

THE PRESENCE OF CASTILIAN MEN AT ARMS IN THE SIEGE OF BALAGUER, 1413

SANTIAGO GONZÁLEZ SÁNCHEZ
UNIVERSIDAD DE CÁDIZ
SPAIN

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ABSTRACT

This study analyses the presence of Castilian men of arms in the siege and conquest of Balaguer in 1413. It deals with the challenge of James, the Count of Urgell, to King Ferdinand, and how the latter, after virtually suppressing the various centres of support to his opponent, decided to lead the troops and attack Balaguer, where had taken refuge. Essential for this endeavour were the supplies, a large proportion of which were channelled through members of his family or Castilian collaborators. Attention is given to the nature and the places of the supplies, the means and the tactics used. Then, we focus not only on the members of important lineage of high and middle Castilian nobility collected in chronicles, but also on others whose names only appear in archival documents.¹

KEYWORDS

Fifteenth Century, Castile, Crown of Aragon, Ferdinand I, Count of Urgel, Balaguer Siege.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Saeculum XV, Castella, Corona Aragonum, Ferdinandus I, Comes Urgellensis, Balagarium Obsidio.

1. Used abbreviations: ACA, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó/Archivo de la Corona de Aragón; AHN, Archivo Histórico Nacional; AHPZ, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Zaragoza; AMAL, Archivo Municipal de Alba de Tormes; AMM, Archivo Municipal de Murcia; AMPdN, Archivo Municipal de Paredes de Nava; AMVill, Archivo Municipal de Villalón; ARV, Arxiu del Regne de València/Archivo del Reino de Valencia.

1. Introduction

When Ferdinand became king of the Crown of Aragon, this initiated a new stage regarding the presence of Castilian troops in the territories that comprised it.² Nearly a year went by between his election at Caspe on 28th June 1412 (he was designated on the 24th)³ until the outbreak of hostilities that would directly confront the king and the Count of Urgell. In this time, the count had repeatedly delayed taking his oath of allegiance to the monarch as a subject,⁴ and the new

2. For the Castilian military presence in this period, see González Sánchez, Santiago. “El ascenso del infante don Fernando al trono de la Corona de Aragón. Los medios empleados”, *XIX Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón. El Compromiso de Caspe (1412), cambios dinásticos y constitucionalismo en la Corona de Aragón*, Isabel Falcón, ed. Saragossa: Ibercaja-Gobierno de Aragón, 2013: 363-365. I draw attention to the “coincidence” between this first penetration of Castilian troops into the kingdoms of the Crown of Aragon and the signing of the peace treaty between Castile and Portugal. Also Muñoz Gómez, Víctor. “La candidatura al trono del infante Fernando de Antequera y la intervención castellana en la Corona de Aragón durante el Interregno”, *Martí l’Humà: el darrer rei de la dinastia de Barcelona (1396-1410): l’Interregne i el Compromís de Casp*, Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, ed. Barcelona: Institut de Estudis Catalans, 2015: 880-890. For the interregnum, it is essential to consult the book by Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel. *El Interregno (1410-1412). Concordia y compromiso político en la Corona de Aragón*, Saragossa: Centro de Estudios del Bajo Aragón-Caspe, 2011.

3. There is a very wide bibliography about this question. Among the most recent contributions, see, for example, Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel, ed. *Acta Curiarum Regni Aragonum. Parlamentos del Interregno (1410-1412). Actas del Parlamento de Alcañiz-Zaragoza (1411-1412) (continuación). Actas del Compromiso de Caspe (1412). Sentencia del Compromiso de Caspe (25 junio 1412)*, Saragossa: Gobierno de Aragón, Departamento de Educación, Cultura y Deporte-Ibercaja, 2011: VII/2; Gimeno Blay, Francisco M. *El Compromiso de Caspe (1412). Diario del Proceso*, Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2012; Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. “Aragón y el Compromiso de Caspe (1410-1412)”. *Rolde: revista de cultura aragonesa*, 143-144 (2012): 60-67; Morales Arrizabalaga, Jesús. “La Concordia de Alcañiz y el ‘Compromiso’ de Caspe de 1412, desde la legislación, el derecho y la justicia”, *Rolde: revista de cultura aragonesa*, 143-144 (2012): 69-75; Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel, ed. *La Corona de Aragón en el centro de su historia, 1208-1458. El Interregno y el Compromiso de Caspe*, Saragossa: Gobierno de Aragón-Centro de Estudios Medievales de Aragón, 2012, in which we highlight the contributions by Canellas Anoz, Beatriz. “Actas de los Parlamentos de Cataluña y Aragón tras la muerte de Martín el Humano y del Compromiso de Caspe y elección de Fernando de Antequera”: 11-39; Navarro Espinach, Germán. “La historiografía moderna del Compromiso de Caspe”: 41-59, and Morales Arrizabalaga, Jesús, “La ‘publicación’ de Fernando de Castilla como Rey de Aragón: El ‘Compromiso’ de Caspe de 1412 como cuestión de justicia”: 315-346. Gimeno Blay, Francisco M. *Una Corona, set aspirants. Casp 1412*, Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 2013; Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. “El Compromiso de Caspe: el hecho histórico”, *XIX Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón. El Compromiso de Caspe (1412), cambios dinásticos y constitucionalismo en la Corona de Aragón*, Isabel Falcón, ed. Saragossa: Ibercaja-Gobierno de Aragón, 2013: 117-127, and Sabaté, Flocel. “Per què hi va haver un Compromís de Casp?”, *Els valencians en el Compromís de Casp i en el Cisma d’Occident*, Ricard Bellveser, ed. Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 2013: 45-119, and by the same Sabaté, Flocel. “El Compromiso de Caspe ¿ruptura dinástica o modelo de estado?”, *Ruptura i legitimació dinàstica a l’Edat Mitjana*, Flocel Sabaté, ed. Lleida: Pagès editors, 2015: 279-290.

4. The letter from the delegates announcing the election of Ferdinand on 28th June, stated that: *...deure esser prestat per tots los sotsmesos a la real corona Darago lo deute de fealtat* (the duty of loyalty must be paid by all those under the royal Crown of Aragon). Bofarull y Mascaró, Próspero. *Procesos de las antiguas Cortes y Parlamentos de Cataluña, Aragón y Valencia custodiados en el Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón*, Barcelona: Establecimiento Litográfico y Tipográfico de Jose Eusebio Monfort, 1848: III, 278. The count’s ambassadors in the Seu in Lleida took the oath. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. Ángel Canellas López, Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1980: V, 304-305.



king of Aragon considered intervening against James of Urgell.⁵ However, this did not prevent Ferdinand from notifying some monarchs, such as the Moroccan Abu Saïd Utman III, stating:

*... el bueno e pacífico stamieto e sosiego de todos nuestros regnos sin otra contradiccion alguna assin como si desde que nascieremos fueramos Rey dellos. E assi mesmo el comde durgell el duque de gandia don ffrederich que demandauen los dïtos nuestros regnos como competidores nos han obedescido e jurado por su Rey e senyor.*⁶

2. The Count of Urgell's challenge to the king of Aragon

This situation led the new king of Aragon to send to Castile the men at arms who had helped him to obtain the kingdom, and who were disgruntled with the payment received and who, in Zurita's words, *...presumían haber sido la causa que reinase en ellos pacíficamente.*⁷ It was the Count of Urgell who would benefit from these events and, through Antonio de Luna and father García de Sesé, he began negotiations with the Duke of Clarence to obtain his military help and to contract foreign mercenaries willing to fight against the King of Aragon.⁸ To all this, we

5. As he informed Ponz de Ribelles in a letter sent from Saragossa on 14th October 1412, as we know through Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón último conde de Urgel. Memoria leída en las sesiones ordinarias celebradas por la Real Academia de Buenas Letras los días 11 y 25 de abril de 1899*, Barcelona: Real Academia de Buenas Letras, 1899: 292 (doc. No. 107). See also: González Sánchez, Santiago. *Itinerario de don Fernando, regente de Castilla y rey de Aragón (1407-1416)*, Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2013: 135, and Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "De efemérides, aniversarios y estancias reales. Fernando I de Aragón (1412-1416) en Zaragoza", *Miscelánea de Estudios en homenaje a Guillermo Fatás Cabeza*, Antonio Duplá Ansuategui, María Victoria Escribano Paño, Laura Sancho Rocher, María Agustias Villacampa Rubio, eds. Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2014: 641.

6. "The good and peaceful situation of all our kingdoms, without any opposition, as if we had been king of them since we were born. And also the count of Urgell, the Duke of Gandia, Don Federico, who demanded our kingdoms as competitors, have obeyed us and sworn to their king and lord". ACA., C., reg. 2401, f. 54r, published by Arribas Palau, Mariano. *Intercambio de embajadas entre Abu Saïd Utman III de Marruecos y Fernando I de Aragón*, Tetuan: Centro de Estudios Marroquíes, 1956: 31.

7. "... they boasted about being the reason that he reigned peacefully in them". Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 307.

8. Zurita, Jerónimo, *Anales...*: 317-319; Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica del serenísimo príncipe don Juan, segundo rey deste nombre en Castilla y León, escrita por el noble y muy prudente caballero Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, Señor de Batres, del su Consejo*, Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1953: LXVIII/II, 347-348. It seems that Antonio de Luna was in Bordeaux contracting mercenaries to help the count of Urgell, as we know through various testimonies. See, for example, the one in Bofarull y de Sartorio, Manuel de. *Proceso contra el último conde de Urgel y su familia*, Barcelona: Imprenta del Archivo, 1868: I, 275. *E dix que... estant a Bordeu veu aqui al dit don Anthon qui soldejaba gent per entrar e esforzar lo comte Durgell contra lo Rey Darago e que axi ho dehién tots los de sa casa e ho saben molts altres castellans e altra gent que eran a Bordeu* ("and he said that.. being in Bordeaux he saw there said Anthon who paid people to enter and reinforce the Count of Urgell against the King of Aragon and that is what they were saying in his house and it is known by many other Castilians and other people who were in Bordeaux").



must add the count's audacity of raising flags for his cause and calling himself king.⁹ This, combined with the actions of some of his leading supporters, like Antonio de Luna,¹⁰ who took the castles of Trasmoz and Montearagón,¹¹ or the foreign troops contracted (Gascons and English) crossing of the frontier, led to a process and to the king deciding to intervene directly against him.¹² In the end, this decision was conditioned by the actions by James' troops in Catalonia, Aragon and Valencia. Thus, on the 24th of June, led by a group of noble supporters of James¹³ the Urgell

9. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 326.

10. Moxó y Montoliu, Francisco de. "Raíces navarras de la Casa de Luna", *Primer Congreso General de Historia de Navarra. 3 Comunicaciones. Edad Media, Príncipe de Viana*, Pamplona: Institución Príncipe de Viana, 1988: 144 (note 88) shows the many kinship links between the Lunas and such important Catalan lineages as the Cervelló, Montcada and Cárdena, which would be behind the favourable posture of Antonio de Luna towards the Count of Urgell.

11. Sancho Izquierdo, Miguel. "Ensayo de una biografía de don Antonio de Luna y de su influencia en el Compromiso de Caspe", *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 18/30 (1914): 280 and 281. The first fortress was in the district of the Somontano del Moncayo y Tarazona. We have documents that show that Trasmoz was in the hands of men of arms of Antonio de Luna at the beginning of May 1413. On the 9th of that month, the monarch addressed the governor of Aragón urging him to call on all of those who had land from him to besiege the castle. In the same misive, the king explained that he was writing to the cities of Saragossa and Calatayud to supply him with devices, bombards and all other artillery apt for fighting and taking the castle of Trasmoz. Likewise, Tarazona and the villages in the district had begun to besiege the castle and would not leave it until they had taken it. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2383, f. 3v. The letter to the council of Calatayud dated on the same 9th of May asked them to send as many people as possible to the siege of Trasmoz, as they had from Tarazona, and that they supply lombardas and other artillery so the governor of Aragón could take it. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2383, f. 4v. The second fortress is in the municipality of Quicena, in the Hoya de Huesca and thus very close to this city. According to the confession by Pedro Meluso and two other supporters of James of Urgell, captured in Barbastro, there were only twenty-two defenders in Montearagón in the early days of August 1413, and they had no water, as they took it from the river and were isolated from the rest of the support of the Count of Urgell who they decided to ask for help. The king recommended Pedro Estañella, notary of Barbastro... *que los deuades bien strenyr en special al agua e que vnos quinze dias los tengades bien strenydos no admonendo les tracto alcuno nin atorgando les remision tro a tanto qu'ende hayades otro ardit o sentimiento segunt el qual d'alli auant uso regiredes... E por esto remetemos a vos que si entendredes que tracto alcuno sia vtil e proueytoso que y pasedes* ("That you must restrict especially the water and in some fifteen days you have them well restricted not permitting them any deal nor granting them pardon until you have another means or feeling for which you will govern from then on... and for this reason we refer to you if you understand any deal, that this be useful and profitable"). Lleal, Coloma. *El castellano del siglo xv en la Corona de Aragón*, Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1997: 31-32 (doc. No. 6). On the 11th of August, the surrender of Montearagón was signed, and it was in the power of the troops under King Ferdinand on the 15th of August, as we know from the ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2403, f. 62v; López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I d'Antequera amb els infants d'Aragó i la reina Elionor (1413-1416)*, Valencia: Universitat de València, 2004: 61-62 (doc. No. 50). Some authors put it back to the 29th like: Arco, Ricardo del. "El monasterio de Montearagón". *Argensola*, 53-54 (1963): 5.

12. See, for example: Guallar Pérez, Manuel. "El Conde don Jaime de Urgel frente al rey don Fernando de Antequera. Un episodio leridano de esta lucha, el sitio de Balaguer y la rendición del Conde al Rey, con los antecedentes de su rebeldía, según el relato que de aquellos sucesos hizo Lorenzo Valla", *Miscel·lània Homenatge al professor Salvador Roca i Lletjós*, Lleida: Institut d'Estudis Ilerdencs de l'Excelentíssima Diputació Provincial de Lleida, 1981: 186-208.

13. About the pro-Urgell Catalan nobility, especially the leading role of Berenguer de Fluvià, see: Bertran Roigè, Prim. "El comtat d'Urgell i el Compromís de Casp", *Ruptura i legitimació dinàstica a l'Edad Mitjana*, Flocel Sabaté, ed. Lleida: Pagès editors, 2015: 152-156.



troops attacked Lleida from Albesa, seized Corbins and the mills of Picabaix, but did not manage to take the city.¹⁴ After the battle of Alcolea de Cinca, in early July there was the siege and surrender of Buñol Castle. This siege lasted from the 5th to the 19th of July when the royal troops defeated the supporters of the Count of Urgell and seized the fortress.¹⁵ Simultaneously, Ferdinand also reinforced his external position by signing a peace treaty with the Republic of Genoa on the 12th of June in Barcelona. Among other clauses, this treaty established that neither of the two parties would give any help to any rebel subjects of the other, and that these would be taken as those that either party indicated by means of letter or embassy, preventing them from recruiting men of arms, ships, supplies, etc.¹⁶ It is hardly

14. ... *vench de nit a Leyda ab gent d'armes, e les guaytes dels murs, sentints les génts, cridaren grans crits e aquell, vehentse decubert, tornassen a Balaguer* ("Came by night to Lleida with armed people, and the watchmen on the walls, hearing the people, shouted with great cries and they, seeing they had been discovered, returned to Balaguer"), according to the description in the *Crónica de Pere Maça*, ed. José Hinojosa Montalvo, Valencia: Universitat de València. Secretariado de Publicaciones, 1979: 46. Valla, Lorenzo. *Historia de Fernando de Aragón*, ed. Santiago López Moreda, Madrid: Ediciones Akal. Clásicos Latinos Medievales y Renacentistas, 2002: 185-186. Although the information is not compared and so with the due precautions, see also Roca, Luis. *Fastos Ilerdenses. Colección de efemérides pertenecientes a la historia de la ciudad*, Lleida: José Sol e Hijo, 1873: 16 (doc. No. 27 de 1413). *Por espacio de cinco horas mantienen un reñido combate contra la Ciudad en el punto llamado Mercadal, situado extramuros junto al antiguo camino de Balaguer los capitanes del Conde de Urgel Pedro Cortit, Artal de Alagon y P. Ramon de Fluviá, quienes tras la pérdida de más de sesenta de los suyos, entre muertos y heridos, ante la brava resistencia de la Ciudad, de cuyos defensores ninguno recibió daño se ven obligados á declararse en retirada, y la verifican con direccion á Alandí y á Benavent, donde con dicho conde se alojan, talando campos, destruyendo molinos é incendiando algunos lugares* ("For five hours the captains of the Count of Urgell Pedro Cortit, Artal de Alagon and P. Ramon de Fluviá maintained a close combat against the City in the point called Mercadal, situated outside the walls next to the old path to Balaguer and who later the loss of more than sixty of theirs, between dead and injured, faced with the strong resistance of the City, none of whose defenders were harmed, were obliged to declare a retreat, and they verified it in direction towards Alkandí and Benavent, weher said count was lodged, cutting fields, destroying mills and setting fire to some places"). The date of the attack on Lleida and the events that took place are in the RAH, Col. Salazar y Castro, 9-3-4-G-15, modern signature 9-462, ff. 192r-v, as contained in my article González Sánchez, Santiago. "1413, el año inédito de la 'Crónica de Juan II de Castilla' de Álvaro García de Santa María, del manuscrito 9-462 de la Real Academia de la Historia", *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 214/2 (2017): 225. A few days later, the monarch wrote a letter to the councillors and leading figures in the city of Lleida in which he told them he was sending García de Villagómez and P. Alonso de Pande with certain artillery and equipment he had ordered made and others that had to be made to continue against James of Urgell, his land, vassals and minions. All that, undoubtedly, for the protection of the city and with a view to besieging other places under the count. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2403, f. 38, published by Jiménez Catalán, Manuel, *Apuntes para la historia de Balaguer*, Saragossa: Librería de Cecilio Gasca, 1913: 183 (Appendix 3).

15. On the 16th of July the castle had still not surrendered, as we know through Tintó Sala, Margarita. *Cartas del baile general de Valencia, Joan Mercader al rey Fernando de Antequera*, Valencia: Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1979: 170 (doc. No. 6). Rubio Vela, Agustín. "Del asedio de Buñol al de Balaguer. Los valencianos y la sublevación de Jaume d'Urgell (1413)". *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura*, 77 (2001): 155-217 (especially 159 and 165). And by the same, Rubio Vela, Agustín. "Después de Caspe. El urgelismo y las oligarquías", *La Corona de Aragón en el centro de su Historia. El Interregno y el Compromiso de Caspe (1410-1412), Saragossa and Alcañiz, 24th, 25th and 26th November 2010*, José Ángel Sesma Muñoz, ed. Saragossa: Gobierno de Aragón-Centro de Estudios Medievales de Aragón, 2011: 268.

16. Camarena Mahiques, José. *Tratado de paz entre Aragón y Génova en 1413*, Valencia: Diputación Provincial de Valencia, 1953: 100-104.



worth mentioning that the first person affected by this measure would be Count James of Urgell.

The vulnerable position the monarch found himself in led him to call on his people from Castile. Ferdinand decided how many people each had to bring, who had to come and from where, the reasons for the new call, the meeting point and that their arrival was urgent, also adding that although, *...para estos se empeñasen, que les daba su fe de ge lo bien pagar*.¹⁷ The appeal to Castilians of any condition in Barcelona to stay denoted fear and lack of foresight on the part of Ferdinand, as well as distrust of his new subjects.¹⁸

3. The direct clash

The military clash between Ferdinand and the Count of Urgell began shortly after a new arrival of Castilian troops in the territories of the Crown of Aragon, with the prior approval of the Courts.¹⁹ We do not know specifically how long the Castilian troops took to reach Aragon. The sources consulted mention the readiness and speed of their arrival,²⁰ and that those who took the longest took no more than ten days²¹ or they took very few days.²² In any case, from reading all these, it can be concluded that the speed with which they came would have been due essentially to their loyalty to the King of Aragon. Thus, the strategy of the Count of Urgell and some of his supporters was based on the discontent among the Castilians for not having been paid what was owed to them²³ and that this would prevent them from

17. "... for these he went into debt, he gave them his good word that they would be well paid". Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 348-349. This nuance that Pérez de Guzmán indicates is interesting when considering if what Zurita expresses about the payment for the Castilians after their first entry into the kingdoms of the Crown of Aragon as valid. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 307. The *Crónica incompleta del reinado de Fernando I de Aragón*, ed. Luis Vela Gormedino, Saragossa: Anubar, 1985: 24, supplies the list of councils from Castile that were requested to send men at arms. These were Medina del Campo, Cuéllar, Olmedo, Paredes de Nava and Arévalo.

18. The Castilian presence in the king's guard before and during the events studied here are widely verified. For this, see various sheets in ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500bis, ff. 6v-30r, for example. Some of the Castilians in this guard were: Juan Soriano, Juan de Sada, Pedro de Peñafiel, Fernando de Medina, Álvaro de León, Gonzalvo de Ávila, Juan de Herrera, Gonzalvo de Oñón, Juan López de Arévalo, Gonzalvo de Cuéllar, Pascual López de Poyo, Martín Pérez, Alfonso Zapata, Alfonso de Salas, Gómez de Moraleja, Pedro Sánchez de Cadreta, Fernando Dávila, Luis de Poyo, Benito Sánchez, Fernando Alfonso de Sevilla, Álvaro Garavito, Pedro Gonzalez de Toledo, Fernando Carrillo, Ordoño de Zamudio, etc.

19. *Crónica incompleta...*: 24.

20. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 334.

21. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 349.

22. *Crónica incompleta...*: 24.

23. As we know from a document published by Florencio Janer, the payment stipulated in the first entry of Castilian troops was a florin per day for each lance and ten *maravedíes* per day for the crossbowmen. Janer y Graells, Florencio. *Examen de los sucesos y circunstancias que motivaron el Compromiso de Caspe*, y



responding to his new call,²⁴ can be considered a failure. A considerable number of these troops, at least for the importance of their captains, must have arrived around mid-June. At that time, on the 14th and 15th of the month, the monarch penned various missives to the *escribano de ración* ("paymaster general"), leading nobles of Aragon and all the kingdom's officials, urging them to give accommodation and sell the bread and wine and what was required with their money to the *Adelantado* of Castile, Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, Diego Pérez Sarmiento, Pedro Nuñez de Guzmán, Luis de la Cerda and Per Alonso de Escalante, who came with some men of arms to serve in Aragon.²⁵

The meeting point was set in Saragossa, and this is where the Castilians arrived, although not all at the same time²⁶ as there were knights who joined them later. The number of troops must have surpassed Ferdinand's initial provisions and would have been around a thousand lances.²⁷ The tactic the king used to position the troops was the same as the previous time, namely dispersion. However, three main nuclei were established from where the Castilians could carry out their action. These were Huesca, Sesa and Pertusa, all fairly close and where the troops who had arrived in Saragossa were sent. The cantonment in this area would indicate various facts. In first place, the area where foreign troops were expected to enter²⁸ and, on the other hand, Ferdinand's implementation of control over the frontier crossings, which was maintained until the end of the campaign against the Count of Urgell.²⁹

juicio crítico de este acontecimiento y de sus consecuencias en Aragón y en Castilla, Madrid: Imprenta de la Real Academia de la Historia, 1855: 147-148.

24. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 333.

25. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2383, ff. 55v, 56r and 58v-59r.

26. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 335; Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 349. He also shows Saragossa as a meeting point. Canellas López, Ángel. "El reino de Aragón en el siglo xv (1410-1479)", *Historia de España de Menéndez Pidal*, Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1964: XV, 356.

27. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 349; *Crónica incompleta...*: 24. These two works give the figure of a thousand lances from Castile, while Zurita, Jerónimo, *Anales...*: 335, offers disperse data that when summed give a figure of nine hundred and ten lances.

28. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 321. The proximity of this part of the frontier to Navarre, the existence of Navarrese helping to take the castle of Trasmoz and the possible help from its king for the Count of Urgell, led Ferdinand to send him an embassy in May 1413. What was wanted from Charles III was his involvement in the defence against the foreign troops in the shared pass of the Ansó Valley. Through the documentation, we know of the existence of an embassy sent by the king of Aragon to Navarre in mid November, possibly in 1412, with admiral Alfonso Enríquez and the archdeacon of Alcor for the Castilians and for the Aragonese, father Elfo. We do not know the final purpose of this mission for the secret the letter was written with. ACA., Cancillería, Cartas Reales, Fernando I, caja 19, n.º 2546.

29. Examples of this are the letter that two consuls in Perpignan wrote to the king of Aragon on the 7th of October and that are transcribed below.

Apres, molt excellent senyor, notificam a la vostra molt excellent e alta senyoria com nosaltres, quj continuament tenjm nostres spies en les parts de Gascunya e de Tolosa, per raho de les grans famas que, per molts dies passats han trebaylat del ajustament e venguda de part deça de gent darmes, en socors de Jayme dUrgell, hauem cobrades daquelles de pochis dies en ça tres, quj tots concordantment han reportat que en nagüa daquelles parts no son aplegades companyes darmes algunes, quj sien dalgun caler e lo deurer que hauem cobrat ha camjnat tot lo comtat de Comenge segujnt dum en vn tots los lochs on hoya dir que hauja gent darmes e aquest diu e reporta que en tot lo comtat de Comenge ell no ha trobade gent darmes aplegada, sino en vn loch qujs apella Martres, on troba mossen Aymerich de Comenge ab xxx o xxxv rossins, quj, segons lj fon dit, era ab la dita gent aplegat per fer la serca del dit comtat



As mentioned, this sector of the Franco-Aragonese frontier and even Navarre were expected to be especially conflictive with the forecast of the entry of foreign troops as corroborated by various letters sent to, and received by, the Castilian Suero de Nava, and in which the concerns were focussed on Antonio de Luna. The first of these, which is undated, was from Suero de Nava to King Ferdinand in the following terms:

Al mas catholico e mas verdadero e sforçado nostro Senyor el muit alto e muyt poderoso don Ferrando per la gracia de Dios Rey Darago.

E Senyor diz que don Anthon entienden que con estos dineros fara mil combatientes de los ingleses o mil et quingentos e que haura de Gascunya fasta sietecentos combatientes e que dizen que ellos tanto que sian en esto regno tienen grandos tractos con algunos cavalleros e con algunos lugares e que ante que la vostra merce se percibria e los se reforçaran per manera que vos no los porets echar del regno. E Senyor dizen que tantost que entren en lo regno que luego entenden de tomar voç de llamar Rey a don Jayme. E ellos paren que han a entrar per lo puerto de Sola que es entre Bearn e Navarra e entienden que ellos serán en esta tierra a priessa. E si quierre Senyor si hi enviassades unos quingentos ombres darmes de aquellos que están en Barchinona a esta cuitat de Huesca car ellos senyor dizen alla que llegando a esta cuidat sera suya. E Senyor antes que estas cosas vayan mas adelante vostra merce deve compendre todos los cavalleros del regno a vostro gage por enviar por castellans. E dizen que ellos alla dizen que vostra persona e vostres fijos no pueden seyer seguros si en poder de castellanos no e que aquellos tienen ellos en gran reciello e por exo prenguieran a mi scudero por que no nos avisasse que no enviassedes por ellos. Vostro humil servidor Suero de Naua.³⁰

de Comenge; e, en ul altre loch qujs appellat Rengatges, troba lo senyor de Campayanch ab L. rossins o entorn e ab xv o xvij homens a peu disent aquest que vol morir, si en tot lo dit comtat de Comenge ha de present altre gent darmes aplegada mas auant sen apres de uers Tholosa diu que aquj ha trobades les fames acostumades, les quals, en veritat, senyor molt excellent, cresem nosaltres ques meten mjsterialment per algũs quj son aquj del dit Jayme d'Urgell ("Then, very excellent sir, we notified your very excellent and high honor like us, that we continually have our spies in the areas of Gascony and Toulouse, who for many days have worked on the price and coming to this part of combatants, in aid of Jaime de Urgel, we have captured three of those in a few days, we have been informed that in none of those areas are there combatants, either in the county of Comenge, except in a place called Martres, where Aymerich de Comenge is with thirty or thirty-five horse, which would be to surround the aforementioned county; and in another place called Rengatges, where Monsieur de Campayanch has fifty horse and fifteen or eighteen men standing by, saying that he wants to die, if in all the said county of Comenge there are presently people of arms gathered later near Toulouse he says that he has found the customary hungers, which in truth, most excellent lord, we believe that are mysteriously introduced by some that are here from said James of Urgell"). Published by Lopes de Almeida, Manuel, ed. *Monumenta Henricina*, (1411-1421), Coimbra: Publicado por Comissao Executiva do V centenario da morte do infante D. Henrique, 1960: II, 68 (doc. No. 22). Also the letter the monarch sent to Antonio de Bardají during the siege of Balaguer, informing him about the presence of Gascon troops six leagues from the frontier of Aragon, near the passes of Ribagorza and Gistán and the Arán Valley. ACA., C., reg. 2381, ff. 37, r-v. Or the one that Ferdinand wrote to Pedro de Urrea warning him of the foreign men of arms moving towards the passes of Jaca, undated. ACA., C., reg. 2381, f. 42v.

30. "To the most Catholic, truest and most courageous Lord, our very highest and most powerful Ferdinand, by the grace of God, King of Aragon. My Lord, they say that Don Antón understands that with this money he will have a thousand or fifteen hundred English combatants and from Gascony, seven hundred, and they say that when they are in these kingdoms they have great dealings with some knights and with some places and that before we realize it they will so be reinforced that they cannot be expelled from the kingdom. And lord they say that as soon as they enter the kingdom they will declare James the king. And it seems that they have to enter through the port of Sola that is between Bearn and Navarre and they understand to be here



The second letter is dated the 28th of May in Jaca and was destined for Suero de Nava giving him account of the ... *entrada que decían que haría por Francia don Antonio de Luna*, of the supporters he had and, especially, asking for ...*socorro de gentes*.³¹ This information and demands, as shown below, were close to the reality and were fully justified given that Antonio de Luna had penetrated and established himself in the fortress of Loarre with English troops.³² Thus, and since James' failure at Lleida on 27th June 1413, there were two nuclei where the military support for the Count of Urgell was concentrated, namely Loarre³³ and Balaguer.

It would be precisely the desire of James of Urgell to strengthen his position in Balaguer that led to his first serious military defeat, that of Captain Basilio who was leading the English troops sent to reinforce it.³⁴ This defeat not only implied prison or death for two hundred horsemen, between men of arms, archers and crossbowmen;³⁵ but also the loss of the money the Count of Urgell used, by impeding him from supplying himself with new combatants by this route,³⁶ cutting off possible help from Antonio de Luna and undermining his morale and that of his supporters, to mention some aspects.

quickly. My Lord, send five hundred fighters from those who are in Barcelona to Huesca, because they say they will be take this city. Lord, before these things go on you must send for Castilians. They say that your person and your children cannot be safe unless they are in the power of Castilians, that is why they took my squire so that you do not send for them. Your humble servant Suero de Nava". Bofarull y de Sartorio, Manuel de. *Proceso contra el último conde...*: I, 274-275.

31. "... entry that they said Antonio de Luna would make through France"; "... help for people" ACA., Cancillería, Cartas Reales, Fernando I, caja 18, n.º 2237.

32. These English troops spent a short time in Loarre, from where they went to France before they were caught by the forces the king had in Huesca. Sancho Izquierdo, Miguel, "Ensayo de una biografía...": 458.

33. This fortress held out against the king of Aragon until early 1414. On 10th May 1413, Ferdinand entrusted the taking of the castle to Juan Delgadillo, as we know through the ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2383, f. 6v.

34. We do not know if the fight took place ... *en terres Doscha* (in lands of Huesca) where the king's troops had the prisoners taken in the battle, as we take from Bofarull y de Sartorio, Manuel de. *Proceso contra el último conde...*: I, 112. News of the capture of Basilio, surely fleeing, not far from Castelfollit in the same publication, page 358. For the English involvement in the conflict, see the article by Rycraft, Peter. "Caspé vista desde Inglaterra", *XIX Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón. El Compromiso de Caspé (1412), cambios dinásticos y constitucionalismo en la Corona de Aragón*, Isabel Falcón, ed. Saragossa: Ibercaja-Gobierno de Aragón, 2013: 733-741. The criticism that can be made of this article is not so much about its contents but rather more the poor translation which hinders its understanding.

35. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 336. This author does not provide the human losses from this clash, only indicating the number of prisoners, forty, and their captain. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 349, cites Basilio among the dead, possibly with the aim of exalting the victory of the Castilians.

36. The entry of these troops could have been along the old Roman road that linked Béarn with Saragossa, as in the "Itinerario de Antonino" and that is mentioned by Ubieto Arteta, Antonio. "Los caminos que unían a Aragón con Francia en la Edad Media", *Les communications dans la Péninsule Ibérique au Moyen-Age, (Actes du Colloque de Pau, 28-29 mars 1980)*, Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1981: 23-24.



On the contrary, for the king of Aragon this victory meant an increase in his morale, that of his troops and followers³⁷ and, especially, the beginning of his direct involvement in the resolution of the conflict. In this sense, he sent a letter to his aunt Teresa de Ayala, prioress of the monastery of Santo Domingo el Real in Toledo, dated 13th July 1413, informing her of the defeat of Captain Basilio by his troops.³⁸ This battle also meant a qualitative jump as it was the first direct clash between the two sides in the conflict; an aspect that characterised a new phase. On the 15th, the monarch ordered a payment of 1,200 Barcelonan to Pedro Alfonso de la Panda, the head of the queen's household for the artillery that the king was sending to the Lleida area.³⁹

The Urgell supporters continued to exert pressure. Thus, on the 16th of July, the Castilian Martín de Pomar who was in the city of Huesca reinforced his position with the arrival of fresh troops under the also Castilian, Suero de Nava. Their orders were to resist the entry of Gascons and English.⁴⁰ However, part of these troops—sixty men of arms and a hundred and fifty foot soldiers—did not stay in the city but rather pursued those in favour of the Count of Urgell who were in some Pyrenean valleys, for example following the River Gállego upstream, with the castle of Javierre.⁴¹ The document we base this on is a good sample of the way some Castilian troops acted, the decision taking, the use of spies—which is deduced from certain information like the interception of a message—the enemies' means of supply and how many of them there were, as well as the existence of backers of the king of Aragon in the mountains, etc.

37. We know that the news was spread throughout the territories of the Crown of Aragon and was used to demoralise those supporters of the Count of Urgell who still resisted in certain places, like the castle of Buñol. Tintó Sala, Margarita. *Cartas del baile...*: 170 (doc. No. 6).

38. He indicates that he would leave... *de aquí (Se refiere a Barcelona) esta semana primera* ("... from here [referring to Barcelona] this first week"). This document, of which there is no signature, is from the archive of the monastery of Santo Domingo el Real in Toledo and was published by Álvarez de la Braña, Ramón. "Carta de don Fernando el de Antequera sobre una derrota de los ingleses en Aragón el año 1413", *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* [3rd series] 7 (1902): 382-383. Regarding those fallen in the battle, he shows that none of them got away and that Basilio had been captured. The nobles who took part in this clash were Diego Gómez de Sandoval *adelantado* of Castile, Luis de la Cerda and Pedro Alfonso de Escalante, on the Castilian side and for the, Aragonese, Juan de Ixar, father Juan de Bardají, the mayor general of Aragon and Jaime Cerdán. Diego Gómez de Fuensalida, bishop of Zamora, received the news of the defeat of the English through Fernando de Villarreal, Castilian squire of the company of Pedro Nuñez de Guzmán, on the 12th of July, as appears in the ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, ff. 36r-v. On the same 13th of July, he sent a letters dated in Barcelona with which he made a goodwill donation of 1,000 gold florins to Gómez de Vega and Pedro de Soto, squires to the *adelantado* of Castile, Diego Gómez de Sandoval, who had reported the defeat of the English, who the above mentioned *adelantado* and other inhabitants and vassals of the king of Aragon had defeated, as we know from the book by the treasurer Juan Dezplá. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 65v.

39. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 69v.

40. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 323.

41. González Sánchez, Santiago. "Documentos del reinado de Fernando I de Aragón relativos a Castilla (1412-1416)". *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 208/3 (2011): 381 (doc. No. 99).



What has been called a direct confrontation began with the king's decision to lead his troops,⁴² thus showing his desire to punish the Count of Urgell for his disrespect as an example to others. Ferdinand compared this action with uprooting the weeds from his kingdoms.⁴³ The combats in the new period that then began took two forms, a first one that in broad terms was dominated by raids in the country and that was repeated at certain moments during the siege to try to tighten the hold on the defenders even more, and the final phase that would comprise, primarily, the siege of the Count of Urgell in the town of Balaguer.

The sweeps across the country were essentially aimed at clearing out, freeing and occupying possible foci loyal to the Count of Urgell in the area where the fighting was to be concentrated, and on the count's possessions. Moreover, these were intended to cut possible supplies and clear out those favourable to the Urgell cause, with the inherent psychological impact of despondency and flight. The consequences of this was the occupation of the villages and castles of Apies, Menàrguens, Albesa,⁴⁴ Alcolea, Almolda, Castellflorida, Albalate de Cinca, Osso de Cinca,⁴⁵ Rafals, Puy de Cinca, Estanosa, Ibars, Os, Les Avellanes, Agramunt, Linyola and Castelló de Farfanya, some taken by force, others that ... *se rindieron a partido* and that were spread over the territories that made up the Crown of Aragon.⁴⁶ Some of these places no longer belonged to the Count of Urgell as he had ceded them to some

42. Carbó, Laura. "La relación competitiva entre Fernando I de Aragón y el conde de Urgel. El fracaso de la negociación y el enfrentamiento armado (1410-1413)", *Estudios de Historia de España*, 12/1 (2010): 73-91 <<http://bibliotecadigital.uca.edu.ar/repositorio/revistas/relacion-competitiva-fernando-conde-urgel.pdf>> (Consulted 26th November 2016). The king left Barcelona on the 26th of July according to what we know through Sans y Travé, Josep María, ed. *Dietaris de la Generalitat de Catalunya, anys 1411-1714*, Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya. Departament de la Presidència, 1994: I, 7.

43. González Sánchez, Santiago. "Documentos del reinado...": 381 (doc. No. 99).

44. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 343-345. In 1415, the town of Albesa, the southern point of the County of Urgell, came into the hands of the Castilian Diego Fernández de Vadillo by royal concession, as we find in Bertran Roigè, Prim. "El condado de Urgel. Aproximación histórica", *O rei o res. La fi del comtat d'Urgell*, Balaguer: Museu de la Noguera-Ajuntament de Balaguer, 2016: 351. We use the page numbering of the Castilian version. In the Catalan version, it is on: 11-25.

45. After the confiscation of the castles and towns of El Grado, Osso de Cinca, Castellflorida and La Almolda from the Count of Urgell, King Ferdinand gave them to the jurist Berenguer de Bardají and his son, Juan de Bardají, as can be seen in the transcription of the AHN., Sección Nobleza, Parcent, carpeta 40, n.º 10 made by Rodríguez Lajusticia, Francisco Saulo. "La confiscación de bienes aragoneses hecha al conde de Urgel: los castillos y villas de El Grado, Osso de Cinca, Castellflorida y La Almolda (1414)", *XIX Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón. El Compromiso de Caspe (1412), cambios dinásticos y constitucionalismo en la Corona de Aragón*, Isabel Falcón, ed. Saragossa: Ibercaja-Gobierno de Aragón, 2013: 718-724.

46. "...gave themselves up". Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 361. Alcolea, Os, Almolla, Castellflorida and Ratfallo had surrendered after the start of the siege of Balaguer, as explained in Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 334-335 (doc. No. 157) and in the López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 58 (doc. No. 45). The capitulation of Agramunt was drawn up on the 13th of August and on the 20th, the town surrendered, as we know from Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 36-341 (doc. No. 160). And as the monarch recognised in a letter to his son, Alfonso, it cost him the sum of 2,500 florins in López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 61-62 (doc. No. 50). With a more informative nature, see also Costafreda i Puigpinós, Virginia. "Agramunt a la fi del comtat d'Urgell". *Sió*, 595 (September 2013): 35-41.



relatives, like his wife, undoubtedly to ensure their future, as happened with Os, Agramunt, Albesa, Linyola or Balaguer itself.⁴⁷

4. The Castilians who supplied the royal troops

Despite the above, it must be born in mind that this fighting, as well as cutting the supply routes, involved the Castilian troops looking for booty and a means of supplying. This is shown clearly in the actions of Juan Delgado and Juan Carrillo before the seizure of Castelló de Farfanya, where they obtained over four hundred and fifty head of livestock, between cows, mares and mules.⁴⁸ The fear of a lack or shortage of stores for the many members of the royal army and the length of the siege was revealed on one of the occasions when the convenience or uselessness of deploying a considerable part of the troops to go to face the English companies, who were rumoured to be on their way to help the Count of Urgell, was discussed.⁴⁹ Thus, provisioning them with victuals was as essential as the supplies of arms, metals, material like buffalo hides to protect the engines, or the services of smiths, quarrymen and other craftsmen, so tending to increase the pressure on the besieged and to take Balaguer and so finish the resistance by James.

Among the people who took charge of sending supplies of all kinds to the people in the camp at Balaguer there were those closest to the monarch, like his son Alfonso, close to whom was the bishop León, Alfonso de Argüello, and Queen Leonor; to Fernando's Castilian collaborators like the bishop of Zamora or Catalans who joined his cause after his election as king, as happened with Pere de Sagarriga, archbishop of Tarragona.

4.1 Prince Alfonso

The role that Prince Alfonso played in supplying the encampment at Balaguer was of great relevance for the rapid conclusion of the siege of the town.⁵⁰ This is

47. Costafreda i Puigpinós, Virginia. "El fin del condado de Urgel: hablan sus protagonistas", *O rei o res. La fi del comtat d'Urgell*, Balaguer: Museu de la Noguera-Ajuntament de Balaguer, 2016: 438. I use the page numbering of the Castilian text. In the Catalan version this is on: 145-155.

48. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes de Urgel*, ed. Prósper de Bofarull y Mascaró, Barcelona: Establecimiento Litográfico y Tipográfico de Jose Eusebio Monfort, 1853: II, 490.

49. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 362.

50. In an identical sense, although he does not enounce himself expressly Arantegui, José, "El sitio de Balaguer en 1413. Bajo el punto de vista del empleo de la artillería", *Memorial de Artillería* [3rd serie], 15 (1887): 456. These functions of Prince Alfonso are also mentioned in the work by Aragón, M. Antonio. "El infante Alfonso de Aragón no asistió a la toma de Balaguer (1413)". *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón*, 7 (1962): 623-636; Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 492. And this is highlighted by Ryder, Alan. *Alfonso el Magnánimo, rey de Aragón, Nápoles y Sicilia (1396-1458)*, València: Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1992: 42-44.



shown by the quantity and importance of what he sent and the number of times that he was resorted to. In this sense, around forty letters have survived in which his father, King Ferdinand, asking him to send the arms, money, material and men he required to wage the siege of Balaguer.⁵¹ From a chronological point of view, the monarch's requests for supplies were made in line with the needs imposed by the strategy of the moment, so it is not surprising to find similar orders at different stages of the siege. This occurred on various occasions with the money to pay the soldiers, the requests for men to fight or craftsmen to make arms or build the pieces to make these work, as examples.

Among the material the monarch requested from his son was that related to setting up artillery pieces they had to use in the siege. These supplies included gunpowder⁵² or, if that was not available, saltpetre as a substitute, as well as sulphur, copper⁵³ and coal.⁵⁴ In the latter case, it was for use in the foundry by the blacksmiths who were making new copper bombards.⁵⁵

The requests for combatants have left documentary evidence. In such a sense, we know that Ferdinand asked his son to send three hundred skilled crossbowmen at the start of the siege of Balaguer,⁵⁶ and that later he again asked for one or two hundred armed men from the city of Barcelona with one month's salary paid,⁵⁷ plus two hundred other horsemen from Roussillon,⁵⁸ as well as his order to call up the militias through the use of *Princeps namque* in mid-September⁵⁹ or the request for an indeterminate number of crossbowmen, who prince Alfonso had already sent him at the end of the same month.⁶⁰

51. As well as the letters mentioned, there are approximately thirty the prince sent to his father related strictly with military affairs and that, from the ACA, are published or registered in the López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*

52. The king made several requests for gunpowder. The first, dated the 24th of August and repeated on the 27th of the same month and the 2nd of September, in which he requested 40 quintals, and a second on the 7th of October asking his son to send 50 quintals. These are in the López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...:76-77* (doc. No. 68); 83-84 (doc. No. 77);101 (doc. No. 99) and 160 (doc. No. 176), respectively.

53. In the amount of fifty quintals of saltpetre, sulphur and copper, as we take from Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...: 349* (doc. No. 172), and from López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...: 160* (doc. No. 176).

54. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 458-459.

55. Copper should be understood in that epoch as bronze, as shown by Castro y Sayz, Adolfo de. *Apuntes para la historia de la fundición de artillería de bronce en España*, Madrid: Imprenta del Cuerpo de Artillería, 1887: 3. Then, Cipolla, Carlo M. *Cañones y velas en la primera fase de la expansión europea 1400-1700*, Barcelona: Ariel, 1967: 25, indicates that bronze is technically very easy to melt down and all over Europe, there were large numbers of craftsmen familiar with this process due to the widespread and ancient demand for bells.

56. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...: 34* (doc. No. 9).

57. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...: 113* (doc. No. 111). Reference to these men of arms also in 118-119 (doc. No. 120).

58. Prince Alfonso informed his father of the difficulty he had in finding them. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...: 129* (doc. No. 134) y 142-144 (doc. No. 153).

59. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...: 128-129* (doc. No. 133).

60. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...: 153* (doc. No. 166).



