

complication to the already delicate problem of finding suitable environments for riverine folk.

The Mission (M. F. P. Z.) had already prepared by September, 1968, various maps of potential resettlements which showed water supply points and suitable and unsuitable lands above the expected height of the lake shores.

The first experimental site has already been chosen at Estima, near the Mission's field headquarters, well above present river level, but close to the 1972 lakeside shore. From this settlement the contractors will draw as much labor as possible, so that the transitional period of changing location will be relatively painless. Some eight airfields are already operating along the river flood plain between Zumbo and Chicó to enable administrators and health officials to keep close contact with those who are to be eventually moved.

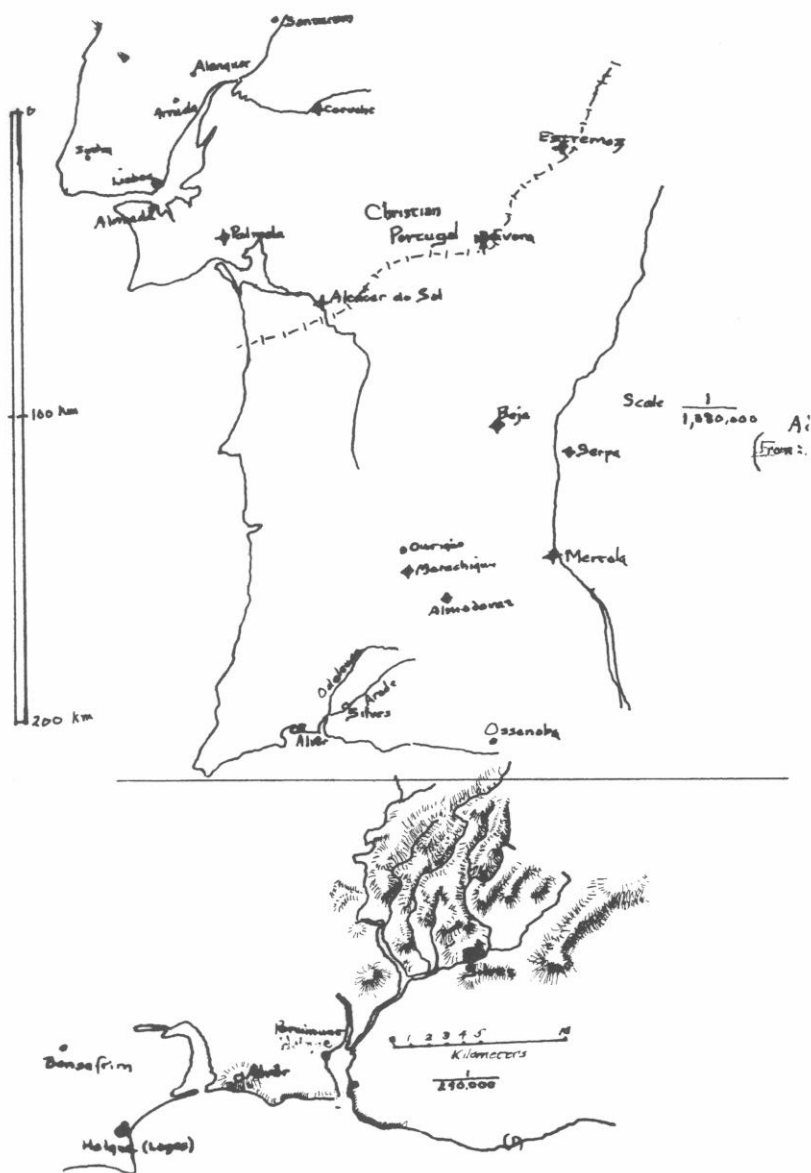
Thus, in little more than 100 years, David Livingstone's prophetic vision of the Zambezi may actually be realized. It was the Kaora Basa (Cabora Bassa to us) which was the barrier preventing his steamboat MaRobert from reaching the interior along the navigable waterway he had hoped for, having, in a moment of euphoria in 1858, described the Zambezi as "God's Highway into the Interior."

The Conquest of Silves: A Contemporary Narrative

by John E. Slaughter

The capture of Silves from the Moors was a celebrated event in the history of the Reconquista in Portugal, as well as in the annals of the Crusades. Its fame was due more to the variety of crusaders who participated in the siege, however, than to the importance of the city. The presence of these crusaders was noted in contemporary narratives in England, France, the Low Countries, Germany and in Portugal. In Spain, the Algarve had been tentatively allocated to the kingdom of León by the treaty between Sancho and Fernando, kings of Castile and León, after the death of their father, Alfonso VII, in 1157. Yet the taking of Silves seems to have been the result of an ambitious plan which Sancho I, the second king of Portugal, may have had for some time.

