the Muslims in small skirmishes. The Count of Pallars rushes out to attack 60 Muslim horsemen. He is aided by the Count of Urgell, «but a youth and with him two young nobles». King Peter later reprimands the young men for their foolhardy attempt. Nevertheless, the Saracens flee, «leaving behind a great number of their dead», while the Count of Pallars suffers only a wounded thigh. One may assume that the odds are exaggerated; but Desclot's point is clear. The stop at El Collo is just a prelude of things to come, related to demonstrate that Peter and his men are «all warriors of valour, well chosen and tried in feats of daring» (33).

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(29) Ibid., 239-84.

(30) RIQUER, *Història*, I, 432.

(31) BERNAT DESCLOT, *Llibre del rei En Pere d'Aragó e dels seus antecessors*, LXXIV: Valencia; LXXVII-LXXXIX: El Collo.

(32) Ibid., LXXXIII: «cobertes de sarraïns a cavall e a peu, mas no gosaven devallar al pla».

(33) Ibid., LXXXIX: «qui era enfant e jove, e dos donzells», «menys d'aquells qui romaseren al camp morts», «tots triats e ben provats de fet d'armes».

The image of the Muslims at El Collo, overwhelmed and intimidated, lies in direct contrast to Desclot's later open admiration for the Muslim bowmen during the siege of Gerona (34). Of course, in the latter case these bowmen were being employed by the Catalans against the French. As testimony to the Muslims' prowess with a crossbow, Desclot relates an incredible incident in which a bowman firing through a tiny window kills a French nobleman and his servant with one bolt. «And from that hour, the French feared greatly the Saracen bowmen, much more even than any other soldier within the city of Gerona» (35). Thus for Desclot, the Muslim, though a weak enemy, makes a useful and highly skilled ally.

The *Crònica* of Ramon Muntaner, written between 1325 and 1336, covers the period from 1205 to 1327 (36). Muntaner begins with a quick overview of James's reign and then goes on to focus on Peter and his sons Alfonso the Free and James the Just. Born in 1265 at Peralada, Muntaner includes in the latter half of his work a record of some of his own exploits at the court of Peter the Great, with the Catalan Company in Constantinople, Asia Minor and Greece, and as governer of Jerba from 1309 to 1315. A wide variety of Muslims are scattered throughout the chronicle —from the past enemies of James and Peter, to Muntaner's own encounters with Muslims in North Africa and Turks in the East.

In the first half of his chronicle, when covering the reigns of James and Peter, Muntaner presents a caricature of the Muslim enemy as almost too lost and confused to even be a real challenge to the Christian armies. James's hard fought battles in the *Llibre dels feyts* have been transformed in a generation to the pre-ordained victories of the «glorious past». While James's accounts are presented with epic quality, Muntaner takes the process a step further. In chapter after chapter the Christians face overwhelming odds and win handily. They inflict enormous casualties, with no record of incurring any (37). Even more than Desclot, Muntaner presents Peter as able to completely confound the Muslims. While still Infante during the Valencian revolts, Peter seems to be everywhere at once so that «the Saracens did not know what to do, for where they thought to be most safe, there they were taken and killed» (38). In one battle four to one odds make little difference: «all the Saracens were killed or taken prisoners» (39). This time, however, there are Christian casualties: Peter loses two horses. Later in his career, when raiding North Africa, the odds against Peter are even greater. His opposition consist of «more than a hundred thousand horsemen, and men afoot without number». And

(34) Ibid., CLXIII.

(35) Ibid., «E d'aquella hora ençà los francesos temien més los serraïns ballesters que neguns altres que fossen dins la ciutat de Gerona».

(36) RIQUER, *Història*, I, 449-454.

(37) RAMÓN MUNTANER, *Crònica*, IX: James; X-XXVII: Peter in Valencia; LI-LV: Peter in El Collo.

(38) Ibid., X: «els sarraïns no es sabien què es fessen: que lla on cuidaven ésser pus sauls, en aquell lloc los prenia e los ouceïa».