Other fairly numerous requests from the king were for the tools to make arms or devices like the siege towers for the combats. Ferdinand asked his son on various occasions for shafts for lances and others with iron hooks, long and strong lances with which to hold the ladders against the walls;⁶¹ arrowheads,⁶² of which 3,000 thick ones and other fine ones and strong irons, the best that could be found, another 20,000 common ones, but of the best forging⁶³ and almost at the end of the siege, 35 or 40,000 arrowheads, also of the finest quality.⁶⁴

The building, setting up and repairing of offensive and defensive arms, as well as the various machines required the presence of numbers of specialists in the various tasks, most of whom were craftsmen. A good part of them were involved in woodwork, metalwork, stonework and the rope-making. At the beginning of August, the king asked his son Alfonso to send carpenters and *molers* to make the artillery pieces.⁶⁵ Almost at the end of the siege, the king ordered Alfonso to arrest the six carpenters from Barcelona who had left the camp at Balaguer without permission.⁶⁶

In early September, the urgency was for thirty stonemasons,⁶⁷ surely to shape the stones that were to be used as cannonballs to bombard Balaguer. Three days later, on the 5th of September, the king increased this number to forty.⁶⁸ Despite this, in a later missive, the king explained the desertion of a high number of stonemasons, specifically twenty, who had abandoned the camp without permission.⁶⁹ The *molers*, were also masons but experts in making rotating grindstones that were used to sharpen, polish, deburr, rectify, shape, etc., and would be of great use in the siege. The king asked Alfonso to send him *molers*, without specifying the number, in early August,⁷⁰ and it seems his son had sent them by the 10th.⁷¹ On the 20th of September, Ferdinand again asked for eight good young *molers* with their tools for

61. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 39 (doc. No. 19).

62. Without specifying the number in the López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 115 (doc. No. 114).

63. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 145 (doc. No. 155).

64. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 197 (doc. No. 228).

65. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 43 (doc. No. 23).

66. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 196-197 (doc. No. 227).

67. Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 343-344 (doc. No. CLXIV); López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 101 (doc. No. 99).

68. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 106-107 (doc. No. 103).

69. The letter is dated 20th September and it contains an accusation against twenty masons, who had reached the camp to make the stones for the engines and the bombards, of abandoning it without leave. The king had ordered them to be sought and twelve of them had been found and taken in chains. Ferdinand I ordered his son to send them back, with their foreman by the name of Sala, to punish them for what they had done. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 135 (doc. No. 145). Dated the 8th of October, the monarch addressed the town of Cervera asking them to send various masons from the town, as seen in Giménez Soler, Andrés, *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 350 (doc. No. CLXXIV).

70. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 43 (doc. No. 23).

71. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 49 (doc. No. 35).



whom he had a great need,⁷² a request that was repeated on the 25th, but now for twenty, also young and with their tools.⁷³ There was less need for gunsmiths, as the monarch asked his son for five or six, and only on one occasion.⁷⁴

Although not mentioned expressly, specialists were also very necessary for rope-making, bearing in mind the large number of times the monarch requested this material, and for the handling of these ropes. Ferdinand wrote to Alfonso on various occasions to tell him about the... *gran fretura de cànem per fer cordes als gins e a altres menuderies*,⁷⁵ to send him six que ropes of *cànem* thirty fathoms each for the siege towers and fourteen hatchets, and that the ropes should be as thick as... *la breó del bras*.⁷⁶ This number doubled, to twelve, but now thirty-five fathoms and as thick as an arm.⁷⁷ However, the need for rope continued throughout the siege of Balaguer. Thus, on the 20th and 25th of September, the monarch again sent an order to his son to supply him with twenty quintals of *cànem fi* (fine hemp) without oakum to make ropes, twelve ropes of the same product but thirty-six fathoms long and as thick as a man's wrist, and eight more ropes thirty-six fathoms long and as thick as a *manesca* lance as, without the ropes or bolts,... *res no podem fer ací*.⁷⁸ With another purpose and almost a month later, dated on the 22nd of October, Ferdinand asked his son to send two hundred skeins of twine thread, of the best that he could find,⁷⁹ to which he added twenty more two days later⁸⁰ and a hundred and fifty on the 28th of the same month, for strings for the crossbows, as those that the bishop (he must have been referring to the bishop of León) had sent were thick and were useless.⁸¹

For handling the ropes, the king asked Alfonso to send thirty sailors, the most apt and skilled he could find, for the day of the battle.⁸² They would undoubtedly be in charge of an important part of moving the siege engines that had been built close to the defences of Balaguer, although they would play a minor role in the final moment.

72. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 135 (doc. No. 145).

73. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 145 (doc. No. 155).

74. Dated the 10th of September, as found in the López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 115 (doc. No. 114).

75. "... great workmanship in hemp to make ropes for the machines and other elements". López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 83-84 (doc. No. 77).

76. "... the thickness of an arm". López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 115 (doc. No. 114).

77. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 127 (doc. No. 130).

78. "... we can do nothing like this". López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 135 (doc. No. 145) and 145 (doc. No. 155). The latter document contains the phrase cited at the end.

79. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 188 (doc. No. 211).

80. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 189-190 (doc. No. 214).

81. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 197 (doc. No. 228).

82. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 146 (doc. No. 156). Other news about the resort to sailors comes from a document dated the 19th of October 1413, when Juan Mora, a sailor at the head of those who had left from Barcelona four days before, arrived in the camp at Balaguer. This contingent was made up of the above-mentioned Juan Mora, sixteen crossbowmen and nine with pavises. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 137r-v.



Despite all the above, the making of artillery, the arrival of fresh reinforcements and their salaries, the supply of various materials, in other words, the continuity of the siege, depended on the money available. In this sense, Prince Alfonso played an essential role in financing the endeavour, as being able to have the money more or less quickly depended on his skill at negotiating and his powers of conviction. On the 2nd of August, the king ordered him to find out where the jewels of James of Urgell and his family were,⁸³ surely to pawn or sell them to pay for the siege. The prince, through the network of informers he had, must have worked hard on this task as, on the 23rd of the month, he sent his father a missive informing him that he had found some people who had jewels and other assets of the count of Urgell, his wife and his mother, and that they had seized them.⁸⁴ The monarch answered on the 27th ordering him to... *de continent emparar e facts tenir de manifest al present tro quey aiám feyta altra provesio*.⁸⁵ However, we do not know if these assets were used for the ends cited.

Besides, Alfonso role was fundamental in negotiating a loan of 50,000 florins from the Catalan Courts.⁸⁶ The first news we have of monarch's need for money dates from the 6th of August, a day after the start of his siege of Balaguer.⁸⁷ In fact, that same day, he asked his son to send 25,000 florins without delay,⁸⁸ a quantity the prince had already sent by the 10th of the month.⁸⁹ The monarch's expectations about the length of the siege and, surely, the political reality of the lands he ruled, make it difficult to understand that he would begin this undertaking with the financial resources he had available. Thus, it can be understood why, on the 15th of August, he had already spent almost all of the 25,000 florins, as he recognised that... *no havem al present pus moneda de què.ns puscam occórrer ne sabem bonament d'on ne per quina via prestament ne puscam haver*, which is why he asked his son to negotiate with the Catalan Courts to lend him 25 or 30,000 florins,⁹⁰ although two days earlier, he had reported his negotiations with the same institution for a loan of 50,000

83. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 36 (doc. No. 13).

84. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 74 (doc. No. 65).

85. "...take with care and keep in mind any other provision". Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 342-343 (doc. No. CLXIII).

86. In total, the Courts of Catalonia lent the monarch 82,000 florins, part of which also served for the recovery of Cerdanya. Ferdinand presented a proposition in the Courts in Montblanc in 1414 asking to be exempted from repaying said amount, alleging that he could not do so... *per la gran disminucio e alienacio de nostre real patrimoni, les rendes del qual segons sabets e es notori son empenyorades, alienades, e en moltes altres maneres disminuïdes* ("for the great reduction and alienation of our royal patrimony, the incomes of which as is known are pledged, alienated, and in many other ways diminished"). *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón y de Valencia y principado de Cataluña*, Madrid: Imprenta de la Real Academia de la Historia, 1907: XI, 345.

87. González Sánchez, Santiago, *Itinerario...*: 153.

88. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 43 (doc. No. 22).

89. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 48 (doc. No. 34).

90. "...we do not have any more money in the present to be able to help nor do we know well where or how quickly or if we can have more". López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 62 (doc. No. 50).



florins.⁹¹ The negotiations to obtain approval for this lasted from the 13th to the 28th of August.⁹² The loan of such a large amount seems to have been split into various instalments. The first that should be handed over by the eighteen people who made up the commission appointed by the Courts of Catalonia would be of 20,000 florins, as we deduce from a letter the prince sent to his father on the 13th of September where he explained that he was dealing with said representatives for the granting of a loan of 6,000 florins, from the remaining 30,000, to pay two month's salary for the two hundred horsemen who had to go with the governor of Roussillon to guard the passes and ports.⁹³ The following day, the 14th of September, the eighteen-man commission agreed to provide the prince with the 6,000 florins for the payment of the two hundred horses that the king had requested from them.⁹⁴ A week later, the letters that were exchanged almost daily mention money, some in which requests for it were made and others explaining the reasons for the delay in sending it. Thus, on the 20th, the king again asked his son to send him 30,000 florins immediately with Leonardo de Sos.⁹⁵ The following day, the prince again wrote to his father explaining the difficulty he had to find and send him money, because the General of Catalonia had none, but letting him know that certain persons and under a certain surety had agreed to lend him 10,000 florins that he would send with Leonardo de Sos.⁹⁶ On the 23rd of September, the king was puzzled that of the 30,000 florins or what was missing from these:

*... per los quals per tantes e tantes lretres vos havem scrit que'ns trametéssets aquells per en Leonard de Sos o per altra persona fiable, som marvellats que aquells quil'is han a bestaure, vullen haver de nós prestament les obligacions, constitucions e comissions que han obtengudes de nós los ambaxadors del principat de Cathalunya, car ja per açò, pus per nós són atorgades a ells, no qual duptar en liurar-nos les monedes. E axí meteix nos marvellam que lo General no trop monedes a raó de XIII milia en aqueixa ciutat, en la qual és la font de tota nostra senyoria.*⁹⁷

91. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 60 (doc. No. 48).

92. The last date in the López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 88 (doc. No. 84). Previously the king had acquiesced to a plea from the Courts of Catalonia revoking the order to requisition victuals, as appears in López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 78-79 (doc. No. 72).

93. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 118-119 (doc. No. 120).

94. This is what the prince informed his father. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 121 (doc. No. 123).

95. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 135 (doc. No. 145).

96. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 137 (doc. No. 147).

97. "... For which through so many letters we have written that transmitted by Leonardo de Sos or another reliable person, we are amazed that those who have money in advance want to have the obligations, constitutions and commissions the Ambassadors of Catalonia have obtained from us quickly, because of this, because they are granted by us to them, do not hesitate to hand over the coins. And it is also wonderful that the General does not... currencies at the rate of fourteen thousand in that city, in which is the source of all our lordship". López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 139 (doc. No. 149).



A letter from the prince, also on the 23rd of September, explains to his father the difficulties he was finding to send him the quantities approved by the Courts of Catalonia. Among others, he explains the refusal by the monarch to accept one of the conditions that had been imposed on him by eighteen members of the commission of the mentioned institution that was to reduce the number of Catalan knights in his service during December from a thousand to five hundred. Then the prince offered him the 5,000 florins that he had lent to help his house until he could receive what remained of the 50,000. He also asked his father to sign for the second instalment of 12,000 florins that he had been lent, as he had promised the king that he would do so in two weeks, and agreed to send him 6,000 florins that would be the payment for two hundred horsemen with Leonardo de Sos.⁹⁸ On the 30th of September, Alfonso informed his father about the state of the negotiation for the loan the Cortes of Catalonia had granted him. Through this missive, we know that the second part of this loan was 30,000 florins, of which 12,000 had been handed over, half of which had been sent to Roussillon to pay the men of arms and the remaining 6,000 with Leonardo de Sos to Balaguer. The other 18,000 florins would not be delivered until Ferdinand agreed to taking half the number of Catalan knights in his service.⁹⁹ The ending of the siege of Balaguer approximately a month later, as well as other sources of money, are perhaps among the reasons why we do not know what was done with these funds. Everything seems to indicate that Ferdinand reached an agreement with the members of the General of Catalonia and that he may have received at least 5,000 or 6,000 florins, an amount that his son Alfonso claimed to pay the salaries of his officials and members of his household.¹⁰⁰

Simultaneously with the negotiation with the Catalan Courts, Prince Alfonso was dealing with the representatives from Majorca for a grant of 12,000 florins *...per lo fet de la reemçó de vostre patrimoni del dit Regne*, as reported at least from around the 25th the August.¹⁰¹ However, and as we know from a letter from the monarch to his son Alfonso on the 23rd of October, the 12,000 florins from the kingdom of Mallorca were distributed in the following way. The king destined 1,000 of them to pay everything necessary for the ambassadors he had living in France and ordered his son to send the remaining 11,000 florins to the camp at Balaguer,¹⁰² even though the following day he asked him to use the same funds to purchase material necessary to continue the siege.¹⁰³ However, it seems that on the 27th of October, this amount had still not been handed over, as the prince asked his father to write to the messengers from Majorca urging them to deliver the money to pay for the artillery that he had sent him.¹⁰⁴ In any case, and despite the end of the

98. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 142-143 (doc. No. 153).

99. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 153-155 (doc. No. 167).

100. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 204 (doc. No. 241).

101. "...for the fact of the redemption of your patrimony of the said kingdom". López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 79-81 (doc. No. 73).

102. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 189 (doc. No. 213).

103. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 189-190 (doc. No. 214).

104. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 195-196 (doc. No. 226).



siege of Balaguer at the end of October, we do not know whether the Majorcans had delivered the 12,000 florins, as on the 16th of November, the prince wrote to his father to inform him that he had received a certain amount of money for his journey to Lleida and explaining that Gabriel Sapila did not want to deliver any of the money sent by the Kingdom of Majorca.¹⁰⁵ With this, he responded to the royal missive of the 10th of November in which the king assigned him 2,000 of the 12,000 florins that the Kingdom of Majorca had granted him.¹⁰⁶ Besides these quantities, Alfonso also provided his father with 2,000 florins in early September.¹⁰⁷

The petitions the monarch made to his son to send some tents that Queen Margarita had lent him,¹⁰⁸ or the two or three porters for his service,¹⁰⁹ were of less importance in king's triumph over the Count of Urgell.

To the above, one must add the role the prince played throughout the siege of Balaguer regarding the defence of the kingdom and the control of the frontier crossings, especially those with France. In this sense, on the 9th of September, the king informed him that foreigners were still entering into his kingdoms, so it was necessary to provide for the security of the castles and forces situated on the passes. To this end, he called on his son Alfonso to assign the castle of Pinyana to Joan Cortit and the castle of Orquan and the town of Conques to Pere Dorquan, assuring that they would be returned without any damage.¹¹⁰ Similarly, he had an part active in supplying money for the two hundred men of arms who had to accompany the governor of Roussillon to guard the frontier passes.¹¹¹

All these cases highlight the concern of diligence of Prince Alfonso to supply his father with everything necessary to continue the siege and for his final triumph over James of Urgell, despite recriminations from his progenitor to hasten certain shipments or about delays for various circumstances that in no way detract from his work.

Apart from the above, Prince Alfonso took charge of informing the authorities of certain territories, like Sicily, that made up the Crown of Aragon, about the progress of the campaign. Thus, on the 2nd of September 1413, he informed the captain, judges and juries of the city of Palermo about the advances that had occurred in the siege of Balaguer and the taking of the castles and baronies of the count and

105. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 207 (doc. No. 248).

106. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 205 (doc. No. 243).

107. Specifically on the fourth day, according to the López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 103-104 (doc. No. 101).

108. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 34 (doc. No. 8).

109. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 131 (doc. No. 137).

110. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 112-113 (doc. No. 110). Pinyana was in the Alta Ribagorça district and specifically in the municipality of Pont de Suert in the province of Lleida. Then, Conques was the name of the old capital of the municipality of the same name, and since 1970, it is one of the six parts included of the new municipality of Isona i Conca Dellà, in the Pallars Jussà district of Lleida. The castle of Conques belonged to the Barony of Orcau.

111. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 118-119 (doc. No. 120).



Antonio de Luna in Aragon, Catalonia and the kingdom of Valencia.¹¹² With this, as well as dispelling rumours about possible help for the Count of Urgell from outside the kingdom, he managed to calm and encourage the supporters of the cause he defended and helped to ensure possible military or financial help.

4.2 Alfonso de Argüello, bishop of León

Other important assistance was what was channelled through the bishop of León, Alfonso de Argüello, who was Prince Alfonso's adviser and senior chancellor, and who the king addressed on various occasions, although his son may have been the final recipient. This is the case in the letter in which he was told to take care of supplying the army with... *XII cuyros de bufano adobados en blanco o de ciervo adobados en blanco... todos los quals cuyros havemos grand necessitat para los engenysos.*¹¹³ Another was written together with the archbishop of Tarragona to send ten anchors from ships or galleys and two hundred dry boards of pine one or two fingers thick, the longest and lightest they could find.¹¹⁴ The latter was asked for fifty quintals of copper to make a new bombard.¹¹⁵

4.3 Queen Leonor

Queen Leonor remained in the rear-guard and, as she had in Seville during the siege of Antequera in 1410, she stayed in Lleida, the most important town and the one closest to the place under siege. Amongst other things, Leonor supplied her husband with mud bricks to form a line of contravallation, as well as... *de XXX pares de barriles o de portadores cum sus besties perque tiren agua continuament del rio... X quintales de fierro et la mide (Quiere decir medida) de les bombardes... per tal que a la dita mida fagamos fazer aqui les piedras.*¹¹⁶ And almost certainly also crossbows, as Martín García, a porter from her household, went to Balaguer with various animals loaded with these arms for which he received 100 Jaca *sueudos*.¹¹⁷ However, from what we know from the documentation available, Ferdinand preferably entrusted his

112. Rodrigo Lizondo, Mateu, ed. *Col. lecció documental de la Cancellería de la Corona d'Aragó. Textos en llegua catalana (1291-1420)*, Valencia: Universitat de València, 2013: 996-997 (doc. No. 931).

113. "... twelve buffalo hides tanned white or of deer tanned white... all these hides for which we have a great necessity for the engines". Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 460.

114. Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 343-344 (doc. No. CLXIV); López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 101 (doc. No. 99).

115. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 460-461.

116. "... of thirty pairs of barrils or of porters with their animals to draw water continuously from the river... ten quintals of iron at the size of the bombards... so that we have said size of stones made here". Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 455. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 45 (doc. No. 26).

117. Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "El asedio de Balaguer en 1413 por Fernando I de Aragón", *O rei o res. La fi del comtat d'Urgell*, Balaguer: Museu de la Noguera-Ajuntament de Balaguer, 2016: 435. We use the page numbering of the text in Castilian. In the Catalan version, this is on: 135-143.



wife with the delivery of supplies from Lleida. In this sense, and when the camp was moved, he asked her to make a call all over the city for those who transported stores to the camp to pass over the bridge, for whose continuous protection he had arranged to have men of arms in Vilanova, one league from Balaguer, who would lead them safely.¹¹⁸ In another missive, he indicates the route for the camp suppliers advising them that, when they reached Menarguens, they should speak to father Hugo de Villafranca who would show them the safe route.¹¹⁹ These are some examples of the unease felt in the rear-guard areas which had previously been possessions of the Count of Urgell. In mid-August, in a missive dated on the 15th, the monarch again sent instructions to Queen Leonor to send victuals of bread and barley.¹²⁰ We have no further news until almost two months later, on the 12th of October, when bread must have been in short supply in the army. Indeed, Ferdinand asked his wife urgently that night and then continuously after, to have as much bread as possible kneaded and baked in Lleida to avoid a shortage in the camp and to be resupplied as soon as possible.¹²¹ The supply, practically guaranteed, and the proximity of the end of the siege of Balaguer mean that we have no further evidence in this regard.

There is, however, evidence of various petitions by the monarch almost at the end of the siege of Balaguer. Thus, on the 16th of October, the king asked his wife to send 2,000 florins to which he added 2,000 more that would be returned in eight days.¹²² On the 27th of the same month, he requested the despatch of two hundred foot soldiers from Lleida and a hundred from the marquisate, pleading her to send them rapidly, without an hour's delay.¹²³ On the same date, he asked his wife to send two boats to avoid the flight of the Count of Urgell... *qui vingan luego a devant Menargas*.¹²⁴ Leonor answered the next day that she could not obtain the two boats he had requested and that they had gone to look for them in Mequinenza, and she explains that she had sent him the footmen he had asked for.¹²⁵

Leonor fulfilled another function namely the custody of certain prisoners in Lleida castle. In this sense, we know that in September the monarch sent various prisoners from the town of Albesa to said castle and to avoid an uprising.¹²⁶ However, they were not alone as, although it is not expressly stated that they were in the castle,

118. Giménez Soler, Andrés, *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 333 (doc. No. CLV); López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 44 (doc. No. 25).

119. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 46 (doc. No. 28).

120. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 61 (doc. No. 49).

121. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 166 (doc. No. 183).

122. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 175 (doc. No. 195).

123. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 194 (doc. No. 223).

124. "... who then come before Menarguens". López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 194 (doc. No. 222).

125. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 198 (doc. No. 229).

126. Giménez Soler, Andrés, *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 346 (doc. No. CLXVIII); López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 114-115 (doc. No. 113).



there were also local men from Linyola in prison, who the king told his wife to guard well and not to free them under any circumstances.¹²⁷

4.4 *Diego Gómez de Fuensalida, bishop of Zamora*

Another Castilian of great importance in everything related with the siege of Balaguer was the then bishop of Zamora, Diego Gómez de Fuensalida.¹²⁸ We believe that outside the family circle, he was the key character in everything related to the logistics of the military operations, and even a good part of the relations diplomatic prior to the armed conflict.¹²⁹

Before the siege of Balaguer, the bishop of Zamora sent Alfonso de Fuensalida, a Castilian squire, to the Queen of Navarre to explain to her in person certain questions that the prelate... *no le podía escribir por letra sobre ciertos afers tocantes a la cort del senyor rey*.¹³⁰ Some days later, but still in July 1413, he ordered him to go from Daroca to Barcelona to report the conversation with the queen of Navarre to the king.¹³¹ It is easy to suppose the mission that took him to the Navarrese court; collaboration with the king of Aragon or, at least, the neutrality of inhibition Navarre in the clash between the monarch and the Count of Urgell.

When the siege of Balaguer had begun, Diego took over the supply of armament to the troops who would besiege the castle of Montearagón. Thus, we know that Martín de Guermeda from Miedes, a village in Calatayud, received an order from the bishop of Zamora of 44 Jaca *sueldos* for the salary of four of his mules that took four loads of pavises and other artillery from Calatayud to Saragossa, from where the prelate ordered them to be taken to the siege of Montearagón.¹³²

Despite the above, where Diego Gómez de Fuensalida deployed his powers of organisation was during the siege of Balaguer. Indeed, Diego seems to have concentrated a good part of the finances of this endeavour,¹³³ supplying the monarch with the armament and equipment he needed for the siege. From the start, different deliveries were channelled through him. In this sense, we know of

127. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 175 (doc. No. 195). As has been presented in its place, these towns had come under royal power prior to or at the start of the siege of Balaguer.

128. The following lines are extracted from my article González Sánchez, Santiago. "La participación de eclesiásticos castellanos en las empresas bélicas de la regencia y del reinado de Fernando I de Aragón". *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie III Historia Medieval*, 27 (2014): 278-280.