Sancho had assumed the throne in December, 1185, after having been associated with his father in ruling since 1170. He had been inside Santarém during the siege of 1184 by the Miramamolim, ruler of the Moors of Morocco and Spain. The Moors were repulsed and their ruler killed, but the Portuguese conquests south of the Tejo, Beja, Mertola and Serpa were lost, and only Evora and Alcácer do Sal remained. Thus, Sancho was aware of the limitations which the small size and population of Portugal imposed on his land. Portugal had to expand to the south or it would be in danger of sliding back into the status of appanage to the kingdom of León, or less. Previous efforts to annex pieces of Galicia or León had been



unsuccessful, so the only remaining area for expansion lay to the south and southeast of Portugal.

During the first two years of his reign, Sancho had been worried by uneasy relations with his brother-in-law, Fernando II of León, the man who had defeated him at Arganil. To remedy this situation, Sancho had given charters to towns and populated places near the borders with León to encourage settlers who could defend the region. But this also acted to slow resettlement of southern regions because there were not enough people to populate the frontiers with the kingdom of León, man the border castles, resettle the lands taken since 1142, expand the cities and do all the things necessary for the prosperity of the kingdom.

In the year 1187, far to the east of Portugal, and perhaps two months distant in terms of the travel of news, the Egyptian ruler, Saladin, won the stunning battle of Hattin, July 3, 1187, and by the 30th of September that year, he had forced the surrender of Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre. As the word reached Europe, the shock reverberated in every Christian land, and with great popular outcry a new crusade was formed to rescue the holy places from the dread Saladin. Yet, rulers delayed to settle quarrels, rivalries, or establish firm rule, or even succession, and in disjointed fashion people began to head for the Holy Land, some two years after the events which brought them.

In Africa the son of Yusuf, the Emir (Miramamolim) Ya'qub al-Mansur, succeeded his father but was engaged until 1188 in putting down rebellions in Ifriquia and other places.¹ The Castilian and the Portuguese monarchs took advantage of his absence to increase their expansion and raids into Moslem lands where there was discouragement after the catastrophe of Santarém and a lack of central direction or authority among the Moors. Under such circumstances the time appeared favorable for bold strokes to seize as much territory as possible.

Sancho was a bold pugnacious man, willing to fight, but he was also able to assess the cost, and for all his boldness, he was not rash and heedless.

After the first expedition of Danes and Frisians, some 12,000 strong had passed by Lisbon and had stormed Alvôr so brutally, the king apparently decided that this was a time to attempt the capture of Silves, and apparently knowing that other crusaders were on their way, he began preparations.

The best account of the events which followed, from the preparations until the final collapse of the Moorish resistance in Silves, is that of a German monk who was present at the siege. It is presented here for the first time in English translation following the Portuguese version of João Baptista da Silva Lopes, as edited and commented on by Alfredo Pimenta and by Alexandreerculano in his *História de Portugal*. The scholarly notes and comments of the scholars were of much assistance in rendering an English version. We have tried to keep the essential flavor of the language and not use concepts and descriptions then unknown and inapplicable to the 12th century narrative. Not to deny readers unfamiliar with the medieval syntax the pleasure of this eight-century old reportage, some careful changes were made in the punctuation.

The Latin narrative is to be found in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Series nova, Vol. 5, 1928, or in the original work of João Baptista da Silva Lopes, *Relação da Derrota naval, facanhas e sucessos dos cruzados que partirão do Escalda para a Terra Santa no anno de 1189*. Lisboa, 1844. The Portuguese version with notes and comments is in Alfredo Pimenta (ed.) *Fontes medievais da historia de Portugal*. These notes and comments are very helpful and are in part used in the preparation of the footnotes.

The city of Lisbon is very large and rich. It was taken by our crusaders forty-four years ago, and with its adjacent castles, belongs to the king of Portugal. The fertile land is situated on hills and spreads itself among the valleys. Here we found twenty-four ships, and we had eleven. Four weeks previously, another fifty-five ships of our empire and Flanders had stayed here; after they had gone forth from Lisbon, they took a castle called Alvôr, which belonged to the lordship of Silves. We heard it said with truth that there they killed about 5,600 persons sparing neither age nor sex. Thereafter, the galleys of Lisbon accompanied them to the Straits where they turned back after sending to our ships the message that they prayed for a prosperous voyage. They brought back with them some Moors as captives. Meanwhile, we prepared ourselves for the conquest of Silves by invitation of the Portuguese king who also readied himself with many men and supplies. Having delayed in the port for eleven days, we left at the hour of vespers on the eleventh day with thirty-six large ships and a galley from the castle of Ruas in Galicia which joined us for safety, and with many ships of Lisbon. We sailed for three days and two nights.