(39) Ibid., XXVII: «tots són morts e preses».

these are not everyday, run-of-the-mill Muslims but «Saracen kings and sons of kings and barons, and Moabs who are the flower of all the Saracens in the world» (40). But the result of the encounter is a foregone conclusion, even to the Muslims who at the beginnig of the battle «held themselves all for dead men; noone in the Saracen van escaped and countless were the Saracens who died there» (41).

Throughout these early chapters Muntaner presents several «wise» Muslims whose words extol the prowess of the Christian armies. Before a sea battle between 10 Muslim galleys and four ships of the Crown of Aragon, the Muslims admiral tells his men that they are foolish to underestimate the Christians. «You will all die or be taken captive; would to God I were a hundred miles away from them» (42). When Peter meets with four Muslim leaders of El Collo almost a year after his initial raids, he finds that his army still enjoys great reknown. The 10 thousand Muslims the Christians assumed to have killed have grown to over 40 thousand by Muslim reckoning. The leaders go on to assure Peter that, had he not withdrawn to concentrate on Sicily, he could have conquered the whole area due in part to the Muslims' own inferior army: «for we are a people gathered together by chance and there can never be among us the concord necessary to make us sure of success» (43). Rather than harbor any resentment against Peter for their humiliating defeat, these Muslims give him complete trust and admiration, even mentioning the possibility of conversion and trade agreements. Acknowledgements of inferiority and respect for the conquerors coming from Muslim mouths testify to the overwhelming confidence with which Muntaner presents the moral superiority of the Christian (Catalan) cause.

Muntaner's attitude of superiority remains throughout his chronicle, though it loses some of its patronizing tone in the latter half. When relating his own experiences with Muslim armies, especially the Turks, Muntaner displays newfound respect for the military prowess of his adversary. Beginning with the conquest of Minorca where «the men of the island were good men of arms and there were Turks, brave men», the battles Muntaner relates become more fierce (44). The Christians still overcome the odds to win but their casualties are now recorded (45). Muntaner also includes lines of praise for his enemy. «There never were men as fought so well» as the Turks at Philadelphia (46). «You have never seen such fierce people» as the Miscona in Jerba: «truly no man could be found among them who was not willing to

(40) Ibid., LI: «reis, e fills de reis, e barons e moats de sarraïns, qui eren la flor de tots los sarraïns del món».

(41) Ibid., LV: «tengren-se'n tots per morts; en la davantera dels sarraïns fos qui n'escapàs, que sens nombre foren aquells qui hi moriren».

(42) Ibid., XIX: «serets tots morts o catius; e plagués a Déu que jo els fos lluny cent milles».

(43) Ibid., LXXXV: «nós érem gents ajustadisses e jamés entre nós aquella concòrdia no es pogra fer».

(44) Ibid., CLXXII: «els hòmens de la illa eren bons hòmens d'armes, e havia-hi cavallers turcs bons».

(45) Ibid., CCV: 80 horsemen and 100 foot soldiers at Philadelphia; CCVI: En Corberan de Alet, the Grand Duke's Senechal at Tyre; CCLV: 300 wounded and 17 dead at Jerba.

(46) Ibid., CCIII: «jamés no foren hòmens vençuts qui tan grans tornes feessen».

die» (47). He seems to especially admire the bravery of the Turks in defending the women and children who accompany them into battle. One valiant Turk kills his wife rather than let her be captured. He then defends her body, killing one Christian soldier and wounding two others, before he himself is overcome. «So you can see how he died, like a good knight» (48).