129. This is evident if, for example, one takes as the reference principal for this person's work the document from the ACA, Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, ff. 36r-80v, on which we base ourselves.

130. "... I could not write in a letter about certain affairs regarding the court of his highness the king". ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, army of 1413 to 1414, from February to February, f. 36v.

131. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 37r.

132. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 37v.

133. Dated in Barcelona on the 12th of June 1413, there is a letter from King Ferdinand to Francesc Ferriol and all the officials holding his rights in the Kingdom of Aragon instructing them to give all the coins that are in or reach their hands belonging to the court Diego Gómez de Fuensalida or whoever the latter ordains. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2383, f. 56v.



various payments made by order of Diego to Sancho del Corral, squire to father Diego Fernández de Vadillo, the king's secretary, who brought horses from Castile to the siege of Balaguer,¹³⁴ Alfonso de Fuensalida who... *fue con seys cargas de pavesos de barrera al sitio de Balaguer e con otras artellerías*,¹³⁵ two inhabitants from Fresno, a hamlet of Calatayud, who were owed for the transport of six loads of pavises from Saragossa to the army before Balaguer,¹³⁶ or Guillén Pardo who purchased ropes and belts in Calatayud to tie down the loads of the pavises and other artillery he was taking to Balaguer.¹³⁷

This Guillén Pardo, who appears as a porter and member of the royal household *fue dela ciudat de Caragoza al sitio de Balaguer con el trabuco ingenio e otras castellerías que leuauan*.¹³⁸ It is possible that they drove four carts and that between going, staying there and returning, they spent eighteen days... *dos carretas que leuauan la percha del ingenyo* and ...*dos carretas que leuauan el trabuquo e cuerdas e otras artellerías*.¹³⁹ We do not know if this was different from another that, also on Diego's orders, Guillén Pardo did the same. In any case, he was ordered to go from Calatayud to Tarazona and from there to the castle of Trasmoz to take charge of the transport of the siege machine, blunderbuss and lombard of the governor of Aragon to Balaguer.¹⁴⁰ On the bishop's orders, the amount of eighty Jaca *sueldos* was paid to an inhabitant of Saragossa who was owed this for bringing and taking with a great company and with oxen and carts... *las perchas de los ingenios e la otra fusta e las artellerías que y eran en la yglesia de Santa Engracia de Zaragoza... las quales perchas e artellerías havían de yr de allí adelant al sitio de Balaguer de mandamiento del dito senyor rey*.¹⁴¹ Among these carts, it is possible there were the five that Pero Vicent, from Tauste, had acquired and that had been used to transport the equipment and other artillery.¹⁴² Moreover, there is evidence that the good men of the city de Calatayud had to send to the bishop of Zamora three of the best siege machines with all their accoutrements.¹⁴³

Apart from that, Diego made various purchases of arms, like five crossbows that he also sent to the forces outside Balaguer: one of three, at a price of six florins

134. (13th August 1413, 15 florins). ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 38r.

135. "... went with his six loads of barrier pavises to the siege of Balaguer and with other artillery" (18th August 1413, 20 florins). ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 38r.

136. (18th August 1413, 18 florins). ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 38v.

137. (s/f 1413, 3 sueldos jaqueses). ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 39r.

138. "... went from the city of Saragossa to the siege of Balaguer with the blunderbuss, siege machines and other castles that they carried". ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 41v.

139. "... two carts that carry the pole of the siege machine" "...two carts that carry the blunderbuss and ropes and other artilleries". ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 50r.

140. The order of payment dates from 23rd March 1414, as we see in the ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 39r.

141. "... the poles of the siege machines and the other wood and the artillery that was in the church of Santa Engracia in Saragossa... these poles and artillery had to go from there to the siege of Balaguer by order of said lord out king". ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 40r.

142. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 40r. At 8 florins per cart, which made up 40 florins.

143. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 456.



each,¹⁴⁴ an indeterminate number of oxybeles, boxes of arrowheads and...*otras artellerías*,¹⁴⁵ three oxybeles and two of *cinfonia*,¹⁴⁶ and two other purchases of two oxybeles¹⁴⁷ and another two without specifying the type.¹⁴⁸ As well as various equipment like hemp ropes¹⁴⁹ and fifty pavises, at a florin and a half each.¹⁵⁰

The above-mentioned prelate ordered two men from the place of Torrellas who had to serve in the siege of Balaguer for two months, at three Jaca *sueldos* per day,¹⁵¹ and fifty-six crossbowmen from Tarazona for fifteen days.¹⁵² This was undoubtedly at royal instance, as the correspondence must have been fairly frequent, as known through various news to this regard.¹⁵³ On various occasions, Diego also sent spies to the south of France, as did the monarch.¹⁵⁴ The first time that there is news of the Castilian Juan de Miranda and Pedro Navarro, from the kingdom of Navarre, in the cities of Bayonne and Oloron... *por saber e sentir si se amassauan gent darmas ni si don Anthon de Luna hera entre daquellas partidas*.¹⁵⁵ Later, it seems, a *Pero Nauares hestant enla ciudat de Huescha el qual de mandamiento e hordenación del sido senyor fue por espía a Bordeu e aotras partes enla rebellón o guerra que don Jayme Durgell fazía contra el senyor rey*.¹⁵⁶ And the third... *a Pedro de Mont Cler barbero dela ciudat de Caragoca el qual de mandamiento del dito senyor obispo fue dela ciudat de Caragoca al castiello de Loharre por espía enel mes de setiembre más cerqua pasado por saber e sentir do Antonio de Luna si hera enel castiello de Loharre ni que si fazía*.¹⁵⁷

144. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 43r.

145. "... other artilleries". ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 43v.

146. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 44r.

147. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 44v.

148. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 55r.

149. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 49r.

150. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 45v.

151. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 44r.

152. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 46r.

153. *Item dio de mandamiento e hordenación del dito senyor obispo a Ffrancisquo de Seuilla que fue con letras del dito senyor obispo al sitio de Balaguer las quales levó al senyor rey* ("Item commanded and ordered by said bishop to Francisco of Seville who went with letters from said bishop to the siege of Balaguer which he took to his lord the king"). ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 42v. ...*correu que fue de Caragoca a Leyda enel mes de nouiembre más cerqua pasado con letras del senyor obispo que leuó al senyor rey* ("... mail that went from Saragossa to Lleida in the month of November passed closer with letters from the lord bishop that he took to the king"). ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 73r.

154. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 71r.

155. "... to know and hear if people of arms are amassing and if Anthon de Luna was in those places". ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 42v.

156. "But Nauares being in the city of Huesca who under orders from the lord went to spy in Bordeaux and other places in the rebellion or war that James of Urgell was waging against our lord the king". ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 51v.

157. "... to Pedro of Mont Cler barber in the city of Saragossa who ordered by said bishop went from the city of Saragossa to the castle of Loarre to spy in the month of September more closely to know and hear if Antonio de Luna was in the castle of Loarre and what he was doing". ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, ff. 72v-73r. All these cases appear in my article González Sánchez, Santiago. "El espionaje en los reinos de la Península Ibérica a comienzos del siglo xv". *En la España Medieval*, 38 (2015): 167, 169.



When the siege of Balaguer was coming to an end and in view of the conquests on the royal side, Diego Gómez de Fuensalida entrusted... *Pero Ferrer pintor hestant enla ciudat de Caragoca... C pendones reales... por ponerlos enlas heredades bienes casas e castiellos delos rebeldes que prendían e ocupauan amanos dela cort del dito senyor rey.*¹⁵⁸ This perhaps is linked to the high responsibility that he must have exercised in the seizure of the assets that had belonged to James of Urgell and his followers.¹⁵⁹ In this sense, we know that by order of the above-mentioned prelate, various payments were made to people who took these assets in the mountains of Jaca,¹⁶⁰ in *Quart a Uilla Nueua de Burgacut ala uilla dAlagón e a los lugares del río Dexalón e del río de Berga et... dallá el río de Ebro alas uillas de Exea a Tahust a Uncastiello a Sos a Gordún e a otros lugares de la montanya de Jaqua,*¹⁶¹ and in other unspecified places, as happened with Esteban Zaragozano, gatekeeper in the house of the king.¹⁶²

Through Diego's hand also passed payments to important members of the nobility, especially the Aragonese, who had served the king in the siege of James of Urgell in Balaguer, thanks to which we know about the contributions of each of them. These included, for example, Jaime de Luna who served with fifteen armed horsemen,¹⁶³ Juan Martínez de Luna with fifty,¹⁶⁴ the same number as Blasco Fernández de Heredia¹⁶⁵ and Juan de Híjar,¹⁶⁶ while Gil Ruiz de Lihori,¹⁶⁷ Pedro

158. "... Pero Ferrer painter resident in the city of Saragossa ... one hundred royal banners... to put on the assets, houses and castles of the rebels taken and occupied in the name of court of said lord the king". ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 44v. We know that on an indeterminate date, but possibly in August 1413, By order of the above-mentioned bishop, Esteban Zaragozano porter of the king's household, was paid a certain amount that was owed to him for certain royal banners he had ordered made to put on the houses and assets of those who had rebelled against the king. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 39v.

159. Before the siege of James in Balaguer and thus, prior to his defeat, there is documentary evidence of a letter from the king to Juan Jiménez de Cerdán, justice of Aragon, ordering him to hand over the assets confiscated from James and Antonio de Luna to Diego Gómez de Fuensalida. Giménez Soler, Andrés, *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 318-319 (doc. No. 139).

160. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 51r y 52r.

161. "Quart to new town of Burgacut to the town of Alagón and to the places of the River Dexalón and of the River Berga and... beyond the River Ebro to the towns of Ejea to Tauste to Uncastillo to Sos to Gordún and to other places in the mountain of Jaca". ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 52v.

162. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 54r.

163. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 48v.

164. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 47v. He lent the king 1,000 florins for four months and ten days, as shown in the previous document and that appears in Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "Poliórcética, economía de guerra y hacienda en el siglo xv (El asalto a Balaguer por Fernando I)", *La organización militar en los siglos xv y xvi*, Málaga: "Cátedra General Castaños". Capitanía General de la Región Militar Sur. Consejería de Cultura y Medio Ambiente. Asesoría Quinto Centenario. Universidad de Cádiz. Diputación de Sevilla, 1993: 372.

165. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 60r.

166. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 45. As we take from Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "Poliórcética, economía de guerra...": 372, and Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "El asedio de Balaguer...": 434.

167. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 60v y 61v.



Jiménez de Urrea¹⁶⁸ and Juan de Bardaxí served with a hundred each.¹⁶⁹ There is also a payment to Juan de Híjar for the salary of the people of arms who he had in the siege of Balaguer for two months.¹⁷⁰ Besides these and other services,¹⁷¹ at the end of his days, King Ferdinand rewarded the innumerable services of the prelate with the granting of the places and castles of Avinçanlla and Grostán, in the kingdom of Aragon, and that had belonged to James of Urgell.¹⁷²

4.5 Diego Fernández de Vadillo

As well as the above people, there were other Castilians closely linked to royal circles who had important roles, other than supply, in Ferdinand's triumph in Balaguer. The most prominent of these was undoubtedly Diego Fernández de Vadillo, court notary to Ferdinand... *de quien el rey fiaua mucho*, who was given the order to take charge of all the equipment of the army and who moreover,

*... mandaua en todo como el rey e por sus albalás e mandados se dauan todas las cosas que eran menester en el real, e los dineros para ellas e madera e tablas, clauazón e póluora e vinagre e cueros de bacas e bueyes e mantenimiento de la gente e açadas e açadones e espuertas e picos e palas e todas las otras cosas que para los pertrechos del real fazían menester, e todo estaua cargado a él no para que diesse cuenta dello, saluo lo que él en todo fazia lo auía el rey por bien fecho e era home tan deligente e acucioso en todo que era vna gran marauilla como él por sí lo podía cumplir e fazerlo también como si el cargo tuuiesen muchos, e con todo estaua al fazer de los palenques e al assentar de las lombardas, e daua recaudo a todas quantas cartas venían al rey de Aragón, de Castilla e de otros fechos que al rey pertenecía, e tan acucioso andaua en todas las cosas del real que los más días su comer era en la noche o muy tarde.*¹⁷³

168. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 66r. He also made a loan to the king for the needs derived from the siege of Balaguer for 3,000 florins at an interest of 10 percent, as we know of the payment of 150 florins for half of it. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 41, from where it was taken by Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "Poliórcética, economía de guerra...": 370, and Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "El asedio de Balaguer...": 434.

169. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 67v.

170. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 43r.

171. For example, what he lent him in everything concerning the collection for his coronation in Saragossa in 1414. For this, see the two works by Salicrú i Lluch, Roser. "Las demandas de la coronación de Fernando I en el reino de Aragón". *Aragón en la Edad Media. Ejemplar dedicado a la profesora Carmen Orcástegui Gros*, 14-15/2 (1999): 1409-1428. And Salicrú i Lluch, Roser. "Les demandes de la coronació de Ferran d'Antequera i d'Elionor d'Alburquerque al Principat de Catalunya: una primera aproximació", *Fiscalidad real y finanzas urbanas en la Cataluña medieval*, Manuel Sánchez Martínez (ed.), Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1999: 77-119.

172. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2424, ff. 122r-123v. There are doubts about the day when this concession is dated, the 9th of March, but it is evident that is from March 1416.

173. "he ordered everything like the king and through his letters and orders gave everything that was needed in the camp, and the money for the wood and planks, nails and powder and vinager and skins of cows and oxen and to maintain the people and hoes and mattocks and baskets and picks and shovels and all the other things that were required for the camp, and everything was in his charge not for him to realise that, except that everything he did for the king was well done and he was so diligent and careful



Diego Fernández de Vadillo took charge of the building a stockade to put the bombards in, and everything needed to produce shielding and ladders, supplied the nails to finish the siege towers and surrounded Balaguer with a wall, among other tasks.¹⁷⁴

His importance and proximity to the king did not go unnoticed by those in Balaguer, and as such, he was sought out as an interlocutor before the monarch by the inhabitants, with the aim of establishing negotiations to surrender the town, which Ferdinand rejected.¹⁷⁵

Rodrigo de Almazán was linked to Diego Fernández de Vadillo as his scribe. Rodrigo de Almazán took charge of controlling the money necessary to make and repair siege engines, bombards and other artillery, as well as transporting it from Lleida to Balaguer.¹⁷⁶

5. Nature of the provisions and places of supply

One of the features that can be appreciated in these requests was their urgency, which appears expressly¹⁷⁷ in some cases without caring if it were night or day¹⁷⁸ when the order had to be transported. Through some of these requests, one can see the distinct necessities, priorities and strategies that Ferdinand used in the siege of Balaguer. Thus, for example, when what he had requested through his wife was shown to be ineffective against the defences built up by those inside the town,¹⁷⁹ priority was given to artillery: *Y comenzóse a combatir la city, más con fuerza e ímpetu de batería que con combates de escaramuzas y peleas.*¹⁸⁰ If Ferdinand showed such demands in the request for material for building machines, etc., it was due to the shortage of these materials. If enough of some of these was not found, orders

in everything that it was a great wonder how he alone could comply and do also as if he had many charges, and with everything he was in the making of the stockades and the placing of the lombards, and gave response to all the letters that came from the king of Aragon, of Castile and of other parts that belonged to the king, and so diligent was he in everything about the camp that most days, he ate at night or very late". González Sánchez, Santiago. "1413, el año inédito...": 237-238.

174. González Sánchez, Santiago. "1413, el año inédito...": 239-240, 242-243, 245 and 259-260.

175. González Sánchez, Santiago. "1413, el año inédito...": 257-258.

176. In this sense, we know of various payments. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500bis, f. 37v (Barcelona, 20th July 1413) for 1,000 florins; f. 41v (Barcelona, 20th August 1413) for 600 florins; f. 42v (Barcelona, 3rd September 1413) for 200 florins; f. 43r (Barcelona, 11th September 1413) for 300 florins; f. 44v (Balaguer, 24th September 1413) for 600 florins and f. 45r (Balaguer, 13th October 1413) for 1,000 florins.

177. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 455, 456 and 460.

178. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 460.

179. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 348, indicates that those in Balaguer had many lombards and shots and very good crossbows.

180. "and the fight for the city began, more with the force and impetus of battery than with combats of clashes and fighting". Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 348.



were issued to replace these with others.¹⁸¹ In other cases, the demands were due to the imperatives derived from the difficult coexistence between Castilians and Catalans,¹⁸² or the proximity or distance of some of the places of supply. This was influenced by such other factors as the state of the roads and the means of transport, among other questions. Despite these insistent requests, Ferdinand informed his son, Prince Alfonso and the bishop of León about his needs on a daily basis.¹⁸³ Hence, the setting up and preparation of all these arms and machines was delayed, as we know that, *Pasaron muchos días antes que las máquinas y trabucos y todo el otro aparato de artillería estuviese en orden para el combate.*¹⁸⁴

As can be deduced from some letters that Ferdinand sent, the supply points were in the camp at Balaguer,¹⁸⁵ Lleida¹⁸⁶ and Barcelona.¹⁸⁷ To these, we must add those that more or less occasionally lent their support. These include Saragossa,¹⁸⁸ Calatayud,¹⁸⁹ Mequinenza,¹⁹⁰ Huesca,¹⁹¹ Igualada, Cervera and Montblanc,¹⁹² Tàrraga,¹⁹³ Solsona,¹⁹⁴ Manresa,¹⁹⁵ Valencia and the villages around the besieged

181. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 458-459.

182. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 361.

183. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 492.

184. "Many days went by before the machines and blunderbusses and all the apparatus of artillery was ready for the battle". Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 348 and 359.

185. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 458-459.

186. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 455.

187. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 460. With all the possible reserves, as it is a very biased work in relation with one of the sides in this conflict, and as well as the many supplies and of all types from Barcelona. Salas Bosch, Xavier de. *La fi del comte d'Urgell*, Barcelona: Editorial Barcino, 1931: 27, mentions the great artillery that was taken from Barcelona and especially a copper bombard from the General de Catalonia that launched projectiles weighing four quintals and was called the bombard of Balaguer. We use this work with due precaution as it is an anonymous piece that is apologetic about the figure of the Count of Urgell and was written at the end of the sixteenth century when the aim was to defend Catalan political rights against the authoritarianism of the House of Austria.

188. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, ff. 46v and 85v. *como fue dela ciudad de Caragoza al sitio de Balaguer con el trabuco ingenio e otras castellerías que leuauan al senyor rey* ("how he went from the city of Saragossa to the siege of Balaguer with the blunderbuss, siege engine and other castles that they took to the lord the king"), from the document cited in first place. More references in Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "El asedio de Balaguer...": 434-435.

189. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 456.

190. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2383, f. 146. In this same register, f. 152, as we find in Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 352 (doc. No. 177), the king asked them to send all the coal they could, dated the 17th of October.

191. For example, six carpenters, as we know from the ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 140v. They may be same ones referred to in f. 144r.

192. The case of the masons from the last three places in ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 144v.

193. Eleven carpenters counting the foreman. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 145r.

194. Eighteen carpenters. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 146r.

195. This provided sixty-six combatants. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 146v-147r.



town.¹⁹⁶ There were others whose collaboration was required, like Lécera, Escatrón, Lagata, Almonacid de Cuba and Belchite, as well as the vicar general of Rueda Abbey near Escatrón, all in the province of Saragossa, and Muniesa in Teruel province.¹⁹⁷ It is possible that other places used for supply were possessions that had belonged to, or had been taken from, the Count of Urgell, although we have no evidence for this claim. This dispersion of the places of supply must have entailed setting up a system of transport that, undoubtedly, must have existed within the camp itself, at least in the early phases of the siege.

Apart from the significant assistance from people from the territories of both the Crown of Aragon¹⁹⁸ and Castile, the siege of Balaguer is an indication of the degree of acceptance that the new dynasty prompted among the people, without discarding the existence of pressures. Among the people from the distinct territories of the Crown of Aragon and Castile, not only were combatants recruited¹⁹⁹ but also stonemasons, muleteers, smiths, etc., without whose participation the siege would have been practically impossible. If we attempt or quantify the number of these people who, one way or another, took part in the siege of Balaguer, we must differentiate between those in the camp and those who did other work in the places of supply or on the way to the camp. In any case, it is a practically unviable task, because in most cases, their names have not been preserved in the history of the taking of Balaguer. At the most, we can aspire to know the names of some of them, in this case Castilians or from Castile, such as Juan Gutiérrez de Heno, who made

196. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 492.

197. From the camp before Balaguer and dated 7th August 1413, Ferdinand wrote to the good men of the mentioned towns requiring them to send carts for the transport of the artillery, victuals, etc. The request for ten carts from Lécera and twenty from the abbey of Rueda is expressly stated. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2381, ff. 20v and 21r, published by Lleal, Coloma. *El castellano del siglo xv...*: 29-30 (doc. No. 2), 30 (doc. No. 3) and 30-31 (doc. No. 4).

198. It is enough to cite in this case, and besides the strictly military facet, the aid that the baile general of Valencia Joan Mercader must have provided. In this sense, we have proof of him sending, before September 1413, of 1,073 gold florins that never reached the monarch as the messenger with the money... *entro en la dita Ciutat de balaguer con toda la moneda e rocin* ("entered said City of Balaguer with all the money and cavalry"). ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2381, f. 66r, published by Bacaicoa Arnaiz, Dora. "Un hecho sucedido en el sitio de Balaguer, en 1413". *Tamuda*, 6/1 (1958): 93-94. From Tintó Sala, Margarita. *Cartas del baile...*: 172 (doc. No. 8), we know it could have been in August, as there is a plea from Joan Mercader to the king asking him for credit for a cuanto le diga de su parte el cadí Alí de Bellví, in charge of delivering the money. Joan Mercader would also be in charge of sending 6,000 florins to the king with which to relieve the city of Valencia and the 12,000 sueldos from Murviedro (Sagunto) to pay the salary of one month for the footsoldiers. Both documents in Tintó Sala, Margarita. *Cartas del baile...*: 177-178 (doc. No. 14) (13th October 1413, Valencia), and 179-181 (doc. No. 16) (17th October 1413, Valencia).

199. In the letter from the king of Aragon to Murcia, informing them about how the Count of Urgell was captured and dated in Balaguer on the 29th October 1413, he also indicates the presence of members of the nobility... *de las otras gentes populares que en esta huestre continuamente estovieron en nuestro servicio* ("of the other people that were in this host continually were at our service"). AMM., Cartulario Real 1411-1429, f. 7v, published by Vilaplana Gisbert, M.² Victoria J., *Documentos de la minoría de Juan II. La Regencia de Don Fernando de Antequera*, Murcia: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1993: XV, 454-455 (doc. No. 231).



the siege engines, as he had done in the siege of Antequera;²⁰⁰ the knight Pedro García de Villagómez and P. Alonso de Pande, in charge of making the artillery and munitions in the city of Lleida²⁰¹ and, although we do not know where, Jacobo Rendeler master of the building of bombards *e de tirar de aquellas* who had also worked in Castile under Ferdinand's orders.²⁰² What we do know is the important presence of stonemasons in the camp to cut as many stones as possible to be fired from the batteries and devices,²⁰³ the many masters in the founding of artillery who would work day and night,²⁰⁴ which leads us to consider, among other things, the harshness of the working conditions and the king's haste to finish the siege. Other collaborators around Balaguer were the people from the nearby villages, whose contribution included supplying the camp with firewood and coal.²⁰⁵ It cannot be ruled out that their help was done under duress or that this was not as sincere as could be expected, especially because they found their land in areas that had been possessions of Count James of Urgell. In any case and from during the siege, there is abundant evidence of opposition to the monarchy and support for the Urgell cause in important cities in the Crown, like Castellón de la Plana and Villarreal,²⁰⁶ and also in Valencia, where it achieved a great influence, among other reasons, for the popular support.²⁰⁷

200. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 72r, payment of 760 Barcelonan sueldos to him and two other assistants (Barcelona, 19th July 1413). ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 140r, with which he was ordered to pay Rodrigo de Burgos for the siege tower that father Juan Gutiérrez made. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...* 360.

201. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 457. A payment to the first of the three men on horse, including himself, and two on foot, (18 July 1413), for the amount of 1,350 Barcelonan sueldos, as appears in the ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 71r.

202. He had built bombards for the siege of Antequera in Seville. At the time that concerns us here, there is evidence that he received various payments. Thus, for example, on the 20th of July in Barcelona, one of 40 florins, as appears in the ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 76r. Later, the king of Aragon assigned him a salary and three assistants, on the 15th October 1413, as appears in the ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 139v. The document which contains the names of three masters in making bombards is also interesting, Pedro Simón, Gonzalvo Simón and Alfonso Simón, and three others in firing them, one of whom went by the name of García de Almazán. Además. In the siege of Balaguer, the king ordered a salary to be given to a bellmaker and two Moors, who must have been his assistants dated the 18th of September 1413, as we find in the ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 141v. From the ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500bis, f. 34v, we know that Alfonso Simón was from Castile and an expert in making bombards, and that he was paid for forty days at a rate of 11 Barcelonan *sueldos* a day, for a total of 440 Barcelonan sueldos, and committed himself to serve the king of Aragon in Lleida in mid July 1413, as appears in ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 70v.

203. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...* II, 506.

204. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...* II, 492.

205. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...* II, 492.

206. Letter from the monarch (Barcelona, 15th June 1413) to the governor of Valencia explaining that he had received information that injurious things were being said about him in these cities, and ordering him to investigate what had happened and punish the guilty parties. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2383, f. 58v.

207. In general and as can be seen throughout the article by Rubio Vela, Agustín. "Urgelistas valencianos. Sobre la oposición a Fernando I de Trastámara". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 33/1 (2003): 191-261.



6. Means used in the siege

The importance of the artillery in this battle has been indicated, not only in the chronicles but also through a large amount of documentary evidence. It is known that the monarch requested bombards and other artillery pieces from the cities of Calatayud and Saragossa to use in the fight for Tremoz Castle, before the start of the siege of Balaguer, in writing sent to the governor general of Aragon.²⁰⁸ Later and with his mind on besieging the Count of Urgell in Balaguer, requests for artillery were made in the *veguerías* of Lleida, Cervera and Tàrrrega²⁰⁹ or, going further afield, the letter the monarch sent to the knight commander of Jerusalem asking him to make as many pieces available as possible.²¹⁰ As well as the above, requesting material mainly for making artillery pieces, these documents show the most frequent type of combat by the royal troops. However, the documentation available generates doubts about the immediate availability of these pieces for the monarch. It is known that on the 9th of August, Ferdinand sent a letter to his wife, the queen, for her to obtain what was needed to cover certain needs of the camp. Among other questions, he explained Pedro García's bombards, so that the stones they had to launch could be made to the right size.²¹¹ This leads us to consider that around these dates, King Ferdinand still did not have enough artillery pieces for the siege.²¹² To this, we have to add the decision to build new copper bombards, as can be seen in the missives sent to the archbishop of Tarragona, the bishop of León and the mayor, jury and good men of Verdú.²¹³

The fact that the king did not have enough artillery for immediate use must have influenced his decision to begin the siege with the methods used in the Granada campaigns. This would make sense of the building of a... *línea de contravalación*.²¹⁴ Once the artillery pieces were placed around the besieged town,²¹⁵ both the bombards and the siege engines opened fire, so the damage was felt immediately in the part of the castle —Castle Formós—,²¹⁶ as well as in the parapet of the wall that

208. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 451-452.

209. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 453.

210. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 454-455.

211. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 455.

212. This can be deduced from what Zurita and Monfar wrote about setting them up and the delay in their use. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 348; Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 493.

213. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2383., f. 161; ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2383, f. 172v.

214. "... line of contravallation". Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 455.

215. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 457. Arantegui talks about up to six batteries in the power of the royal troops, some composed of different numbers of blunderbusses, bombards and siege engines.

216. The destruction of the castle has traditionally been dated in 1413, but there is a letter from the king on the 2nd of November that year in which he indicated that he planned to stay there on a visit to Balaguer, as well as archaeological studies that prove that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was occupied by garrisons that adapted it to their needs or the later building of services for the town and the first archaeological digs have questioned. For this, see Alós Trepal, Carme; Escuder Sánchez, Javier; Solanes Potrony, Eva. "El Castell Formós de Balaguer: arqueología de una fisonomía", *O*



protected Balaguer²¹⁷ and, possibly at a later date, on the tower on the bridge, half of which was knocked down.²¹⁸ The consequence of this must have been widespread damage, as shown in the descriptions by Zurita and Monfar, who calculated the weight of each stone that was hurled by one of the machines at eight quintals.²¹⁹ This damage was one of the causes, although not the only one, for some of the sallies by the defenders out from of the walls of the town.²²⁰

Another of the means of attack used by the king was the use of siege engines, castles of wood and ladders, of which we have few descriptions and whose builder was the above-mentioned Juan Gutiérrez de Henao.²²¹

*Y era la bastida máchina de tan extraña grandeza y de tanta pesadumbre que parecía igualar con una torre muy grande; y moviase con harta facilidad y ligereza; y ponía tanto terror y espanto como si no hubieran de hallar ninguna resistencia las compañías de ballesteros que iban en ella.*²²²

If the artillery was important for the besiegers, it was no less so for the besieged, as we know through Zurita and the studies by Arantegui, who estimates that the defenders had over thirty pieces.²²³ These figures are similar to those offered by Diego de Monfar, who reports a bombard called the mayor, made in Castelló de Farfanya and thirty ordinary ones that fired a ball bigger than an orange.²²⁴ This agrees with Zurita's claim that the defenders had smaller bombards, that... *eran como tiros de campo*²²⁵ and that did... *harto daño en el real*, a claim that contradicts those

rei o res. La fi del comtat d'Urgell, Balaguer: Museu de la Noguera-Ajuntament de Balaguer, 2016: 417. We use the page numbering from the Castilian text. In the Catalan version this is on: 109-121.

217. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 364 and 368, respectively. In the times of Count Peter II (1347-1408), the wall was built that the Pla neighbourhood and the area of the Mercadal Square, and extended to the north and west to Formós Castle, as we take from Velasco González, Alberto; Fité i Llevot, Francesc. "Los condes de Urgel, promotores artísticos", *O rei o res. La fi del comtat d'Urgell*, Balaguer: Museu de la Noguera-Ajuntament de Balaguer, 2016: 397. We use the page numbering from the Castilian text. In the Catalan version this is on: 45-94.

218. This must have happened at the end of August 1413, as the missive by Prince Alfonso is dated 2nd September. Rodrigo Lizondo, Mateu ed. *Col. lecció documental...*: 996-997 (doc. No. 931).

219. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 364; Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 511.

220. As Zurita indicated for the 26th of September, "... that same day, they sallied from the town to skirmish and there was a very close and wild skirmish". Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 364.

221. We know of at least three payments made for his maintenance prior to the siege of Balaguer and in which he appears as *Johan Gotiérrez maestre de las bastidas* (Juan Gutiérrez master of the assault towers). They are dated on 27th February, 13th April and the 16th of July in Barcelona, and the amounts were 30 florins, in the first case, and 40 in the others, at a rate of one florin per day. As found in the ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 80r. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 360.

222. "And the siege tower was of such strange grandure and heaviness that is seemed to euqal a very large tower; and it was moved with such ease and lightness; and put such terror and fright as if the companies of crossbowmen who were in it were not to meet resistance". Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 371.

223. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 462.

224. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 492-493.

225. "... were like firing ranges" "... too much damage in the camp". Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 367.



by Monfar who stated that... *fueron de muy poco provecho al faltarle la pólvora.*²²⁶ This damage included an attempt to kill King Ferdinand himself when... *pasó la pelota por encima de la cabeza*²²⁷ and that caused the death of a Castilian knight.²²⁸ Precisely the king would use this incident to spur on the final assault on the objective²²⁹ and in the response he gave to his aunt Isabel of Urgell who pleaded with him for clemency for her husband the count.²³⁰

Despite the above, artillery was not what the defenders of Balaguer used most, this despite their many bombards and shots, possibly due to a shortage of munitions because of the siege they were submitted to.²³¹ Indeed, a good part of the defence was based on... *dar rebatos sobre las estancias, acometiendo por diversas partes, como gente desesperada y diestra; y esto era muy ordinario acometer a los reales.*²³² This defence meant the destruction of some of the machines in the camps²³³ and dedicated to their bombardment, as well as the capture of prisoners and animals, in the latter case, as victuals. In this sense, we must highlight the entry by the defenders of Balaguer into the camp one day when the guard was under Luis de la Cerda. They took between eight and ten men prisoners and fourteen or fifteen mules,²³⁴ or the one carried out on the 4th of September against the Duke of Gandía which ended twenty of his men taken prisoner²³⁵ These acts became less frequent as the siege grew longer.

226. "... were of very little use through a lack of gunpowder". Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 492-493.

227. "... the ball passed over his head". On 26th September, the king ... *iba vestido de un balandrán de escarlata y salió en un caballo blanco y le conocieron, armaron los de Balaguer un lombarda en una esquina de la barrera de la ciudad* ("... was wearing a scarlet cassock and riding a white horse and they recognised, and those of Balaguer armed a lombard in a corner of the barrier of the town") making him a target for the artillerymen in Balaguer. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 364.

228. On the 13th of October, *fue muerto de un tiro de bombardia un caballero muy principal de la compañía del adelantado de Castilla que se llamaba Sancho de Leyva* ("...a very leading knight of the company of the adelantado of Castile who was called Sancho de Leyva was killed by a shot from a bombard"). Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 367.

229. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 364.

230. *...mandando tirar a mi persona con tiros de pólvora e ballestas, habiéndome conocido* ("... ordered fire at my person with shots with gunpowder and crossbows, having recognised me"). Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 355.

231. Monfar echoes the lack of gunpowder. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 492-493.

232. "... sallied against the residences, attacking from various parts, like desperate and skilful people; and this was very ordinary to attack the camps". Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 348.

233. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 360.

234. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 497; Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 355. The quantification is only supplied by these sources. Zurita restricts himself to mentioning the fact. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 349. While the *Crónica anónima...*: 29, presents it as a great Castilian lapse that could have had more serious consequences.

235. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 361; González Sánchez, Santiago. "1413, el año inédito...": 239. This camp of the Duke of Gandía was near the convent of Santo Domingo, as we know through González Sánchez, Santiago. "1413, el año inédito...": 256., for example. About this convent and its historical fate, see the old work by Timoneda Píkmant, Fernando. "Convento de Santo Domingo (Balaguer)", *Album históric, pintoresch y monumental de Lleyda y sa provincia*, Lleida: Estampa de Joseph Sol Torrens, 1880: I, 85-92 (doc. No. 10).



The reasons for this must be found in the physical tiredness and fall in morale, a great part of which was due to the distrust about the arrival of the promised help, the desertions or the Count of Urgell's own attitude.²³⁶ The despondency among the besieged increased with the continuous help the King of Aragon received from Castile and the other territories that made up his Crown and that contributed to increasing the military pressure on the defenders.

7. The tactics used

The tactics varied depending on the stages the siege went through. Thus, for example, and regarding the artillery, at least two stages can be distinguished. In the first, a discontinuity can be observed in the attacks and fronts open, due especially to the lack of availability of all the pieces, as some were still being made. In the second stage, that began on the 26th of September, the pressure on the defenders increased with simultaneous bombardments²³⁷ night and day,²³⁸ that intensified with the battle for the town from six sides on the 11th of October.²³⁹

The tactics that the king used in the field of operations did not only mean the use of artillery duels or cavalry as such, but rather extended to what we might call propaganda techniques, aimed firstly at undermining the morale of the enemy troops. We know about these facts through the sources and they went from the promulgation of a general amnesty preached in the camp at Balaguer,²⁴⁰ the

236. Regarding the problem of the desertions among the supporters of the Count of Urgell, we have a letter from Prince Alfonso to the authorities in Palermo. It contains two references to the numerous desertions the count was suffering and who switched to the royal side, certainly with the purpose of exalting. *molts, de dia en dia, se ixen de la dita ciutat e se'n vénen al dit senyor rey... grant gent dels dela dita ciutat se.n hixen tot dia e vénen al dit senyor rey* ("... many, from day to day, leave said town and come to said lord the king... many people of those from said town leave every dya and come to said lord the king"). Rodrigo Lizondo, Mateu. *Col.lecció documental...*: 996-997 (doc. No. 931).

237. The claim by Lorenzo Valla is interesting, as, if it were true, it would mean considerable progress compared with the siege of Antequera, when he indicates that... *para que el estruendo fuera más horrendo y los golpes más efectivos, no sólo operaban todas [las piezas de artillería] al mismo tiempo, sino casi en el mismo instante* ("so that the roar was more horrendous and the blows more effective, not only were all [the artillery pieces] operated at the same time, but almost at the same instant"): Valla, Lorenzo. *Historia de Fernando...*: 188.

238. ... *y de allí adelante no cesaban de batir las lombardas y trabucos a grande furia de día y aun de noche, como decían, a piedra perdida* ("...from then on they did not stop firing the lombards and blunderbusses with great fury by day and still by night, as they said, indiscriminately"). Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 364.

239. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 367.

240. Awarded by the king to all those who abandoned the cause of James of Urgell and left the town of Balaguer in a limit of two weeks, offering them guidance for two months that would ensure them immunity for the crimes committed. In the case of not accepting this, they would be declared traitors and punished in person and assets. Rodrigo Lizondo, Mateu, ed. *Col. lecció documental...*: 995-996 (doc. No. 930).



mobilisation achieved through the order known as *Princeps namque*²⁴¹ or the actions carried out by two knights, one Catalan, Luis de Garbó or Cardona depending on the sources consulted, and the other Castilian, Luis de la Cerda. The task of Luis de la Cerda is presented through the chronicles as a kind of sapper who had to gradually undermine the confidence of some of the Count of Urgell's subordinates. His task was to convince some of the defenders of Balaguer about the justice and pardon they would receive from King Ferdinand if they abandoned James.²⁴² This took place through the negotiations carried out to free the prisoners among his troops that James' supporters had taken.

A different purpose, but similarly aimed at undermining the resistance of the defenders, was the work of the Catalan knight, Luis de Garbó or de Cardona, who... *movió cierta plática con uno de los de dentro ofreciendo que el rey le haría merced and through whom the house of the Countess of Urgell was won on the 20th of October.*²⁴³ Ferdinand explained to his son, Alfonso, the vicissitudes of the handing over of this fort in a letter. Through this missive, we know that:

*... ferem exir los altres qui no eren del tracte de fora en scusa de cercar lenya e los restants tancaren la porta de la casa e feren cert senyal al Governador de Cathalunya e certa gent qui staven avisats los quals vist lo senyal anaren ves la dita casa e com los exits de aquella volguessen tornar trobaren les portes tancades e per fugir a les mans de nostres gents lançaren se en lo riu on muri hu dells; los altres passaren se a la ciutat e la dita gent nostra ubrint los del tracte les portes ja dites entraren sen dins la dita casa levant tantots nostre standart per senyal al altres de nostre real de la qual cosa los de la dita ciutat mostren gran abatiment.*²⁴⁴

The success of these actions was due to many factors, notable among which was the lack of supplies due to the tightening of the siege, at least in regards to the troops. However, we consider that elements of another order, among which we could count saving their own families or preserving their assets, were the motives why leading

241. The usage of *Princeps Namque* began to be applied in mid September 1413, as we know from the López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 128-129 (doc. No. 133). The order was read in the council of Tarragona on the 4th of October, as we know through Cortiella i Odena, Francesc. *Una ciutat catalana a les darreries de la Baixa Edat Mitjana: Tarragona*, Tarragona: Institut d'Estudis Tarraconenses Ramón Berenguer IV. Exma. Diputació Provincial de Tarragona, 1984: 25. However, on 10th October, the king summoned the barons, knights, citizens and men of Catalonia, both crown and seignior, to go to Balaguer immediately to help the crown quash the rebellion by James of Urgell. Rodrigo Lizondo, Mateu, ed. *Col. lecció documental...*: 998-999 (doc. No. 932).

242. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 510; Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 363.

243. "... promoted certain dialogue with on of those inside offering that the king would show him mercy". Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 352, only indicates the fact; the date is from Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 368.

244. "... made the others who were not part of the deal leave to look for firewood and the others closed the door of the house and made a certain signal to the Governor of Catalonia and certain people who were warned and who on seeing the signal went to the house and as those who had left wanted to return but found the doors barred and to flee from our people leaped into the river where one of them died; the others passed to the town and our people opened the door for those in the deal and entered into said house all carrying our standard to signal to the others in our camp at which those in said town showed great dismay". Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 353-354 (doc. No. CLXXIX).



knights, who had followed the count for a long time, abandoned him. This would be the case of Martín López de Lanuza, who abandoned the count together with his family, or Juan de Sesé and forty other people on the same day,²⁴⁵ or Artal de Alagó.²⁴⁶ However, we do not know the reasons in other cases, like that of the knights Ivany dez Ponts and Ombert de Vilafrancha, who left Balaguer on the 18th of August and who the king rewarded with two and four mounts and their inclusion in the house of Prince Alfonso.²⁴⁷ However, a question that remains to be answered is what the role of these and other people who passed to the royal side was, if they were allowed to fulfil any, in the later development of the siege.

The tactics indicated sometimes came up against adverse factors that affected the two camps the king set up around the besieged town. Although at first there were strategic reasons for this division,²⁴⁸ it is possible that by the end of the siege, these were related to other natural causes, like the rise of the River Segre, that had placed impediments on the king at the start of the campaign.²⁴⁹ Thus, the royal troops were in two different places at the end of the siege, one part under the command of the king and the other led by the Duke of Gandía.²⁵⁰ Some of the conditioning factors in the siege were the lateness of the season, with less daylight, and the shortage of the land despite it being a fertile area,²⁵¹ especially as the Count of Urgell had consumed the provisions;²⁵² setbacks like the desertions that, in some moments, seemed to be constant and massive, especially in some of the trades, like the stonemasons, of whom twenty disappeared in one day, leaving without the king's permission;²⁵³ problems derived from the excessive slowness in building castles and siege engines for the battle. However, one of the greatest concerns was undoubtedly the growing diversity of opinions and the ill-feeling that had arisen among the grandees who attended the Council. It was here, where the conflict between Catalans and Castilians concerning how the war should be conducted was

245. Martín López de Lanuza left Balaguer on 20th October, as we find in Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 368; Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 352, does not provide the date. Juan de Sesé was the son of García López de Sesé, who the then abbot of Valladolid, Diego Gómez de Fuensalida, unsuccessfully tried to draw towards Ferdinand's opinion by offering him properties and money.

246. Vendrell de Millás, Francesca; Masiá de Ros, Angels. *Jaume el Dissortat. Darrer comte d'Urgell*, Barcelona: Editorial AEDOS, 1956: 156.

247. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 64 (doc. No. 54).

248. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 346. When the Duke of Gandía came before the king, he was ordered to cross the river and remain in one of the places that would turn out to be strategic.

249. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 350; López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 38-39 (doc. No. 18).

250. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 374. We also know it through the parade at the end of the siege, specifically on the 3rd of November 1413. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 204r-206r.

251. As highlighted in the accounts by the various chroniclers. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 350; Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 344.

252. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 498-499.

253. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 506.



most acutely visible.²⁵⁴ In general lines, These were some of the circumstances that contributed to slowing down, and perhaps at some moments, a boosting the taking of Balaguer as soon as possible. Indeed, one could think of the taking of Balaguer as a kind of cauteriser of the possible discrepancies between the knights from the various kingdoms that helped Ferdinand in his task.

8. The number of combatants for the king and the presence of Castilians

To take the town of Balaguer,²⁵⁵ the King of Aragon used a large number of men of arms from Castile, the peninsular territories that made up the Crown of Aragon and Navarre.²⁵⁶ It is difficult to evaluate the number of troops by their origin. Very diverse figures are offered for the Castilians, ranging from a thousand lances to start the campaign, to which one must add the... *que podrían ser hasta ciento* poor Castilians that Ferdinand ordered to be armed Barcelona and who would be in charge of his protection,²⁵⁷ as well as the few forces that were scattered around the territories of the Crown of Aragon. According to García de Santa María... *quando cerco al conde de Urgel en Balaguer que le fueron de Castilla mil e quinientos homes de la guisa e de armas e otra gente de pie*.²⁵⁸ In any case, the number of Castilian troops would later be

254. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 360-361. The author considered these contradictions normal given the diversity of nations involved in the siege of Balaguer.

255. The siege ended on the 31st of October with the surrender of James of Urgell, as the king informed his son, Alfonso. Bofarull y Mascaró, Próspero. *Procesos de las antiguas Cortes y Parlamentos de Cataluña, Aragón y Valencia custodiados en el Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón*, en *Colección de Documentos Inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón*, Barcelona: Establecimiento Litográfico y Tipográfico de Jose Eusebio Monfort, 1847: II, 534-535; López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 199 (doc. No. 332). We have news of its spread in Castile, for example in Seville, as evidenced by a payment for glad tidings on 6th December 1413. Collantes de Terán Delorme, Francisco. *Archivo Municipal de Sevilla. Inventario de los papeles del Mayordomazgo del siglo xv, 1401-1416*, Seville: Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, Delegación de Cultura, Sección de Publicaciones: Instituto de la Cultura y las Artes, 1972: I, 464 (doc. No. 98). And in other peninsular kingdoms, like Navarre, where Álvaro de Garavito went to report it and received 60 gold escudos minted in France. Castro, José Ramón. *Archivo General de Navarra. Catálogo de la Sección de Comptos. Documentos*, Pamplona: Diputación Foral de Navarra, 1962: XXX, 435 (doc. No. 878).

256. The monarch, without specifying any number or origin, addressing the Catalans in his speech before the Courts of Montblanc in 1414 indicated that it was ... *ab notable nombre de gent darmes e de peu* ("... with notable number of people of arms and on foot"). *Cortes...*: XI, 345. The Navarrese help, led by Godofre, marshal and Count of Cortes, was seven knights and four Navarrese squires with a force of 20 men of arms, as indicated by Fernández de Larrea y Rojas, Jon Andoni. *El precio de la sangre. Ejércitos y sociedad en Navarra durante la Baja Edad Media (1259-1450)*, Madrid: Sílex Ediciones, 2013: 100.