On the afternoon of the third day we sighted the castle of Alvôr, situated overlooking the sea, which our men had captured. It was in ruins. We saw other places deserted for their inhabitants had been killed in Alvôr. Not far from there we entered the port of Silves, finding the land very well tilled but unpopulated, as everyone had fled to the city. Silves is a German mile (*sic*) distant from the sea by land road, but by water it is a far more tortuous route and therefore much longer.

Our men, greedy and incautious, dispersed themselves around the country and, because of this, two Bremeners, who had rashly separated themselves from their companions, were killed by ten Moors on horseback, the only ones we saw in all that land. After bringing their bodies back to the camp-grounds, we gave them honored burial there. We anchored the flotilla in the port, not far

from the sea, set fire to the houses in the fields and laid waste and robbed what little we found.

That night we sent a Lisbon sailor to meet the chief of the Portuguese troops who had set out before by land and had set up camp four miles away. The next day a ship of pilgrims from Britain joined us, and that afternoon the Portuguese captain came to us with some of his men. In discussion on what we had to accomplish, he seemed to think we might take Gardea,² since he doubted that we might be able to take Silves, it being well fortified and the capital of the kingdom. We, however, placing our confidence in God, preferred to undertake the most difficult enterprise, suited to the highest purpose. We then sailed on toward the city and dropped anchor where the depth did not permit us to go any further. We were accompanied by the Portuguese captain with his men and ships, who covered us.

That night many torches lit up the city. We did correspondingly with others, and all the people were very gay and playful, holding in small regard the great fortress of the city. At daybreak the next day, we drew near the city in small boats and camped so close to the walls that stones thrown by trebuchets (crossbows)³ on the walls fell into the camp.

The location of Silves is such that it warrants a pause to describe it. In greatness it does not fall much short of Goslar, yet it has many more houses and luxurious mansions. It is girt by walls and moats of such art that not even one thatched hut is to be found outside the walls and, inside them, there are four sets of fortifications, the first of which is a vast city called Rovale. The major part is on the hill, and to it they gave the name Almedina.⁴ Other fortifications on the slope, which descends toward the same valley, are aimed at protecting the aqueduct. There is a certain river called Arade or Drade; another which runs by the same fortification is called Odelouca, and over the aqueduct are four towers designed to secure

access to sufficient water for the upper city. This fortification has the name couraca.⁵

The entryway at the gates are of such angular and tortuous construction that the walls might be more easily scaled than one might enter by the gates. Below the first is a castle called Alcay. There is also a great tower in the Rovale with a covered passageway going to the Almedina, built in such a way that makes it possible to see what is passing outside the walls of the Almedina, subjecting any who might attack the walls to harm from the part opposite it, called the Albarrana.⁶ It is necessary to note that these names are appellatives and not proper names, since in all these lands there are similar localities in the cities to which the Infidels give the same names as do the Christians. The Moors who live in Spain call themselves Andaluces; those who live in Africa call themselves Mucimitas or Moedimas; and those who live in Morocco, Moraviditas. Also, it should be noted that the towers are so near the walls of each citadel that whatever stone is discharged from one of them courses to the third, and in some parts, they are even closer.

Early the same day that we arrived, a group of about ten horsemen sallied out and were maneuvering at the foot of the walls in such way as to dare our men, of whom some few less cautious ran at the enemy against the orders of the chiefs. Then they were harassed from the walls by darts and arrows, and wounding, and being wounded, they withdrew without advantage on either side. Based in the camp very close by, we, nonetheless, resolved to make an assault the very next day in the early morning, and we prepared ladders to scale the walls. At the hour of dawn, with all solemnity, the priests celebrated the holy sacrifice of the mass which all our men attended. Having received communion, we came to the walls armed with ladders, crossing the moats notwithstanding the depth of the water. The besieged who were in the tower discomfited us with casts of missiles, mostly, by the Will of God, too hasty in aim, which gave us hope. The enemy turned

their backs, fleeing for the upper city. Then our men immediately climbed the ladders and followed them, but as many had fled, few were killed. Others entered even to the citadel, but as our men were laden by the weight of their arms and the Moors were unarmed, they easily escaped. Many others, however, died, jammed in the gates in their frantic hurry to enter, or speared by their own people from the walls above, who did not want to give them burial; I do not know for what reason. We came to know later that their king had ordered the head cut off the first one to flee. Thus, we remained in possession of the lower city in which we slept happily that night, the Portuguese in one part, and we in another.

At dawn the following day, which was the day of Holy Mary Magdalene (22nd of July), having first heard mass and received holy communion, our armed men sallied out toward the city, leaving the galley crews in the camp. Raising their ladders, they attacked the upper city at that strong part on the hill which was girt by a deep ditch with steep sides. Straining with furious and persisting efforts to raise their ladders against the walls, our men were defeated by the deepness of the ditches and by the heavy discharges of missiles. Many of the enemy in the towers were also wounded by our arrows.