Muntaner's respect for his Muslim enemy becomes more profound and affectionate when the Muslims become his allies. In Galipoli the Catalan Company enters a partnership with a band of Turks lead by Ximelich. «And if ever men were loyal and true, they were always to us, and they were very expert men of arms and experienced in all affairs» (49). Muntaner and the Turks seem to enjoy a bond of affection. When he returns to the Catalan Company after a misfortunate encounter with the Venetians, Muntaner is greeted by the Turks who «wanted to kiss my hand and began to weep for joy» (50). A similar relationship exists between Muntaner and his Muslim subjects when he is governor of Jerba. When he appeals to them for aid in fighting King Robert the «worthy people took up my cause with great joy and cheer; at once thev took the oath and kissed me on the mounth and promised that they would be with me with five thousand men» (51). There are, however, limits to these alliances. In the final battle against the Miscona in Jerba, Muntaner declines to use any Muslim troops (52). Similarly, when the Catalan Company does battle with their one time ally, the Count of Brienne, Duke of Athens, the Turks decide to sit on the sidelines. Both actions are based on the assumption that religion is thicker that alliance. The Christians fear Muslim defections in the heat of battle, while the Turks suspect a Christian ploy set up to destroy them. Even when allied, Muntaner never loses his sense of Christian superiority. The Turks are praised for their obedience (53). Their success is dependent on their ancillary connection to the Christians. When the Turks decide to leave the Catalan Company and do so «in great love and concord», they are immediately wiped out by Genoese. Muntaner clearly blames the Genoese for the disaster. Nevertheless, the result is inevitable: «see to what end the Turks came and how much it was to their misfortune that they separated from the Company» (54).

In regard to the Muslims, the *Crònica* of Peter the Ceremonious is little more than a postscript to the other chronicles. There are only a handful of

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(47) Ibid., CCLV: «jamés no veés tan mortal gent», «en veritat no pogra hom trobar en ells negun que no volgués morir».

(48) Ibid., CCXXVI: «així podets veure con morí con a bon cavaller».

(49) Ibid., CCXXVIII: «e si anc negunes gents foren obedients a senyor, ells ho foren a nós; e foren molts bons hòmens d'armes e de tots fets».

(50) Ibid., CCXXXVI: «volien-me besar la man, e començaren a plorar de goig».

(51) Ibid., CCLIX: «bona gent ben pendre los meus precs ab gran goig e ab gran alegre; e tantost van-me fer sagrament tots, e em besaren en la boca, me serien ab cinc mília hòmens a cavall».

(52) Ibid., CCLV.

(53) Ibid., CCXXVIII.

(54) Ibid., CCXLI: «ab gran honor e ab gran concòrdia», «d'açò foren molt despagats aquells de la companya, con ho saberen; e així veus los turcs quina fin han feta».

references to Muslims and all are in passing. By the time of Peter's reign, 1336 to 1369, all of Aragon-Catalonia's enemies are Christian. Doing battle with Muslims is left to Castile, though Peter does send 10 galleys to aid the fight against the king of Granada (55). When Granada is defeated, Peter's joy is less for the victory than for the fact that now his galleys will return in time for his attack on Roussillon (56). The only mention of concern for a Muslim enemy is expressed in Valencia. Peter has some problem removing horses from the region «as they were on the frontier of the Moors» (57). Of course at the time of Peter's request, Valencia is in revolt and the proximity of the Castilian border is mentioned as equally threatening.

In the *Crònica* of Peter the Ceremonious there is virtually no mention of Muslims because they pose no military threat to his kingdom. Muntaner, while presenting a caricature in the past, discovers a respect for his Muslim adversary born out of his own experiences with the Catalan Company and in Jerba. Muslim warriors are never a match for the Christian armies, however, and only realize their true potential under Christian domination. For Desclot as well, Muslim prowess depends on whether they are fighting on behalf of or against the Christians. Muslims are the enemy of most concern to James the Conqueror. Consequently the *Llibre dels feyts* paints a rich portrait of a challenging adversary. Only in the bitterness of his later years does James introduce his unique condemnation of Muslim religion and treachery. Overall, experience breeds respect for the Muslim warrior. From 1213 to 1350 this experience progressed from overwhelming to nonexistent. While countless Muslims remained living in the midst of the Christians as conquered subjects throughout this time, only when they participated in war, aiding or provoking the chivalric deeds of the king and his knights, were they deemed worthy of mention in the Christian chronicles of their time.

(55) Peter the Ceremonious, *Llibre en què contenen tots los grans fets*, Chap. II: paragraphs 32-33, 38.

(56) Ibid., III: 97.

(57) Ibid., IV: 44: «que ells eren en frontera de moros».