257. "... could be up to a hundred". Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 349. This figure of a thousand Castilian lances is agreed on by the *Crónica incompleta...*: 24 and Zurita, Jerónimo, *Anales...*: 329, who also gives the number of up to a hundred castilian horse.

258. "... when the Count of Urgell was besieged in Balaguer that one thousand five hundred men went there from Castile with the bride and at arms and other people on foot". García de Santa María, Álvaro. *Le parti inedite della: "Crónica de Juan II" di Álvaro García de Santa María*, Donatella Ferro, ed. Venice: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (Gruppo Studi d'Ispanistica), 1972: 151.



mixed with others all over the Crown of Aragon. This can be deduced from a letter by the monarch in mid-June explaining the arrival of men of arms from Castile in Saragossa, and who joined the Aragonese who were in the city quantified as two thousand nags.²⁵⁹ This can also be noted during the battle itself.²⁶⁰ In the case of there being individualised data, the previous figure is not reached and nothing enables us to conclude that all these troops were from Castile, as is the case of the *Adelantado* Diego Gómez de Sandoval, who it is claimed to have had six hundred lances without their origins being indicated.²⁶¹ To these, we must add the Castilians troops who were ready on the frontier of this kingdom with Aragon in case there was the entry of foreign troops and that the king quantified in one of his letters. According to Ferdinand... *en les fronteres de Castella que son prests vuy millia bacinets e deu millia omes a peu per entrar en nostra ajuda al primer ardit que hagen nostre si era cas que de la dita gent strangera entrava. E daquesta gent de Castella vindra per capita Johan de Velasco.*²⁶² These are very high figures for combatants that did not need to be mobilised, and appear exaggerated, like those of five or six thousand Castilian lances that a witness offered in the trial of the Count of Urgell after the siege.²⁶³

More evidence that these troops from Castile were quantitatively important can be drawn from the reviews and parades before and during the siege of Balaguer. In around forty parades in Barcelona, Saragossa, Huesca, Balaguer and Lleida, there were companies of Castilian men of arms, in greatly varying numbers, in eleven. In at least another twenty, some Castilian soldiers were included among troops from other origins. To these, we must add some cases in which the place the parade was done and which troops formed part of the house of the king of Aragon does not appear. From the chronological point of view, most of these parades in which the Castilian presence was concentrated were during June, July and, to a lesser extent, August of 1413.

To mention some cases, on Friday, 24th of June, the company of Francisco Ortiz was reviewed in Barcelona.²⁶⁴ On the 10th of July, at least five men of arms arrived

259. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2383, f. 57r.

260. In a letter written during the siege of Balaguer, the monarch wrote that he had 4,000 men of arms available. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2381, f. 29v. See also Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 351. For example, Álvaro de Ávila, Mosén Bernal de Centelles, Mosén Gil Ruiz de Lihori and Pedro Alfonso de Escalante who were together with their men of arms, who numbered six hundred, in the nunnery in the town, as we know from the *Crónica incompleta...*: 24, and by González Sánchez, Santiago. "1413, el año inédito...": 233. This could be the convent of Santa Clara which is the subject of the work by Triviño Monrabal, María Victoria, "Convento de Santa Clara de Balaguer (Lleida) siglo XIX", *La desamortización. El expolio del patrimonio artístico y cultural de la Iglesia en España*. San Lorenzo del Escorial: Ediciones Escorialenses: Real Centro Universitario Escorial-María Cristina, 2007: 829-845.

261. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 351; Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 345; *Crónica incompleta...*: 28.

262. "... on the frontiers of Castile that are taken by eight thousand cuirassiers and ten thousand foot soldiers in our aid the first artifice that we do if it were the case that said foreign people entered. And of these people of Castile the will come for captain Johan de Velasco". Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 351 (doc. No. CLXXV).

263. Bofarull y de Sartorio, Manuel de. *Proceso contra el último conde...*: I, 303.

264. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 48r.



from Castile.²⁶⁵ On the 15th, there was parade by the company of García de Herrera, made up of himself and ten other knights,²⁶⁶ and the thirteen men of arms who came with arms Juan Delgadillo, of whom at least nine were Castilians.²⁶⁷ In Huesca, on the 14th of June, Martín de Pomar paraded with twenty-four other knights.²⁶⁸ On the 16th, in the same city, it was Álvaro Rodríguez de Escobar heading sixty knights and six crossbowmen.²⁶⁹ On the 17th, Suero de Nava also paraded through Huesca with thirteen knights, eleven lancers and twenty-seven men armed with pavises and lances.²⁷⁰ In Balaguer in early August 1413, Suero de Nava also paraded... *de las partes del reino de Francia* together with five men of arms and five crossbowmen,²⁷¹ as did the above-mentioned Martín de Pomar on the 13th of September, although he had already been in the king's service since the 3rd of August, in the town of Menàrguens with various men of arms.²⁷² And, without wanting to go into greater details, in Lleida on the 17th of November 1413, the king ordered the salary to be paid to Alfonso de Aguilar, captain of the men of arms who had come again from Castile, specifically from Cordoba, for the twenty days of their return journey and the four they had been in Lleida. These were forty-seven knights and four crossbowmen on horseback.²⁷³

As well as these seigneurial troops with vassalistic links to Ferdinand, the King of Aragon also made widespread use of paid troops from Castile. These, according to the documentation, appear as companies of crossbowmen and almogavars. Like the twenty-five paid crossbowmen under the command of Íñigo de Solórzano,²⁷⁴ twenty-five others led by Juan de Palencia²⁷⁵ and the same number Juan de Guecho.²⁷⁶ In each of these three cases, they appeared under the *constablia de...*

There were Castilian warlords hired, undoubtedly for their great experience, from the area of the frontier with the Kingdom of Granada. At least twenty-three warlords have been counted from, among other places, Jerez, Morón, Baeza, Antequera, Córdoba, Lorca and Baena, each at the head of ten almogavars. that gives a total of

265. The first that appears in the list is Pero García de Villagómez, but without stating that he is a captain. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 51v.

266. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 27v.

267. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 44v.

268. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 188r-v.

269. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 190r-191r.

270. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 191v-192v.

271. "from the parts of the Kingdom of France". ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 38r.

272. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 46v.

273. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 57v-58v.

274. They paraded through Barcelona on the 9th of May 1413. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 114r.

275. Although they paraded in Barcelona on the 10th of August 1413, they also passed review on the 6th of October in the siege of Balaguer, as appears in the ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 119r-v.

276. They paraded in Barcelona on the 28th of May 1413. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 113r.



two hundred and fifty-three, counting the captains, who were present at the siege of Balaguer.²⁷⁷ It is possible, in agreement with the evidence gathered, that as well as their service in the siege and in the later siege of Loarre,²⁷⁸ also conducted sweeps and raids in the surrounding lands and those that were still loyal to the Count of Urgell as this was one of their main tasks.²⁷⁹ We do not have the names of these ten almogavars under each warlord although they were probably mainly Castilians, although we cannot rule out that some may have been of Muslim origin. However, we know what the warlord and the almogavars under his command received, respectively four and three Barcelonan *sueldos* per day.²⁸⁰ Undoubtedly, the contacts that Ferdinand established during the Granadan campaigns and the services that these troops had lent him were behind the contracting of these soldiers.

Other Castilian troops came from places that were under the seigniorship of the king of Aragon. Here, one can differentiate the requests for militias from certain councils from the duty of vassalage that linked certain knights who had land from him. Ferdinand alluded to their duty to assist him as vassals, to which end he called... *a todos los escuderos e caualleros que de él tenían tierra* in Paredes de Nava,²⁸¹ Cuéllar,²⁸²

277. See the list of parades in *Castellanos en el cerco a Balaguer* (Castilians in the siege of Balaguer). The documentary references to these troops are in the ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 128v-130r. An interesting work about the almogavars, their ranks, military functions and presence in the wars of the fifteenth century, is Ferrer i Mallol, María Teresa. *Organització i defensa d'un territori fronterer. La Governació d'Oriola en el segle XIV*, Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1990: 242-284. She considers that by the end of the fourteenth century, they had completely disappeared from Catalonia, which may explain why the majority of those who figure here were Castilians.

278. After the end of siege of Balaguer, the king ordered at least ten of them to Loarre. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 149r.

279. This was the case of Gonzalvo Gutiérrez for whom the monarch requested, without specifying a receiver, that he and his companions be supplied with whatever they needed with his money, and if necessary, guides and assistance. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2381, ff. 34r-v.

280. As can be seen, for example, in the payments that were ordered for Juan García de Jerez and Alfonso de Baeza to serve the king *vers les parts de Leyda* ("... to the area of Lleida") for one month (19th and 18th July 1413, Barcelona). ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 72v.

281. "... to all the squires and knights who had land from him". AMPdN., Cuentas de Propios, (1413), carpeta 238, f. 14/23v. We do not know if this council sent the same number of crossbowmen and lancers that were sent to the siege of Antequera in 1410, a total of a hundred and sixty men, divided into two shifts. González Sánchez, Santiago. *Los recursos militares de la monarquía castellana a comienzos del siglo XV. Las campañas granadinas del infante don Fernando: Setenil y Antequera (1407-1410)*, Madrid: Comité Español de Ciencias Históricas. Dykinson S.L, 2016: 137.

282. We know about a letter from the King of Aragon requiring the town of Cuéllar to contribute what they had offered—we do not know exactly what this refers to—for the war against Balaguer and Perpignan, as taken from Ubieto Arteta, Antonio. *Colección diplomática de Cuéllar*, Segovia: Publicaciones históricas de la Excm. Diputación Provincial de Segovia, 1961: 412-413 (doc. No. 198); Velasco Bayón, Balbino; Herrero Jiménez, Mauricio; Pecharromán Cebrián, Segismundo; Montalvillo García, Julia. *Colección documental de Cuéllar (934-1492)*, Cuéllar: Ayuntamiento de Cuéllar, I, 2010: 467-468 (doc. No. 279). Unfortunately, the document has been lost, so we have to make do with the details from an early eighteenth-century inventory. Perhaps the news that in 1411, the then Prince Ferdinand called on the council of Cuéllar to despatch ... *treinta vasallos con sus ballestas y otras armas, que sean jóvenes y no posean bienes raíces* ("... thirty vassals with their crossbows and other arms, who are young and have no good roots") who would serve to reinforce the troops that he already had in the kingdoms of the Crown of



Villalón de Campos,²⁸³ Medina del Campo and Olmedo,²⁸⁴ Arévalo and in Ávila,²⁸⁵ the five towns of Ledesma²⁸⁶ and in Alba de Tormes. With regard to the latter place, we know that on the 1st of June 1413, three of its vassal knights were called to Soria where they had troops gathered: these were Fernán Alfonso de Olivera, councillor, Lorenzo Doval, mayor, and Juan Martínez de Beleña, ex-mayor, who contributed eight lances. As well as the 1,500 maravedies of land for each lance, each of them received a payment for ten days of journey, *correspondiéndoles 150 maravedies por cada lanza*. In the end, Fernán Alfonso de Olivera, did not take four lances, but rather six, bringing the total to ten.²⁸⁷

As well as the above, one must bear in mind the number of combatants, generally knights, with whom the various Castilian nobles of the houses of the king and queen offered to serve Ferdinand. In this sense and besides those who formed his guard, there were the seven armed horsemen with whom Juan Carrillo, usher of arms to King Ferdinand, had promised to serve in the kingdom of Aragon,²⁸⁸ the five who came again from the kingdom of Castile;²⁸⁹ the thirteen armed horsemen who returned from Castile, as well as three others who Juan Delgado, the king's baker,

Aragon could be indicative. Velasco Bayón, Balbino; Herrero Jiménez, Mauricio; Pecharromán Cebrián, Segismundo; Montalvillo García, Julia. *Colección documental de Cuéllar...*, I: 438 (doc. No. 262).

283. Muñoz Gómez, Víctor. "La candidatura al trono...", note 76: 889. The signature that he supplies is (AMVillalón, Libro de Actas Capitulares, 1404-1423, f. 23r-44r). However, it has been impossible to check this claim with the original document as, according to the archivists of the Diputación de Valladolid—where the archive of Villalón de Campos is now kept—the Chapter Acts of 1413 have not survived, but rather these go from 1411 to those of 1419. What we do know is the men of arms that were sent to for the Antequera campaign in 1410, namely 25 crossbowmen and 23 lancers, as we know from AMVillalón, Libro de Actas Capitulares, 1404-1423, f. 23v^o. Must it be supposed that the same number were requested for the siege of Balaguer?

284. *Crónica anónima...*: 24. Olmedo contributed an indeterminate number of lances that the king's vassals had there, which could have been sixty-six, as can be seen in González Sánchez, Santiago. "1413, el año inédito...": 226.

285. Medina del Campo, Cuéllar, Paredes de Nava, Arévalo and Ávila would have contributed a total of two hundred and sixty-six lances, as stated in González Sánchez, Santiago. "1413, el año inédito...": 231.

286. Ledesma, together with its five towns and Saldaña supplied a total of one hundred lances. For this, see González Sánchez, Santiago. "1413, el año inédito...": 231.

287. "... corresponding to 150 maravedies for each lance". AMAL., Libro de Actas Capitulares, 1413, ff. 28v-29r, 30r-31r, 36v-37r. The dates that correspond to these sheets are 1-6-1413, 2-6-1413 and 20-6-1413, respectively. The documentary references and information about the contribution of this council are from Monsalvo Antón, José María. *El sistema político concejil: el ejemplo del señorío medieval de Alba de Tormes y su concejo de villa y tierra*, Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1988: 181-182. The documentation is also mentioned in Muñoz Gómez, Víctor. "La candidatura al trono...": 889.

288. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500bis, f. 29v (Barcelona, 20th June 1413). News about these seven armed horsemen in ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 71v, payment of 105 florins (Barcelona, 15th July 1413).

289. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500bis, f. 40v (Barcelona, 24th July 1413).



agreed to make available,²⁹⁰ and as a final example, the three who were recruited by Fernando Díez de Toledo, archdeacon of Niebla and the king's physician.²⁹¹

In any case, there is not even evidence of a determined number of Castilians for what could be called the final period of the struggle as, for example, it is recorded that the king ordered a count of all the knights from Castile and their people in order to pay them, without specifying the number.²⁹² The number we do know is of the final reinforcements who went to his aid and those that the queen of Castile was preparing to send him, three hundred cuirassiers paid for three months.²⁹³ Moreover, we have the figures that Zurita supplies for Valencians and Catalans at the start of the siege, three hundred Valencians, who had arrived with the Duke of Gandía,²⁹⁴ and six hundred Catalans, all on horseback,²⁹⁵ although the former would rise later to five or six hundred.²⁹⁶ We do not know the number from the

290. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500bis, f. 40v (Barcelona, 23rd July 1413). Information about these three armed horsemen in ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 71v, payment of 45 florins (Barcelona, 15th of July 1413).

291. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500bis, f. 37r (Barcelona, 18th July 1413).

292. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 356.

293. Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 351 (doc. No. 175); Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 356; Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 374. The relations between Queen Catalina and Ferdinand went through ups and downs but were generally bad. Accordingly, it stands out that one of the witnesses in the trial of the Count of Urgell after his defeat claimed that he heard him say... *que el sabia per letres que la Reyna de Castilla havia mesa veda en Castilla que gent darmes non isques* ("he knew from letters that the Queen of castile had prohibited any men of arms from leaving this kingdom"). Bofarull y de Sartorio, Manuel de. *Proceso contra el último conde...*: I, 303. It is probable that with this statement and others, James of Urgell was quantifying the number of combatants that awaited... *Il rocins lança en ma et D arxes e D lançes de gascons* (two horses lances in hand and five hundred archers and five hundred lances from Gascons), trying to encourage his followers.

294. Rubio Vela, Agustín. "Urgelistas valencianos...": 246-247 (doc. No. 1). Sáiz Serrano, Jorge. *Caballeros del rey. Nobleza y guerra en el reinado de Alfonso el Magnánimo*, Valencia: Universitat de València, 2008: 143, based on ARV., Real Cancillería., n.º 619bis, ff. 1r-37v, provides the same figure. Then, Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "El asedio de Balaguer...": 432, highlights that the Duke of Gandía formed part of the royal army from the onset, having been one of the competitors for the throne of the Crown of Aragon.

295. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 346-347.

296. The figure of five hundred is from Tintó Sala, Margarita. *Cartas del baile...*: 181-182 (doc. No.17), 182-183 (doc. No. 18) and 185 (doc. No. 21) and Pérez Pérez, Desamparados. "Presencia valenciana en el sitio de Balaguer. Año 1413". *Medievalia*, 8 (1989): 305. Both quantities in Rubio Vela, Agustín. "Urgelistas valencianos": 224-225. The latter author also gives a figure between five and six hundred Narbona Vizcaíno, Rafael. "La milicia ciudadana de la Valencia medieval", *Clio & Crimen*, 3 (2006): 319-320. In line with the data we take from Sáiz Serrano, Jorge. *Caballeros del rey...*: 143, to the three hundred financed by the Diputació del General one must add the two hundred and fifty-three recruited by the general mayor. The first three hundred, under the leadership of the Duke of Gandía, were contracted for three months' service; the hundred and fifty-three under Bernat Centelles and the remaining hundred led by the noble Pero Maça de Liçana, for two months. Regarding the financial role of this institution and despite not containing the case cited, see Camarena Mahiques, José. "Función económica del General del Regne de Valencia en el siglo xv". *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, 25 (1955): 529-542. About Pero Maça de Liçana, we have various sources of information; the chronicle that has his name, *Crónica de Pere Maça*, (1979); the book based on that, written by Riquer Morera, Martí de. *Vida i aventures del cavaller valencià don Pero Maça*, Barcelona: Quaderns Crema, 2004: chapter VI, 59-63. There is a first edition from



Kingdom of Aragon, except the names of some knights.²⁹⁷ The king also had the help of two important Navarrese knights who brought twenty men of arms, although he rejected the offer of three hundred men from that kingdom.²⁹⁸ This would have meant internationalising the conflict and, perhaps more evidently, that it would have been interpreted within the Crown of Aragon as a lack of legitimacy of the new monarch, as well as raising doubts about his military power.

Regarding the total number of Castilian combatants,²⁹⁹ the figure varies between three thousand and three thousand five hundred horse during the siege.³⁰⁰ In the final parade, the camp being split into two, the number in only the king's camp was two thousand, excepting the people who had taken the Count of Urgell to Lleida³⁰¹ and who we know numbered between two hundred and two hundred and fifty.³⁰² For his part, Lorenzo Valla established figures that seem somewhat rather exaggerated; *Las tropas del rey estaban formadas por castellanos y catalanes conjuntamente, en número aproximado de ocho mil infantes y cuatro mil jinetes*.³⁰³ This opinion contrasts with that of Zurita, at least regarding the different number of troops on foot or on horseback, as what is observed in this author is the preponderance of knights over the numbers of lancers and crossbowmen. He claims that were few of the latter in the final parade in the monarch's camp;³⁰⁴ but we do not know why, whether through desertions or that a good number of them were on missions outside the camp.

One sector of the army remained active, although we do not know for how long. In Sáiz Serrano's opinion, this would have gradually been reduced until ending up as a small unit of the royal guard. This would have been around two hundred men

1984. And the details in the Hinojosa Montalvo, José. *Diccionario de Historia medieval del Reino de Valencia*, Valencia: Nova Composición, 2002: III, 61-62.

297. To the members of important lineages cited above, one must add those of Juan de Moncayo, who Ferdinand rewarded for his services in Balaguer with the grant of places and castles in Clamosa and Puy de Cinca, in the Kingdom of Aragón, as we see in AHPZ., expediente Casa Ducal de Híjar, ES/AHPZ-P/1-114-57, dated the 8th of October 1414. And father Sancho Pérez de Pomar, who had had twenty six loads of wheat seized when present in the siege of Balaguer, in Lleal, Coloma. *El castellano del siglo xv...*: 34-35 (doc. No. 12).

298. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 352; Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 367-368. Zurita does not supply the number of these knights nor does he mention the offer King Charles III of Navarre made to Ferdinand and the latter refused.

299. Declarations by some of the witnesses called to the trial of Count James of Urgell estimated the number of Castilian lances at Balaguer at between five and six thousand. Bofarrull y Mascaró, Próspero. *Procesos de las antiguas Cortes...*: III, 81.

300. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 362; Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 538. The two figures indicated correspond with both chronicles.

301. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 374.

302. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 356; Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 374. The two figures indicated correspond with both chronicles.

303. "The king's troops were made up of Castilians and Catalans together, a number of approximately eight thousand foot soldiers and four thousand horsemen". Valla, Lorenzo. *Historia de Fernando...*: 188.

304. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 374.



and eight lances, led by a hundred and thirty Castilian-origin knights and men of arms.³⁰⁵

However, a more detailed study of the document on which Sáiz Serrano bases himself provides valuable information. First there is the possible service to the king for three months and a day, as the royal secretary Juan de Tudela made a payment on the 8th of December 1413 in Lleida, with which we know that they were given a month's salary, but the king's order was extended until the 10th of March 1414. The second is that the number of Castilian captains rose to one hundred and thirty-four, and the lances, to two hundred and fifty.³⁰⁶ As well as holding the names of various important captains present in the siege of Balaguer,³⁰⁷ the document enables us to see how the royal host was organised. Through this, we know that eighty-nine captains were in charge of one lance, which is 66.51 percent of the two hundred and fifty; thirty took two lances, 44.77 percent; five supplied three lances, 11.19 percent; three had four lances, 8.95 percent; one went with five lances, 3.73 percent; two took six lances, 8.95 percent; one contributed eight lances, 5.97 percent; another came with nine lances, 6.71 percent; one participated with twelve lances, 8.95 percent, and Pedro Núñez de Guzmán took twenty-eight lances, 20.89 percent. As well as the onomastics, the toponyms of the surnames of these captains reveal their origins: Rueda, Ayllón, Salamanca, Soria, Sepúlveda, Logroño, Ávila, Olmedo, Portillo, Almazán, Cilleruelo, Carrión, Oviedo, Aguilar, Vozmediano, Pedrosa, Villalón, Tordehumos, Revenga, Serón (de Nágima), Zamora, Tiedra, Villapadierna, Cuenca, Mayorga, Mieres, Berlanga, Vergara, Valbuena, Villaviciosa, Valderas and Urueña. Some of these places, like Olmedo, Villalón and Tiedra, were under the lordship of the King of Aragon so it is likely that some of these knights had feudo-vassalistic links with Ferdinand. According to the toponymy, the place that contributed more knights was Olmedo, with ten. We must also highlight that in twenty-two cases, the knight used others of the same rank or squires to lend their service, twenty of them supplied one lance, one two lances and the other, three.³⁰⁸

Another question to consider is what could be named the qualification of the combatants, that resulted in many cases from previous experience. In this sense, we know the consideration deserved by the Castilian troops who were awaiting the arrival of Ferdinand in Igualada before going to Balaguer, as they were qualified as *escogida* and *muy lucida* troop.³⁰⁹ However, these criteria took on a point of admiration when the majority of them were called *soldados viejos*, in allusion to

305. Sáiz Serrano, Jorge. *Caballeros del rey...*: 101.

306. This coincides with a final payment of 3,746 florines, which should have been 3,750 to coincide with the payment of 15 florins per month for each lance. However, although we do not know why, a lance was paid at 11 florins. We draw attention to the different salary paid for a Castilian lance. During the epoch of the Interregnum it was 1 florin per day, as we know from Janer y Graells, Florencio. *Examen...*: 147-148. While the siege of Balaguer lasted and after the fall of the town at a rate of half a florin per day as we know from the ARV., Maestre Racional, n.º 8304, f. 6r.