Broken in spirit and more unhappy and discordant than was meet, we burned as much of the city as we were able, but the houses were so constructed that even when they were ignited the fire did not spread. They were covered with tiles; the walls were of earth plastered with mortar and had very little wood. We set fire to five galleys and some other ships which were sheltered at the foot of the walls, and returned to our first encampment. But later that day, having recovered from our terror, we returned to base ourselves in the camp at the foot of the walls of the captured city. For many days we gave ourselves to the preparation of engines, towers, ladders and other diverse weapons to assault the city. Meanwhile the main body of the Portuguese army arrived to reinforce

those who had been with us in the siege. On the Eighth of Holy Mary Magdalene, the Portuguese king, who had slowly followed his army with the train of provisions, arrived. On the day following, Sunday, some English among us having killed a Moor at the door of the mosque of the besieged brought about a cruel retaliation. Two Christians who had been captured were hung by their feet from the battlements of the tower called Albarrana and then slaughtered by stabbing and lance thrusts in full view of all in the encampment. So horrible a spectacle moved the spirits of all who burned in fury and shed tears of compassion and sorrow and inflamed us more for battle.

On each of these days came more troops augmenting the Portuguese army, and the siege tightened on all sides of the city. We did not relax for a moment, now preparing instruments for the assault, now attacking, or being attacked with engines and darts. On Sunday, the day of St. Felicissimo and Agapito (6th of August), we, the Germans, directed an engine which we called ourigo,⁷ against the wall of the couraça, between two towers with the intent of opening a breach in it. This machine was formed of great beams covered with thick planks from ships, and over these were layers of earth, mortar and bitumen. The Moors reacted quickly and at once threw on it from above, wadding with olive oil and fire with which they burned the machine. They did so because it was of enormous weight, and the men could not easily push it away. The Infidels made a great celebration over this, but we felt heartsick. It also caused some discord amongst our people, principally the Flemings, who wished to raise the siege. There were others who wished to continue until the city was taken.

On the following day, we turned to work with our machine against the same towers, and with such diligence that we succeeded in knocking down part of the wall. Beyond this machine there also played two other machines of the king, which, while small, did sufficient damage to the besieged. The next night, a Moor fled from the city

and brought the king two stupendous pennons which they had had inside and with which by morning we made a celebration, asserting to the Moors that we would enter the city as soon as we took the couraça. On the Vespers of S. Lorenzo, a Gallician knight, who had come as captain of one of our ships, went up to the wall, already in part knocked down by our machine and, notwithstanding the shooting at him from above, succeeded in tearing out of the wall an angular stone, and withdrew.

Enthused by the daring of their companion, the crusaders set themselves to mining the tower, none of which digging caved it in, which was a marvel to us. The Moors continued to remain in it without fear of the rapid discharges of arrows which we shot at them. Our people insisted on continuing to that afternoon, but taken by a panic at night they retired thinking that the Moors, whom they heard nearby, were countermining the wall. In the morning, however, we filled the hole that we had dug with wood and other materials and then set fire to it, and a part of the tower fell to the ground. Having seized it, and taken by new ardor, they continued to dig hoping to bring down the tower on one or another of the approaches.

Another time they set fire to it and brought down a length of wall against which our people placed ladders and ascended, one by one, to fight with the great multitude of enemies who were on it; but God came quickly giving heart and strength to us and filling our opponents with fear, so that some were fleeing and the remainder were uncertain. Seeing this, the king of the Portuguese and his men on the forward hill sent up a loud cry of cheers and praises to hearten our people. By virtue of the Holy Mother, and not by our efforts, the Moors relinquished four strong towers and the walls where they had fought, and throwing away crossbows and swords, which they left strewn on the ground, they travelled the pass, little hurried, toward the Almedina at the length of the wall where they had a secure passage from one to the other side of the couraça. After

they had entered, some of our men forced the Moors to flee to the upper city.

Part of the wall was opened in two places. There were a few spoils, and with stones we stopped up the well in which the Moors had placed all their confidence. The same afternoon our men returned to the camp content even though enough were too injured to work, and some were wounded. The next day we commenced to mine in two places to open a subterranean road up to the wall of the Almedina with the aim of sapping it. We did this work anxiously that day and the following night, but on the third the Moors set upon us, setting fire to the mantelets of wood and burning the beams that held them up; and our people were obliged to relinquish the mine by fleeing. However, many of the enemy were wounded to death by our arrows so the waste of our work was largely compensated by the harm we did them.

Then the Flemings began mining the wall of the citadel they had taken, as it communicated by the interior with one of the towers of the Almedina. However, the Infidels heard the work and forced us to flee. They cut the wall separating it from the tower and what they were not able to do that night they finished the next day working in such a manner that they could not be restrained.

It is noteworthy that in many instances the Infidels had already deserted to come to our side in the desire to save their lives. Because they were not maltreated in any way, they invited others to do the same.

On the day after the Eighth of S. Lorenzo (18th of August), our armed men sallied out of the camp, and hoisting the ladders with great labor and diligence, attacked the wall on all sides, but they were beaten back by a heavy cloud of missiles, stones and arrows, which ruined our hopes, and they retreated with many wounded.

Some of the enemy were also killed or wounded by our arrows. Others of our men made a great effort to fill the ditch on the north side of the Almedina with earth and wood, but this was reduced to ashes at once by the fires that the enemy threw on it.

It is not to be wondered at that the scaling of the wall was so difficult an enterprise since the great height of the hill impeded us, the width and depth of the ditch were so great and the houses so closely nestled that there was only a very narrow passage. The Portuguese were deeply concerned by this reverse, and even more, because their provisions were becoming scarce. They began to plead with the king and with us to lift the encampment and to retreat. The king himself appeared inclined to a retreat, but our men, of common accord, determined to battle the enemy of Christ for a longer time, and this they stated to the king. With a determined spirit the king then resolved to continue the siege, and we turned with renewed perseverance toward taking the city.

From our part of the wall, there were directed four engines,⁸ one of ours, and three of the king's. The Moors also raised four against them. We began the work of mines once again but farther from the citadel to not be observed by the enemy. These Infidels, however, observing the work, made a sortie to fill up and obstruct our digging, and our men, who came hurrying to the work, fought a hard battle with the Moors from which they returned with many wounded in one or another part.

On the Eighth of the Assumption of Our Lady (22nd of August), they made another sortie at break of day, and as they were insufficiently checked by our men, they proceeded along outside the wall knocking on the ground and listening for a hollow sound, fearing that our men had already reached the wall with our mine, but it was still distant. Some of them also dug into the ground to see if they could find the mine, and a few of our men took arms to repel them. Attacking at once they struck down some

of the enemy, many falling wounded by our arrows, and others they drove right to the entrance to the gates in such a manner that had all our men been armed and acting in haste, they might have entered easily right into the city. Even so they returned to camp singing of victory. On the Vesper of St. Bartholomew (23rd of August), great perturbation and disgust arose in camp. The king of Portugal proposed to withdraw with his men at once, but our people finally succeeded in convincing him that he should delay for just four days.

At that moment we began a mine from a storage cave where wheat was kept, the ground being soft and near the wall. On the day of St. Bartholomew (24th of August), the king wished to continue with the mines, and he turned to work in them with more energy. He worked through the morning and when our men had almost reached the wall they encountered the Moors, who were also mining, and they fought a bitter battle there. Toward the end, our men were almost put to flight with a great torrent of fire, for which the Moors had gathered materials beforehand. At the cost of immense toil, their bore was plugged, and we continued with our mine.

Notwithstanding this reverse, however, they opened a new digging between our mine and the wall and impeded our progress in reaching the foot of the wall. From the ground inside they made another hole because they thought we proposed to enter under the wall by our mine, while our intention was to burn it to the ground. We spent much time in digging, fighting every day with the Infidels who persistently sought to impede our work. Finally, on the day of St. Egidio (1st of September), the Moors went up on the walls to shout to the king's men about treating for the surrender of the city.

At this time, many of the Infidels came fleeing to us saying that they were dying of thirst and were terrified by fear of the mines. Thus, the Infidels treated with the king to deliver up the city and the castle, while leaving all that

belonged to them. The king exerted all his efforts in order that the crusaders might consent to these conditions, but he could do nothing. He even came to promise ten thousand cruzados of gold, a sum which he later raised to twenty thousand, but we refused to accept because of the delay there would be in bringing the money, as he would have to go to get it from his kingdom. We agreed finally that the Infidels might depart only with what they wore, the king having possession of the city, and we with the spoils inside.

They had no other course than to accept these conditions because they were dying of thirst and they lacked water; and also because the great tower, which is called Burgae Mariae, was threatened with ruin on account of the mine.

On the third day of the nonas of September (3rd of September), the alcaid of the city, named Albainus, the only man on horseback, came out of the city with his people all on foot. Our people, mean, barefaced, shamefully began to rob them, breaking the convention; and they maltreated them, striking them blows. The king became much enraged, and there were angry words between him and our men. It being almost nightfall, we closed the city gates so that many of the Infidels could not leave, and in another part many of our men entered, while others went in by the same gate and were with the Infidels all night. The Infidels shut themselves in the houses and fastened the doors. However, some were put to torment so they would reveal where they had hidden treasure.