307. (chosen and very lucid). The most notable cases were those of Pedro Nuñez de Guzmán and his son-in-law Pedro de Guzmán also cited in various chronicles.

308. ARV., Maestre Racional, n.º 8304, ff. 6r-10r.

309. (chosen, brilliant). Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 343.



the experience they had had in the Granadan campaigns, which would not have avoided their lack of adaptation to this terrain if winter had arrived.³¹⁰

These opinions contrast with those held about the people who fought for the Count of Urgell in Balaguer, whose condition as not being... *todos soldados* was highlighted, although they were considered skilled, although given the conditions they were subjected to and their inexperience, it is probable they were behind acts of great courage, typical of... *gente desesperada*.³¹¹

Thus, there was a qualitative dimension that differentiated the combatants on either side of the conflict. Perhaps, and apart from wanting to increase his own forces and thus compensate for the greater numbers on the monarch's side, one of the reasons for the Count of Urgell's wish for help from English mercenaries was their notable *professionality*.

In any case, the aid from Castile so that Ferdinand could definitively take the throne of the Crown of Aragon has been considered fundamental. Besides the evidence for this support in the months prior to the Balaguer campaign,³¹² we dare to sketch out three tables of this aid in the Appendix, that could undoubtedly be extended. The first presents some of the payments made to Castilians who served the King of Aragon during the siege of Balaguer, either for their service at arms, or for their material collaboration. The second contains the names that appear of those who were either captains or members of the Castilian nobility present in the siege. The third contains the payments to the Castilians who remained in the king's service after the end of the siege.

All this leads us to consider the role that the Castilians had throughout the siege of Balaguer. In first place, and as expressed above, we have to highlight their work supplying the supplies and equipment necessary to maintain the siege and that we have focussed on Prince Alfonso, Queen Leonor and the bishops of León and Zamora. Besides these and what they provided, there were other important supplies like the animals supplied by squires like Sancho del Corral.³¹³

Another aspect is that of the work on the siege itself. Castilians can be seen in all the armed clashes, either through their numerical importance, shown above, or for the trust placed in them. This trust in the Castilians could provoke distrust of the men of arms from the territories of the Crown de Aragon. This can be deduced from evidence collected as, in practically all the actions of arms, beside a knight from these origins there was another from Castile. As an example from among the various that could be presented, there was the pursuit of possible English enemies

310. "old soldiers". Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 498-499.

311. "...all soldiers"; "desperate people". Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 349.

312. From among the many examples, there are the cases of Sancho Pérez de Pomar, Martín de Pomar and Pedro de Pomar, who were in the king's service with ten, two and five men respectively, on the 24th of May 1413 in the Kingdom of Aragon. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500bis, f. 20v.

313. Cited in the table of payments to Castilians in the siege of Balaguer. In relation to this, especially the seizure of horses, one must consider the damage caused to the Castilian economy by these acts, as shown by García de Santa María, Álvaro. *Le parti inedite...*: 152.



coming to help the Count of Urgell which was entrusted to the governor of Catalonia along with the Castilian, Pedro Núñez de Guzmán.³¹⁴ There are other reasons than the one the chroniclers tell us about a different conception of the continuity of the siege of Balaguer, which led Castilians and Catalans to differ in the king's council.³¹⁵ It must be supposed that this co-participation by knights from both kingdoms went beyond the strictly armed action that the chronicles indicate and went as far as the guard of the camp, although it seems suspicious that it was not like this for the two references to this that we take from Zurita and that both refer exclusively to Castilians.³¹⁶ However, if the preference for one part of the combatants can be considered beyond doubt, it is no less so the one the King of Aragon showed for the *Adelantado mayor* of Castile, Diego Gómez de Sandoval, to whom all the guards and night guards were entrusted and who... *andaba sobre todos*.³¹⁷

These armed clashes also meant the definitive rise of the Castilian knights who had begun their experience military in the Granadan campaigns and who were in the house of the King of Aragon. This would be the case of Diego Gómez de Sandoval and Álvaro de Ávila.³¹⁸ For others, it was the start of their military careers, as can be seen with Álvaro de Garavito.³¹⁹

The geostrategic situation of the peninsular and insular kingdoms of the Crown of Aragon, its involvement in the solution of the Schism that had divided the Church, among other problems, meant that the presence of Castilian troops there was prolonged beyond the scope of this study until the end of the reign of Ferdinand I of Aragon in 1416, with the purpose of both consolidating his power and securing that of his successor.

9. The rewards to the Castilians

The bulk of the concessions that Ferdinand made as king of Aragon came about after the defeat of the Count of Urgell and his followers. We must bear in mind the

314. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 362.

315. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 361. A reason that can also be perceived in Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 498-499.

316. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 349 and 366.

317. "...watched over everyone". Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 371. Apart from highlighting his importance, referring to the monarch, Monfar adds that... *sin fiarse de catalanes ni aragoneses* (without trusting Catalans or Aragonese). Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 518.

318. About the latter, see the article by Franco Silva, Alfonso. "El mariscal Álvaro de Ávila y los orígenes del Condado de Peñaranda", *La fortuna y el poder. Estudios sobre las bases económicas de la aristocracia castellana (S. XIV-XV)*, Cadiz: Universidad de Cádiz, Servicio de Publicaciones, 1996: 241-264.

319. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 365. This character, for whom no citations have been found, would have been part of the Leonese family of the same name, which is briefly dealt with in Álvarez Álvarez, César. "Linajes nobiliarios y oligarquías urbanas en León", *La nobleza peninsular en la Edad Media. VI Congreso de Estudios Medievales*, Leon: Fundación Sánchez-Albornoz, 1999: 61-62.



serious situation of the royal patrimony on his entry into Aragon,³²⁰ the confiscation of the losers' assets³²¹ and the need to reward, in some way, the Castilian help, which had to a great extent not been satisfied the previous time. From the patrimonial point of view, the defeat of the Count of Urgell meant an increase in the crown's possessions and a certain economic solvency,³²² which led to the request from those who... *solicitaban la enmienda de sus servicios, más aún los que le habían servido en el sitio de Balaguer.*³²³ Hence, in some of these favours, there was a need for reward, like that which took place after the surrender of the Count of Urgell in Balaguer, when the king donated all the goods that were found in the Count's palace to some Castilians who were there.³²⁴

At a later date, apart from the salary, the monarch recompensed those who served him during the siege of Balaguer.³²⁵ These favours took place throughout 1414 and 1415 and, to a good extent, they were done in regions where the Count of Urgell and his supporters had had their possessions, some about these same properties.³²⁶ These donations were not only a reward for certain services and attitudes shown towards the King of Aragon, but also one of the monarch's aims was to enable that through these, part of the Castilian nobility, particularly some of its most loyal members, could settle in the Crown of Aragon or, if not, receive a new source of income and through them, have a stable power base and so control the kingdom.

Among the assets owned by the supporters of the Count of Urgell, we know that on the 23rd of February 1415, Ferdinand donated those that had belonged to Luis de Cegrany to Nuño de Laguna and García de la Vera.³²⁷ The marriage of Álvaro de Garavito with Violante, one of the daughters of Martín López de Lanuza, through

320. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 291. Diego Gómez de Fuensalida is mentioned as a witness among those present at the swearing in of the three delegates: Juan de Subirats, Berenguer de Bardají and Francisco Sarçuela charged with analysing the situation of the patrimonial assets of the Crown of Aragon at the start of Ferdinand I's reign, as shown by: Gallostra Vendrell, Francisca. *Rentas reales de Aragón de la época de Fernando I (1412-1416)*, Colección de Documentos Inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón, Madrid-Barcelona: Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1977: XLVII, 15.

321. Regarding this, one can see the confiscations of assets from Martín López de Lanuza, after he left Balaguer in Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 368. Or the confiscation of Antonio de Luna's assets in Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 381. Or the loss of the assets of the Count of Urgell's mother in Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 357. Regarding the fate of the rights and properties of Antonio de Luna, see Torre Gonzalo, Sandra de la. "“Por hacer paz y justicia”: la traición como arma política durante el *Interregno* en el reino de Aragón (1410-1412)". *e-Spania*, 14 (December, 2012) <<http://e-spania.revues.org/22001>> (Consulted 1st June 2017).

322. Vendrell de Millás, Francesca; Masiá de Ros, Angels. *Jaume el Dissortat...*: 174.

323. "...they requested the amendment of their services, especially those who had served him in the siege of Balaguer". Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 626.

324. Salas Bosch, Xavier de. *La fi del comte...*: 34.

325. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 538. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 356.

326. Specifically we are referring to the donation of Balaguer to Prince John, as can be seen in Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 535-536, and in Salas Bosch, Xavier de. *La fi del comte...*: 48-49. For the process of breaking up the county, see the section with the same title in the article by Bertran Roigè, Prim. "El comtat d'Urgell...": 165-169.

327. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 631.



which they returned the assets of that Aragonese knight to his family, would have had this same character of a donation, although covert.³²⁸

In any case, we have more reference to the distribution of the possessions of the Count of Urgell that were scattered over Aragon, Valencia and Catalonia. These were donated to the monarch's close collaborators such as Suero de Nava, Diego Gómez de Sandoval, Diego Fernández de Vadillo and Álvaro de Ávila. On the 15th of August 1414, the former was granted the castles and places of Orviergo and Setcastelles, in the Kingdom of Aragon, with all their rights and the profit that was derived from them, as a result of his military acts in the sieges of the castle of Loarre and Balaguer, as well as for having served the king with his estate.³²⁹ Diego Gómez de Sandoval was awarded Liria, near Valencia, but this was later returned to the crown, as its donation contravened privileges numbers 36 and 40 established by Peter IV.³³⁰ On the 1st of July 1414, the royal secretary, Diego Fernández de Vadillo, was granted one of the towns that formed part of the County of Urgell, Albesa, for his good services and especially for his behaviour in the siege of the town of Balaguer.³³¹ It was Álvaro de Ávila who received the greatest number of donations. On the 29th of July 1415, this Castilian knight was granted various of the possessions that had belonged to the Count of Urgell, like the towns and castles of Sieteaguas, Bunyol, Macastre, Ayatava and Alborraix, in the Kingdom of Valencia. The reasons for these concessions were the services in the taking of Antequera, of having moved people to the Kingdom of Aragon and of having served the king in the siege of Balaguer, among others.³³² This donation generated a later double controversy, with father Vidal of Villa Nona, who claimed its ownership,³³³ and with the general mayor of Valencia, Joan Mercader, whose son Berenguer was warden of the castle and who expected these domains to come under his power.³³⁴ The interests of the Mercader family in the Hoya de Buñol must have been strong as, after these events, Alfonso V bought these domains from Álvaro de Ávila, for which he paid fifteen thousand florins, later selling it to his steward Berenguer Mercader for twelve thousand.³³⁵

Within the royal family itself there were also beneficiaries of the possessions of the Count of Urgell, like Prince John of Aragon, who was awarded Balaguer, Agramunt

328. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 391. As deduced from this author, Álvaro de Garavito cannot have been older than seventeen or eighteen when this marriage was arranged.

329. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 628.

330. Vidal Beltrán, Eliseo. "Política patrimonial de Fernando I y Alfonso V en el Reino de Valencia", *IV Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón*, Barcelona: Vda. de Fidel Rodríguez/ Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, 1970: I, 495-503. She supplies the date of the donation.

331. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 632. Basing himself on Monfar, this also appears in Bertran Roigè, Prim. "El comtat d'Urgell...": 167. And by the same author Bertran, Roigè, Prim. "El condado de Urgel...": 351, which emphasises that this town was the southernmost point of the former County of Urgell.

332. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 634.

333. González Sánchez, Santiago. "Documentos del reinado...": 365 (doc. No. 59).

334. Tintó Sala, Margarita. *Cartas del baile...*: 263-264.

335. Tintó Sala, Margarita. *Cartas del baile...*: 42.



and other towns that were not mentioned by name.³³⁶ Through Ferdinand's will, at least two of the properties that his son, Prince Peter, inherited were previously held by the Count of Urgell, specifically Tàrrega and Vilagrasa. He also received donations of the town of Terrassa³³⁷ in Catalonia and Elche and Crevillente in the Kingdom of Valencia.³³⁸

On the other hand, the armed action studied here also served to reward some Castilian knights with properties in their kingdom of origin. The most evident case is that of Diego Gómez de Sandoval to whom, through his uncle, the then bishop of Palencia, Sancho de Rojas, Queen Leonor granted Saldaña... *por los grandes servicios que él hizo al Rey de Aragón mi marido, en la sucesión del Reino de Aragón, y en la batalla con los ingleses, cuando vinieron a favorecer al Conde de Urgell en el cerco de Balaguer.*³³⁹

10. Conclusion

Various facts have to be highlighted about the triumph of Ferdinand in Balaguer. Firstly, the distinct posture compared with his rival regarding the generalisation of the conflict, that could have spilled over the frontiers of the territories of the Crown of Aragon. It can be seen how the Count of Urgell and his supporters like Antonio de Luna tried to internationalise the problem, whether through dealings with the English or by contracting men of arms from this kingdom and its French possessions. On the other hand, King Ferdinand took care that his assistance was limited to the kingdoms that made up his crown, Castile, and it can be said at an individual level, Navarre, given his rejection of the official assistance he was offered. Similarly, there was a different attitude on each of the sides in the way they headed the troops. James of Urgell must have been influenced by the difficulties he was going through. In this sense, we know about his moments of doubt, letting himself be influenced and even, if we believe some sources, of wanting to abandon to save himself.³⁴⁰

336. The concessions were granted in the reign of Alfonso V of Aragon. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 535-536; Salas Bosch, Xavier de. *La fi del comte...*: 48-49; Bertran Roigè, Prim. "El comtat d'Urgel...": 165-169.

337. We are inclined to think that this was the modern-day Terrassa, near Barcelona and that, as Zurita shows, belongs to Catalonia.

338. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 473.

339. "... for his great services to my husband, the King of Aragon, in the succession to the Kingdom of Aragon, and in the battle against the English, when they came to favour the Count of Urgell in the siege of Balaguer". From García Rámila, Ismael. *Estudio histórico-crítico sobre la vida y actuación político-social del burgalés ilustre que se llamó D. Diego Gómez de Sandoval, Adelantado Mayor de Castilla y primer Conde de Castro y Denia (1385-1455)*, Burgos: Imprenta Excma. Diputación de Burgos, 1953: 94 (doc. No. 10).

340. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 352. A work as favourable to the Count of Urgell as *La fi del comte d'Urgell*, undoubtedly to praise his behaviour, mentions that James left Balaguer on various occasions during the siege, but once outside did not have the heart to flee and abandon his house, so he reentered the town. Salas Bosch, Xavier de. *La fi del comte...*: 28. For the figure of James, although I have been unable to consult it, one can also see Carrové i Viola, Doménec. *Jaume d'Urgell. El dissortat*, Balaguer: Arts Gràfiques Romeu, 1968.



On the other hand, the King of Aragon, who has a literature favourable to his cause, always showed an attitude of control of the situation, as shown by certain events gathered by the chroniclers, such as... *el Rey andaba en torno a la cibdad*.³⁴¹ The favourable progress of the siege was in his favour, without forgetting his previous military experience.

From the military point of view, the siege of Balaguer was a considerable advance over that of Antequera, three years earlier. For example, in the latter... *la poliorcética prepondera aún sobre la artillería*.³⁴² In the case of Balaguer, the artillery was not restricted to firing rocks but also had iron cannonballs, as we know from the surviving documents. Other phenomena that would become generalised later were glimpsed at Balaguer. One of these, given the needs of the Count of Urgell, was the resort to militias, who appeared there beside the feudal army. If Antequera represented the rise of Ferdinand in his kingdom of origin, Balaguer can be considered the triumph that guaranteed him and his successors the throne of the Crown of Aragon. Perhaps with as much reason as he is known by the nickname of Antequera, we could give him that of Balaguer. From a personal point of view, and has been shown, seizing this town would consecrate him as the winner of the last and most decisive battle of his life.

341. "... the King walked around the town". Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 353.

342. "... poliorcetics still outweigh the artillery". Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 463.



Appendix 1. Payments to Castilians in the siege of Balaguer

Name	Position	Condition	Subject	Payment	Document
Juan de Miranda			Espionage in Bayonne and Oloron.	4 florins	Ejercicio 1413-1414. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, fols. XXXVI-LXXXV. ³⁴³
Alfonso de Fuensalida		Squire	Having taken six loads of pavises to Balaguer.	20 florins	
Alfonso de Fuensalida		Squire	Expenses in the siege of Balaguer.	8 florins	
Suero de Nava	Head waiter to the king	Knight	Salary for the armed men he maintained in the king's service	He was owed a total of 1,021 florins. Payments of 321 florins; 148 florins; 170 florins; 530 florins and 95 florins	
Sancho del Corral	Squire to Diego Fernández de Vadillo	Squire	For bringing horses from Castile for the siege of Balaguer.	15 florins	

343. All the data of these people that appear with this signature are from the works of Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. *Aragón en el reinado de Fernando I (1412-1416). Gobierno y Administración. Constitución Política. Hacienda Real, Saragossa: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1986; Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "Poliorcética, economía de guerra...": 372-375; Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "El asedio de Balaguer...": 433-434.*



Fernando de Villarreal	Squire to Pedro Nuñez de Guzmán	Squire	For bringing news of royal victory over the English troops.	20 florins	
Juan de Medina	One of the king's squires			90 Barcelonan sueldos	
Rodrigo de Torres	One of the king's squires			90 Barcelonan sueldos	
Diego de Carrión	One of the king's squires			90 Barcelonan sueldos	
Fernando de Lora	One of the king's squires			90 Barcelonan sueldos	
Juan de Zamora	One of the king's squires			90 Barcelonan sueldos	
Pascual de Conca	One of the king's squires			90 Barcelonan sueldos	
Juan de Sevilla	One of the king's squires			90 Barcelonan sueldos	
Fernando Díaz	Hunter to the king			135 sueldos	
Rodrigo de Valladolid	Hunter to the king			135 sueldos	
Juan de Villalpando	Hunter to the king			135 sueldos	
Pedro de Mayorga	Hunter to the king			135 sueldos	



Rodrigo de Medina del Campo	Barber	Barber	270 sueldos	
Salvador Tomé	Huntsman to the king's house		270 sueldos	
Juan de Orduña	Montero of the king's house		270 sueldos	
Lope de Benavente	Tailor's assistant		120 sueldos	
Pedro de Valladolid	Guard		120 sueldos	
Juan Rodríguez	Kitchen water bearer		120 sueldos	
Juan de Valladolid	Kitchen porter		120 sueldos	
Miguel de Toro	Cook		120 sueldos	
Juana García	Fishmonger		90 sueldos	
Francisco de Pereña	Footman on the king's hunt		135 sueldos	
Alfonso de Ledesma	Footman on the king's hunt		135 sueldos	
Juan de Aldea	Footman on the king's hunt		135 sueldos	
Juan de Moraleja	Footman on the king's hunt		135 sueldos	



Alfonso Pérez de Corporales	Footman on the king's hunt				135 sueldos	
Álvaro de Salcilla	Footman on the king's hunt				135 sueldos	
Miguel de Toledo		Squire			90 sueldos	
Alfonso de Medina	In charge of the kitchen silverware				90 sueldos	
Mencía González	Sweeper				90 sueldos	
Leonor Pescadora	The king's baker				90 sueldos	
María Fernández de Bella	Washmaid				90 sueldos	
Catalina López de Bella	Washmaid				90 sueldos	
María	Cook				90 sueldos	
Ana Francisca López de Sevilla	Seamstress				90 sueldos	

The above table is complemented with the one below.



Appendix 2. Castilians in the siege of Balaguer

	Name	Position	Condition
1	Diego Gómez de Sandoval	<i>Adelantado mayor</i> of Castile	Knight ³⁴⁴
2	Pedro Núñez de Guzmán	Head sheriff of the Behetrías of Castile, to the king of Aragon	Knight ³⁴⁵
3	Álvar Rodríguez de Escobar	Man of the king of Aragon.	Knight
4	Pedro Alonso de Escalante	Page and servant to the King of Aragón	Knight
5	Gonzalo Rodríguez de Ledesma	Head huntsman to the king	Knight
6	Álvaro de Ávila	Marshal to the king of Aragon	Knight
7	Juan Hurtado de Mendoza	Steward to the king of Castile	Knight
8	Luis de la Cerda		Knight
9	Pedro Hernández de Guzmán		Knight
10	Juan Delgadillo	Taster and waiter to king Ferdinand	Knight
11	Juan Carrillo de Toledo	Chamberlain, mayor guard to the king and head mayor of Toledo	Knight
12	García Fernández de Herrera	Marshal, frontier of Lorca	Knight
13	Fernando Manuel	Son of Enrique Manuel	Knight
14	Martín de Pomar, el Mozo		Knight
15	García Gutiérrez de Grijalba		Knight
16	Ruy Díaz de Mendoza	Head mayor of Seville	Knight
17	Ruy Díaz de Cuadros		Knight
18	Juan Carrillo de Ormaza		Knight

344. The names of these people are from different chronicles, especially those by Zurita and Pérez de Guzmán. The fact that there are not references to each of them obeys their frequent allusion in the cited works.

345. He was at the head of twenty-eight lances, as we know from the ARV., *Maestre Racional*, n.º 8304, f. 6v.



19	Sancho de Leyva		Knight
20	Tel González de Aguilar	Lord of Aguilar	Knight
21	Aznar de San Felices		Knight
22	Diego Fernández de Vadillo	Secretary to the king of Aragon	Knight
23	Pedro Álvarez Nieto		Knight
24	Enrique de Villena	Cousin of the king and anterior master of Calatrava	Knight ³⁴⁶
25	Álvaro Ruiz de Escobar	Manservant of the king of Aragon	Knight
26	Álvaro de Garavito	Chamberlain to the king of Aragon	
27	Pedro Martínez de Torres		Knight ³⁴⁷
28	Garci Fernández Sarmiento	<i>Adelantado mayor</i> of Galicia	Knight ³⁴⁸
29	Pedro Rodríguez de Guzmán		
30	Gonzalo de Aguilar ³⁴⁹		
31	Juan Gutiérrez de Henao		
32	García de Herrera		Knight ³⁵⁰
33	Lorenzo Fernández de Castillo		Knight

346. He was present in the siege of Balaguer, where he would have been ridiculed for his inability to measure with an astrolabe the exact height of the walls of that town. About this question, from what is found in García de Santa María, see Millás Vallicrosa, José María. "Medición de alturas en tiempo de don Enrique de Villena", *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, 28 (1959-1960): 179-183, especially: 181. Another mention of this fact is in Beaujouan, Guy. *La science en Espagne aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*, Conférence donnée au Palais de la Découverte le 4 février 1967: 24-26. I have personally checked that the events referred to in are in manuscript in the RAH., Col. Salazar y Castro, 9-462, f. 197v, that I transcribed in González Sánchez, Santiago. "1413, el año inédito...": 246.