By morning they were led out of the city with some more decency, and then we saw the miserable state to which they had been reduced. Many were so emaciated that they could hardly stand on foot; many crawled on hands and knees, and they leaned on our men who held them up. Others were stretched out in the streets, dead or dying, and because of this the odor was unbearable as there were cadavers of people as well as those of animals

in the city. Also, the Christians who had been held as captives by them came out, and these were hardly breathing since for four days, as they told us, each one had received not more water than an eggshell could hold; and some, even less; and this small portion was shared by women and children. None was given any water at all unless he would fight his brethren. They did not make any bread for lack of water . . . and they maintained themselves on figs. Because of this there was a great quantity of provisions in the cellars of the city. The captives had disrobed at night and laid themselves down on the cold stones in order to get some relief to be able to live. The women and children chewed moist earth. It should be noted that when we came to Silves there were 450 captives, and now we found some 200 alive. Of the inhabitants as well there were only 15,800 alive of both sexes when the city was surrendered.

From the day on which we commenced the siege of the city until the day on which it gave itself up, ran six weeks and three days. Considering this, Silves was much stronger than Lisbon and ten times richer and had edifices of more value. The Portuguese asserted that in all Spain there was not a stronger land nor one which did more harm to Christians. It should be known that all the time of the siege the Portuguese did not work or fight, but only scoffed at our people for useless work because they believed the city was unconquerable. They were inducing the king himself to withdraw, and they were persuading us, in many ways, to raise the siege. A large part of our men lost hope and wanted to quit. But our Lord saved us there by His Mercy to bring to a conclusion such a portentous enterprise.

Our people had, when we began the siege, only about 3,500 men, or a few less, of all classes and ages. The army of the king, however, was more numerous in mounted men, footmen and crews of galleys; and religious knights of three orders as well.

The Templars of Jerusalem, who wore the design of a sword on their garments, are united, and they continually make war on the Moors, and withal, they live a cloistered life. The knights of the order of Cister enjoy the indulgence of eating meat three times a week, but only once in any one day, and such a dainty dish when they are in the convent, but when they are on campaign, they live as do all other people The Head of the order is Calatrava in Castile and Evora in Portugal; but Calatrava is the mother chapter and Evora the filial. Those of Jerusalem are of the Temple, others of the Holy Sepulchre, and others of the Hospital; and all have properties in these lands. The city having been taken, only we, the Franks, entered into possession of it, and no one else was permitted to enter there. According to the first convention, all the spoils of movable things pertained to our people, but as in many instances we had solicited the Portuguese to raise the siege and withdraw, we gave them part which should be taxed according to the rule of the king. The city having been taken, the king strove to have us share with his men the supplies which were in abundance and which they valued more than anything else, but since we had prohibited taking anything from the city, for we had wanted to share the prize itself right there, some of our men, principally Flemings, furtively sold wheat to the Portuguese outside the walls.

As this made the king very impatient, he came to say that he would rather have not taken the city than to have it lost by want of provisions, and in this disagreement our people, without the consent of the magistrates and against the convention, took the spoils before making a distribution with the Portuguese. Because of this, in order not to have more complaints from the king, and to avoid causing prejudicial fights among all, we delivered the city to the Portuguese, still filled with riches that they might share with us as it was owed by his majesty, as well in respect for the effort we had made and the harm we had suffered. The king, however, taking everything for himself, left nothing; and for this, the crusaders, who had

been so injuriously treated, left him less friends than they might have been. Beyond this, before taking the city, he had made a vow to give the Holy Sepulchre a tenth part of all the land which he might be able to take. We exhorted him that he might compensate us for the promise with some donation, but he did not wish to do this, even after the city was taken. On the Vespers of the Nativity of Our Lord (7th of September), we boarded our ships and slowly went out toward the sea. The king, however, put his affairs in order, and leaving many of his men guarding the city, returned to his dominions on the sixth day. We were delayed in the port as much to share the spoils as to repair two ships which had suffered some damage. At that time a captain of the Portuguese chose a Flemish cleric to be bishop of Silves, and with him remained some other Flemings

There is, in addition to the narrative translated by João Baptista da Silva Lopes, another account which only came to light about 1945. In 1952 a Portuguese historian, Pe. Carlos da Silva Tarouca, published a critical edition of *Crônicas dos Sete Prineiros Reis de Portugal*, 3 volumes, Lisboa. In Volume I is the "Crónica do Rei D. Sancho I." These chronicles have been dated as 1419, and in the narrative the unknown author refers to an earlier chronicle which was obviously contemporaneous and which was described as the source. This work, while having the ring of Froissart, is corroborated by the *Narratio de itinere* and by Arab sources. A. Huici Miranda accepts as genuine, although not authoritative, in his article in *Anais of the Academia Portuguesa da História*, Volume 5, (1953).

The *Crónica de Sancho I* makes no mention of the taking of *Alvôr* with its horrendous massacre, but it relates the arrival of crusaders by sea and their departure for Silves in company with Portuguese ships while the king marched overland with his army. The *Crónica* dates the arrival of the king as July 22, whereas the *Narratio* puts it at July 29. Then, the *Crónica* terms the crusaders

Flemings and Germans initially, but later refers to them as Flemings. The *Crónica* describes the well and the *couraça* (coiraça), but gives it three towers to the four mentioned in the *Narratio*; and the battle for the *couraça* is even more fully described, with much more credit going to the king and his men than the Flemings. The *Crónica* describes the fight as an all-day affair with initial reverses. Also, the *ouriço* (*ericius*) is described rather sketchily, and it was called a *manta*, but the function was the same, as was its fate--burnt by the Moors. In addition, the feat of the knight who wrenched a stone from the wall is mentioned as well as the Moorish defector who brought with him two large pennons. The mines were also described, but in more general terms, and finally, the surrender was narrated more fully than in the *Narratio*. Since all that was said tallies with the account in the *Narratio*, it is most likely a genuine description. The Moors, headed by the *alcaid*, the governor of the city, negotiated with the king who was willing to let them depart with their goods. However, when the surrender was discussed with the Flemings, they expressed the idea that none should remain alive. They agreed after discussion that the Moors could leave the city but only with the clothes on their backs. The *Crónica* says nothing about the offer of Sancho to pay the crusaders.

This incidence of brutal savagery, of massacre, on the part of the crusaders was apparently a characteristic of the people from the northern part of Europe. In 1065 French crusaders, in Spain to aid the king of Aragon, took Barbastro and made a terrible massacre upon taking the city. In 1099 the Crusaders who stormed Jerusalem violated the safeguards of surrendered Muslims, and the ensuing massacre was a horror for centuries. At Lisbon, in 1147, after the city had surrendered, and the crusaders were entering to seize their loot, they began an ugly massacre which Afonso Henriques was barely able to bring under control. Then, at Alvor, in June of 1189, the expedition of Danes and Frisians had put to the sword 5,600 hapless people. Later, during the Albigensian crusade,

from 1204 until about 1229, there were numerous sieges which ended in butchery of the defenders and all with them.

Silves did not last for long as a Portuguese city, for the Amir, Ya'qub al-Mansur, left Marrakesh, his capital, and arrived with troops in Spain by April 23, 1190. By July 5, Silves was once again under siege, but withstood this one. The other troops of the Almohades invaded central Portugal and besieged and took Torres Novas but failed to capture Tomar, then held by the Knights Templars. Next year, in 1191, Ya'qub al-Mansur was back to finish off what he had begun. This time Alcacer do Sal was the first target, and after a hard siege, it was stormed. Then, as they came north, Palmela, Coima and Almada were taken, perhaps by default, and from there the Moorish army went to Silves, which surrendered on the 20th of July, 1191, and Sancho made a treaty of peace with the Amir for a five-year period. Leiria had been destroyed, and Moors had raided to the outskirts of Coimbra, areas which had not seen a Moorish soldier for 150 years. In 1195, this same Amir, won the great victory of Alarcos over Alfonso VIII and his troops.⁹

The violent reaction of the Almohades and the impracticability of defending Silves, so far from possible reinforcements, make clear the reasons for the unwillingness of the Portuguese to squander their lives and forces to take Silves, just to deal a blow to Islam. In actuality, the kings in Iberia seemed more anxious to propitiate the Muslim inhabitants than to brutalize them. The Almohades were already beginning to behead captured members of raiding forces, but, in general, the idea of massacring the captives or putting the besieged to the sword was alien to the Christians of Portugal and Spain, and to the Muslims also.

The assertion of the *Narratio de itinere* as to Portuguese participation in the siege is obviously ill-founded; no 3,500 men could surround Silves nor impose a close constant siege upon it; this was the doing of the Portuguese.

It must be remembered that the Portuguese and Spanish both knew and appreciated their Muslim brethren, not that they were either Christian or particularly kind, but they did realize the value of the Moors as citizens; they knew them as valiant, brave enemies, and they wanted them as well as their cities. If one must resort to comparisons, it would have to be said that the Portuguese were a people who displayed a quiet, constant bravery and a perseverance that passes belief. On occasion they have shown the spectacular defiance associated with uncommon valor, but as a group they had this, at least in those times, as their normal aspect.

BOOK REVIEW

THE ART OF PORTUGAL

by Professor Robert C. Smith

New York, Meredith Press, 1968, 320 pp. \$24.95

reviewed by George Kubler

The reader acquiring this book will rapidly find that it gives him much more than the title promises. In addition to the usual discussions of painting and sculpture, Professor Smith has added chapters on architecture and on the decorative arts, making it if not a collector's manual, at least the best guide to Portuguese art now in print. It is comparable in its time to the histories of art by those unsurpassed archivally-minded connoisseurs, Count Raczyński, Cyrilo Volkmar Machado and F. de Sousa Viterbo, who among them brought into view the main outlines of the Portuguese history of art well before 1900. Their discoveries here are augmented by many of Robert Smith's, accumulated during a lifetime of dedicated study.

The excellent proportioning of the text requires a little comment. The pagination includes 290 half-tones, color plates and line-engravings. Thus the text alone without plates is divided as follows: architecture, including the gilded church interiors, receives about 34 pages; sculpture and painting together have 29 pages; the crafts of ceramics, silver, furniture and textiles have 30 pages. Years of travel and residence in Portugal are evident in text and illustrations, and no better visual guide to Portuguese art can be named. Thus the book is remarkable both as to scope and depth, and it is remarkable also as a feat of selection and compression, touching upon every important topic, as well as opening many new ones, yet never losing the thread of lucid exposition. Every work

FOOTNOTES

Azulejos of Cascais

1. R. C. Smith, "Ex-Voto Paintings of the Late 18th Century," The Journal of the American Portuguese Cultural Society, Volume I, number 2, 1967, pp. 21-30.
2. Samuel II, Chapter 6.

The Conquest of Silves: A Contemporary Narrative

1. A. Huici Miranda, "Las Campañas de Ya'qub al-Mansur en 1190 y 1191," Anais, II Serie, Volume 5, Academia Portuguesa da História, 1954, pp. 54-58. Huici Miranda gives an authoritative, concise account of the capture of Silves and details of Moorish events of the times. He notes that Ya'qub only returned to his capital, Marrakesh, in 1188-1189, and Ya'qub reacted with great vigor and energy to the capture of Silves.
2. The name Gardea is unknown, but according to Alfredo Pimenta who edited this account, Cardozo de Bethencourt suggested Cartaya, but there is no good clue to this.
3. João Baptista da Silva Lopes used the word trebuco, but this is incorrect, and the weapons used at the time were the arbalest, or crossbow in two forms: one the stonebow which threw pellets and stones, and the one which discharged the bolt or quarrel. In addition, the shortbow, as distinguished from the later English longbow, was used. It had less power and range than the longbow.
4. The Almedina was the inner castle of the fortress of the city and was sometimes termed the alcazar.
5. The couraça was, in effect, a walled passage which extended from the city walls down to the wells or water sources of the city. The walls were protected by towers at intervals along the length of the wall.
6. The Albarrana was a large advanced tower, separated from the walls except for a covered bridge which permitted access to and from the tower. Those who attacked the city walls near this tower could be taken under flanking or enfilade fire by crossbows and other weapons. This tower was a common feature in castles of Spain and Portugal. In Viterbo's Elucidario it is mistakenly described as the location where the treasure was kept.

7. The machine described in the Portuguese text as ourigo was termed viavem by Herculano in his account of the taking of Silves. Herculano regarded it as a battering ram. The name ourigo comes from the Latin, ericus, or sometimes, ericium, meaning hedgehog. From the description, it was a barer, a device which used an iron spike on the end of a beam to pick apart the stones of the wall rather than to batter them in. The name derived apparently from the use of several sharp points on the head of the beam. It was roofed over with heavy timbers and planks in a pent roof which in turn was covered with layers of materials designed to resist fire. The entire machine was mounted on rollers so it might be pushed up to the walls. In this case, it burned despite the covering.
8. The machines later described were stone-throwing devices, probably catapults or mangonels in which the propulsive force was provided by torsion from twisted ropes of rawhide and sinew. The trebuchet was a later throwing engine which was activated by very large weights. It was of a later date than this siege and was extremely cumbersome. Some authors allege the mangonel and catapult could discharge missiles as far as 500-600 yards, but this is excessive. Such a range would require an initial velocity of about 270 feet per second for the missile! A more realistic figure would be about 200-300 yards for a twenty-five pound stone, or a smaller one. All mechanical devices, whether they were towers, rams, toroises, mangonels or catapults, were often given the one generic name of "machina" by the monkish authors who knew little or nothing of mechanical things or of warfare.

Note:

The German mile was about 4.7 English miles in length, but Silves is close to 11 kilometers from the sea by direct line and is some 12 kilometers by the most direct road. Thus, it would appear that the author was in some error in his estimate of distances.

The encampments of those times were often lightly fortified with earthworks, palisades, fences or barricades to prevent sorties by the besiegers from surprising those camped there.

The mines were fairly shallow tunnels which had the intent of permitting the besiegers to dig under the foundations of the wall and to shore up the foundations with wooden beams or props which would give way suddenly when burned through, thus causing the collapse of a section of wall. The tunnels and diggings had to be carefully shored or the miners themselves would be caught by the cave-in of the rocks from the wall, usually a fatal experience. Mining was not practicable in swampy ground or in very rocky terrain.

9. Huici Miranda, op. cit., 60-74, gives an excellent short description of these events and a chronology of the vicissitudes of Silves.