347. See the acts that he is said to have protagonised in Zurita, Jerónimo, *Anales...*: 366.

348. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 347. He also highlights his collaboration in this task empresa: Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 450; Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 300 and *Crónica incompleta...*: 19.

349. Bastard son of Gonzalo Hernández, lord of Aguilar. Queen Catherine sent him to Aragon at the head of four hundred men of arms.

350. From this knight on, the source used is the ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500. And the criterion taken into consideration when considering a combatant to be Castilian is mainly the surname.



34	Blasco Fernández de Quiroga		Knight
35	Juan de Villaviciosa		Knight
36	Rodrigo de Castrillo		Knight
37	Fernando de Tamara		Knight
38	Alfonso de Valladolid		Knight
39	Ruiz González de Valladolid		Knight
40	García de Mondragón		Knight ³⁵¹
41	Gutierre de Nava		Knight
42	Fernando de Lodoña		Knight
43	Alfonso Díez		Knight
44	Alfonso de Castro		Knight
45	Gonzalvo de Navia		Knight
46	Juan de Oviedo		Crossbowman
47	Diego de Carvallar		Crossbowman
48	Pedro de Soto		Crossbowman ³⁵²
49	Juan Carrillo	From the house of the king of Aragon. Usher in arms	Knight
50	Juan de Herrera	From the house of the king of Aragon.	Knight
51	Gutierre de Torres	From the house of the king of Aragon. Man in waiting	Knight
52	Juan de Trigueros		Knight
53	Fernando Dávila	From the house of the king of Aragon. Man in waiting	Knight

351. All those cited from the company of García de Herrera. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 27v.

352. From the company of Gutierre de Nava. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 38r.



54	Álvaro de León	From the house of the king of Aragon	Knight's son
55	Fernando de Medina del Campo	From the house of the king of Aragon	Knight's son ³⁵³
56	Pascual López de Poyo	From the house of the king of Aragon	Knight's son
57	Fernando de Medina	From the house of the king of Aragon	Knight's son
58	Martín Pérez	From the house of the king of Aragon	Knight's son
59	Pedro de Guzmán ³⁵⁴	From the house of the king of Aragon. Dispenser	Knight
60	Alfonso de Talavera		Knight
61	Gonzalvo de León	From the house of the king of Aragon	Knight
62	Martín de la Rúa	From the house of the king of Aragon	Knight
63	Sancho Dávila	From the house of the king of Aragon. Waiter	Knight
64	Luis del Pueyo	From the house of the king of Aragon. <i>Sotsbataller</i>	Knight
65	Benito Sánchez ³⁵⁵	From the house of the king of Aragon	Knight
66	Fernando Alfonso	From the house of the king of Aragón. Mace bearer	Caballero
67	Martín de Torrestrella	From the house of the king of Aragón	Knight

353. This individual served the king of Aragon as a man of arms (2nd June 1413, Barcelona). ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 96v.

354. Nephew of Pedro Nuñez de Guzmán and at the head of four lances, according to the ARV., Maestre Racional, n.º 8304, f. 6v.

355. He also appears as a knight with two lances in the ARV, Maestre Racional, nº 8304, f. 6v.



68	Gómez de Moraleja	From the house of the king of Aragón	Knight's son
69	Pedro de Peñafiel	From the house of the king of Aragón	Knight's son ³⁵⁶
70	Álvaro Garavito	From the house of the king of Aragón. Waiter ³⁵⁷	Knight
71	Juan Delgadillo	From the house of the king of Aragón. Baker	Knight
72	Juan Alfonso de Jarama		
73	Juan de Soto		
74	Sancho Ortiz de Santa María ³⁵⁸		
75	Juan de Madrigal	From the house of the king of Aragon	Knight
76	Sancho de León	From the house of the king of Aragon	Knight
77	Pedro de Carrión	From the house of the king of Aragon	Knight
78	Pedro González de Toledo ³⁵⁹	From the house of the king of Aragon	Knight
79	Gonzalvo López de Horozco	Knight of the Order of Santiago ³⁶⁰	Knight
80	Miguel Ruiz de ¿Reyna? from the kingdom of Castile		Knight ³⁶¹

356. Those cited belonged to the family the family of the king and officials of his house. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 40r-41v. He served as a man of arms to the monarch (31st March 1413, Barcelona). ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 97r.

357. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 43v.

358. From the company of Juan Delgadillo. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 44v.

359. From the house of the king of Aragon. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 45r-v..

360. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 47r. This knight appears without the second surname in the ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 78r.

361. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 47v.



81	Francisco Ortiz		Knight
82	Gabriel González de Montoya ³⁶²		Knight
83	Father Diego Ortega		Knight
84	Juan Alfonso		Knight
85	Gonzalvo de Benedito		Knight
86	Juan de Castro		Knight
87	Juan de Mena		Knight
88	Andrés de Zamora		Knight ³⁶³
89	Juan Carrillo		Knight
90	Pedro Rodríguez de Hita		Man of arms
91	Juan Gómez de Zamora		Man of arms
92	Alfonso de Castro		Man of arms
93	Alfonso de ¿Nues?		Man of arms
94	Gonzalvo de Trujillo		Man of arms ³⁶⁴
95	Gutiérrez de Hinojosa, from Jaén		Knight
96	Gil de Soto		Knight ³⁶⁵
97	Diego de Toledo		Knight ³⁶⁶
98	Antonio de Murgurxo		Knight
99	Marco de la Higuera		Knight

362. From the company of Francisco Ortiz who arrived on the 24th of June 1413. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 48r.

363. From the company of father Diego Ortega. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 48v.

364. From the company of Juan Carrillo. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 49r.

365. From the company of Juan Carrillo. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 50r.

366. From the company of Luis Marcos. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 50v.



100	Juan López		Knight ³⁶⁷
101	Pedro García de Villagómez		Knight
102	Fernando de Medina		Knight
103	Fernando de Cabezón		Knight
104	Gil García de Román		Knight
105	Diego Alfonso		Knight ³⁶⁸
106	Fernando de Valladolid		Knight
107	Juan de Valladolid		Knight ³⁶⁹
108	García de Heredia		Knight
109	Luis de Heredia		Knight
110	Alfonso de Salamanca		Knight
111	Martín Deva		Knight ³⁷⁰
112	Martín de Pomar		Knight
113	Martín de Pomar, minor		
114	Rodrigo de Pomar		Knight ³⁷¹
115	Gonzalvo de Aguilar		Man of arms
116	Martín Sánchez		Man of arms
117	Francisco Páez Castellejo		Man of arms
118	Luis González de Guadalajara		Man of arms
119	Nuño Hernández de Córdoba		Man of arms

367. From the company of Antonio Torija. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 50v.

368. They arrived in Barcelona on the 10th of July 1413. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 51v..

369. From the company of Mateo Ram. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 52v.

370. From the company of García de Heredia. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 54r.

371. From the company of Martín de Pomar. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 54v.



120	Benito González de Écija		Man of arms
121	Francisco Sánchez de Olmedo		Man of arms
122	Pedro Alfonso de Alfaro		Man of arms
123	Pedro de Maderuelo		Man of arms
124	Pedro Méndez de Valdés		Man of arms
125	Juan Jiménez de Bédmar		Man of arms
126	Antonio Sánchez de Córdoba		Man of arms
127	Pedro Ruiz de Córdoba		Man of arms
128	Alfonso Ortega de Córdoba		Man of arms
129	Pascual López de Gálves		Man of arms
130	Alfonso de Trujillo		Man of arms
131	Pedro de Vargas		Man of arms
132	Juan de Mendanyo		Man of arms
133	Gonzalvo de Alcalá		Man of arms
134	Juan Páes de Sotomayor		Man of arms
135	Alfonso de Córdoba		Man of arms
136	Juan de Trasmerra		Man of arms
137	Bartolomé Martínez de Cazorla		Man of arms
138	Alfonso Martínez de Córdoba		Man of arms
139	Alfonso González de Córdoba		Man of arms
140	Álvaro González de Córdoba		Man of arms
141	Alfonso de Gata		Man of arms
142	Juan de Palma		Man of arms
143	Pedro de Alcaraz		Man of arms
144	Alfonso Jiménez de Baena		Man of arms
145	Diego de ¿Sonachuelos?		Man of arms



146	Juan de Morales		Man of arms
147	Juan Alfonso de Canteres		Man of arms
148	Pedro Fernandez de ¿?		Man of arms
149	Alfonso Pérez de Campo		Man of arms
150	Felipe Sánchez de Consuegra		Man of arms
151	Íñigo López de Córdoba		Man of arms
152	Álvaro de Canteres		Man of arms
153	Juan García de Sotomayor		Man of arms
154	Martín de Córdoba		Man of arms
155	Gonzalvo de Jaén		Man of arms
156	Alfonso Sánchez de Ayllón		Crossbowman on horseback
157	Fernando Estorca		Crossbowman on horseback
158	Fernando de Baena		Crossbowman on horseback
159	Juan Gómez de ¿Palta?		Crossbowman on horseback ³⁷²
160	Diego de Vadillo	From the guard of Diego de Vadillo	Knight
161	Gonzalvo Rodríguez	From the guard of Diego de Vadillo	Knight
162	Juan Susillo	From the guard of Diego de Vadillo	Knight
163	Lope de Pas	From the guard of Diego de Vadillo	Knight
164	Juan de Córdoba	From the guard of Diego de Vadillo	Knight

372. From the company of Gonzalvo de Aguilar. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 57v-58r.



165	Francisco Ortiz Calderón	From the guard of Diego de Vadillo	Knight
166	García de Rueda	From the guard of Diego de Vadillo	Knight
167	Gonzalvo de Jerez	From the guard of Diego de Vadillo	Knight
168	Juan López de Arévalo	From the guard of Diego de Vadillo	Knight
169	Francisco Ruiz de Medina del Campo	From the guard of Diego de Vadillo	Knight
170	Juan de Palencia	From the guard of Diego de Vadillo	Knight
171	Alfonso de Sales	From the guard of Diego de Vadillo	Knight
172	Pascual López de Pueyo	From the guard of Diego de Vadillo	Knight ³⁷³
173	Juan Carrillo	From the second guard	Knight
174	Juan Delgadillo	From the second guard	Knight
175	Alfonso de Talavera	From the second guard	Knight
176	Gonzalvo de Trujillo	From the second guard	Knight
177	Sancho de Bobón	From the second guard	Knight
178	Gutierre de Torres	From the second guard	Knight
179	Juan de Trigueros	From the second guard	Knight
180	Juan Soriano	From the second guard	Knight
181	Juan de Sada	From the second guard	Knight
182	Antonio de San Juan	From the second guard	Knight ³⁷⁴
183	Pedro de Guzmán y García de Herrera	From the third guard	Knight

373. From the guard of Diego de Vadillo. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 59r-v. Among those cited, Juan López de Arévalo appears as the receptor of the salary of two armed horsemen (18th July 1413, Barcelona) in ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 78r.

374. From the second guard. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 60r-v.



184	Gonzalvo de León	From the third guard	Knight
185	Alfonso de Valladolid	From the third guard	Knight
186	Juan de Herrera	From the third guard	Knight
187	Juan Gómez de Valderrama	From the third guard	Knight
188	Alfonso Díez	From the third guard	Knight
189	Francisco Carrillo	From the third guard	Knight
190	García de León	From the third guard	Knight
191	Gonzalvo de Aguilar	From the third guard	Knight
192	Francisco Sánchez de Olmedo	From the third guard	Knight
193	Álvaro de León	From the third guard	Knight
194	Pedro de Peñafiel	From the third guard	Knight
195	Gómez de Moalrío	From the third guard	Knight
196	Martín Pérez	From the third guard	Knight
197	Pedro Sánchez de Cabrera	From the third guard	Knight
198	Orduño de Zamudio	From the third guard	Knight
199	García de Mondragón	From the third guard	Knight ³⁷⁵
200	Juan de Guetxo	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	
201	Martín Dordás	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman
202	Juan de Valladolid	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman
203	Íñigo Vicaíno	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman
204	García de Mora	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman
205	Pedro de Lupardo	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman
206	Rodrigo de Pozas	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman
207	Sancho Martínez	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman
208	Juan de Baracaldo	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman

375. From the third guard of Pedro de Guzmán and García de Herrera. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 60v.



209	Lope de Zumárraga	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman
210	Martín de Guerra	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman
211	Lope de Baxarta	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman
212	Juan de Andraqua	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman
213	Blasco Gallego	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman
214	Gonsalvo de Riaño	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman
215	García de Palma	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman
216	Alfonso de Trujillo	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman
217	Ginés Siurana de Lorca ³⁷⁶	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman
218	Íñigo de Solórzano	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Knight
219	Francisco Alfonso de Córdoba	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Crossbowman
220	Pedro de Oviedo	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Crossbowman
221	Diego del Potro	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Crossbowman
222	Gonzalvo de las Mosas	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Crossbowman
223	Martín de Molina	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Crossbowman
224	Juan Romero de Sevilla	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Crossbowman
225	Gonzalvo de Peragrande	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Crossbowman
226	Martín de Briviesca	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Crossbowman
227	Juan de Valladolid	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Crossbowman

376. From the commandery of Juan de Guetxo. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 113r-v.



228	Martín de Santiago	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Crossbowman
229	Gonzalvo de Bero	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Crossbowman
230	Diego de Sevilla	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Crossbowman
231	Pedro García de Sevilla	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Crossbowman
232	Martín Prior	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Crossbowman
233	Martín del Faro	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Crossbowman
234	Juan Gallego	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Crossbowman ³⁷⁷
235	Juan Toral	From the house of Prince Alfonso ³⁷⁸	
236	Juan de Palencia	From the house of Prince Alfonso	
237	Juan de Medina del Campo	From the house of Prince Alfonso	Crossbowman
238	Fernando de Burgos	From the house of Prince Alfonso	Crossbowman
239	Pedro de Boral de Castilla	Commandery of Juan de Palencia	Crossbowman ³⁷⁹
240	Alfonso de Palacios	Commandery of Juan de Palencia	Crossbowman
241	Juan de los Arcos	Commandery of Juan de Palencia	Crossbowman
242	Juan de Sevilla	Commandery of Juan de Palencia	Crossbowman

377. From the commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 114r-v.

378. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 119r.

379. From the commandery of Juan de Palencia. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 119r-v.



243	Martín de los Arcos	Commandery of Juan de Palencia	Crossbowman
244	Diego de Jaén	Commandery of Juan de Palencia	Crossbowman ³⁸⁰
245	Pedro de Requena, from the kingdom Castile	Commandery of Juan de Palencia	Crossbowman
246	Juan de Butrón de Vizcaya	Commandery of Juan de Palencia	Crossbowman
247	Juan de Mayorga, from Vicaya	Commandery of Juan de Palencia	Crossbowman ³⁸¹
248	Antón López Lobato		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
249	Gil García de Antequera		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
250	Gonzalvo Gutiérrez		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
251	Gonzalvo de Villadejo		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
252	Juan Pérez		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
253	Fernando Conejo de Córdoba		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars ³⁸²
254	Alfonso Fernández de Jerez		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
255	Marco Ruiz de Lorca		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
256	Rodrigo Alfonso de Baena		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars

380. Also from the commandery of Juan de Palencia. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 119v.

381. From the commandery of Jacobo Siciliano. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 126r-v.

382. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 128v.



257	Juan Sánchez		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
258	Juan Martínez de Jerez		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
259	Juan Moreno		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
260	Juan de Córdoba, almodacén ³⁸³		
261	Francisco Sánchez de Jerez		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
262	Gil Sánchez de Penyola		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
263	Juan García de Jerez		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
264	Alfonso de Baeza		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
265	Fernando Alfonso de Salvatierra		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
266	Pedro López		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars ³⁸⁴
267	Alfonso Martínez		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
268	Juan Díez Conejo		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
269	Simón Fernández de Morón		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
270	Juan Domínguez		Adalid captain 10 almogavars
271	Pedro García de ?		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars ³⁸⁵
272	Fernando de Frómista		Crossbowman

383. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 129r.

384. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 129v.

385. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 130r.



273	Juan Fernández de Toledo		Crossbowman
274	Juan de Sevilla		Crossbowman
275	Miguel Pardo de Palencia		Crossbowman
276	Pedro de Palencia		Crossbowman ³⁸⁶
277	Pedro Sánchez de Logroño		Crossbowman
278	Blás de Moncalvón		Crossbowman
279	Alfonso Gallego		Crossbowman
280	Fernando de Sevilla		Crossbowman
281	Gonzalvo de Palencia		Crossbowman
282	Martín de los Arcos		Crossbowman
283	Fernando de Zamora		Crossbowman ³⁸⁷
284	Luis de la Cerda		Knight
285	Juan de Palma		Crossbowman
286	Juan de Haro		Crossbowman
287	Santo de Elgueta		Crossbowman
288	Fernando de Medina		Crossbowman
289	Lope Vergara		Crossbowman
290	Sancho de Garnica		Crossbowman ³⁸⁸
291	Pedro de Santander		Crossbowman with pavise
292	Juan de Bermeo		Crossbowman with pavise ³⁸⁹
293	Esteban Ruiz		Adalid on foot

386. From the company of Guillermo Gronia. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 134r.

387. From the company of Martín Ruiz. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 136r.

388. From the company of Luis de la Cerda. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 136v.

389. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 137r-v.



294	Simón Hernández		Almogavar with 10, counting himself
295	Juan García de Jerez		Almogavar with 10, counting himself
296	Pedro García de Segura		Almogavar with 10, counting himself
297	Alfonso Hernández de Jerez		Almogavar with 10, counting himself
298	Juan de Camarago		Almogavar with 10, counting himself
299	Juan Martínez		Almogavar with 10, counting himself
300	Marcos de Lorca		Almogavar with 10, counting himself ³⁹⁰
301	Alfonso de Burgos		Knight ³⁹¹
302	Marcos Fernández de Soria		Knight ³⁹²
303	Gonzalvo de Valladolid		Knight ³⁹³
304	Juan de Zamora		Knight
305	Juan de Oviedo		Knight ³⁹⁴

390. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 149r.

391. He is known to have been well armed, lance in hand and a chestnut horse, he was part of the company of Jaime Cerdán. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 165r.

392. He was a member of the company of Juan de Luna. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 167v.

393. From the company of Pedro de Urrea. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 169r.

394. Integrated into the company of Gil Ruiz de Lihori. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 171r-v.



306	Álvaro Rodríguez de Escobar		Knight ³⁹⁵
307	Sancho Manuel		Knight
308	Fernando Gonzálvez		Knight
309	Juan de Valladolid		Knight
310	Benedito de Guadalajara		Knight
311	Martín de Jerez		Knight
312	Ruy de Toro		Knight
313	Gonzalvo de Sarria		Knight
314	Pedro de Burgos		Knight
315	Rodrigo de Vallejo		Knight
316	Juan de Vallejo		Knight
317	Rodrigo de Salcedo		Knight
318	Fernando Sánchez de Medina del Campo		Knight
319	Alfonso Dávila		Knight
320	Álvaro Calderón		Knight
321	Martín García de Lugo		Knight
322	Juan de Samaniego		Knight
323	Martín de Baños		Knight
324	Álvaro de Soto		Knight
325	Alfonso Álvarez		Knight
326	Bartolomé Rodríguez		Knight
327	Juan de Olmedo		Knight
328	Rodrigo Alfonso de Villandre		Knight
329	Nuño Carro		Knight

395. The names that follow were part of the company of Álvaro Rodríguez de Escobar. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 190r-191r.



330	Alfonso González		Knight
331	Álvaro de Bolaños		Knight
332	Fernando Alfonso de Saavedra		Knight
333	Luis González		Knight
334	García Álvarez de León		Knight
335	Alfonso Ruiz		Knight
336	Alfonso Fernández de Sepúlveda		Knight
337	Juan de San Román		Knight
338	Juan de ¿? Valladolid		Knight
339	Fernando de Valladolid		Knight
340	Juan de Cogollos		Knight
341	Pedro de Palacio		Knight
342	Benedito Sánchez		Knight
343	Rodrigo de Escobar		Knight
344	Pedro de Béjar		Knight
345	Juan de Escobar		Knight
346	Fernando Álvarez de Escobar		Knight
347	Juan de Soria		Knight
348	Nuño de Juara		Knight
349	Juan de Escobar, el Calvo		Knight
350	Fernando de Sotillo		Knight
351	Diego de Villafrades		Knight
352	Diego de Carredos		Knight
353	Juan de Portillo		Crossbowman
354	Martín de Segovia		Crossbowman
355	Alfonso de Medina del Campo		Crossbowman
356	Juan de Bercianos		Crossbowman



357	Rodrigo de Toledo		Crossbowman ³⁹⁶
358	Gonzalvo de Miedes		Knight
359	Suero, nephew of father Suero de Nava		Knight
360	Gonzalo Suárez de la Cabeza		Knight
361	Rodrigo de Pomar		Knight
362	Pedro de Soria		Lancer
363	García de Barroso		Lancer
364	Gonzalvo Gallego		Lancer
365	Juan de Oviedo		Lancer
366	Fernando de Avilés		Lancer
367	Juan de Sevilla		Lancer
368	Gonzalvo de Omaña		Lancer ³⁹⁷
369	Diego de Oviedo		Lancer with pavise
370	Rodrigo de Fiantos		Lancer with pavise
371	Gonzalvo de Salas		Lancer with pavise
372	Fernando de Oviedo		Lancer with pavise
373	Pedro de San Esteban de Gormaz		Lancer with pavise
374	Melendo de Cangas		Lancer with pavise
375	Pedro de Los Arcos		Lancer with pavise
376	Pedro de Santa Marina		Lancer with pavise

396. To here, the members of the company of Álvaro Rodríguez de Escobar.

397. From the company of Suero de Nava. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 191v-192r.



377	Pedro de Cabranes		Lancer with pavise
378	Rodrigo de Torquemada		Lancer with pavise
379	Pedro de San Vicente		Lancer with pavise
380	Fernando de Torquemada		Lancer with pavise ³⁹⁸
381	Juan de Quirós		With crossbow and quiver
382	Lope de la Mora		With crossbow and quiver
383	Martín de Villarreal		With crossbow and quiver
384	Antón de Villarreal		With crossbow and quiver
385	Alfonso de Cándamo		With crossbow and quiver
386	Juan de Espino		With crossbow and quiver
387	Suero de Miedes		With crossbow and quiver
388	Pedro de Peñaflo		With crossbow and quiver
389	Alfonso de Rodilla		With crossbow and quiver
390	Juan de Gallegos		With crossbow and quiver
391	Álvaro de Quirós		With crossbow and quiver
392	Juan de la Mora		With crossbow and quiver

398. From the company of Suero de Nava. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 192v.



393	Fernando de Soria		With crossbow and quiver
394	Miguel de Olmeda		With crossbow and quiver
395	Alfonso de Granda		With crossbow and quiver
396	Antón de Villarroya		With crossbow and quiver
397	Juan de Burgos		With crossbow and quiver
398	Pelegrín de Castrojeriz		With crossbow and quiver ³⁹⁹
399	Diego de Soria		Knight
400	Juan de Roa		Knight
401	Juan de Burgos		Knight
402	Álvaro de Zorita		Knight
403	Lope de Zorita		Knight
404	Juan de Sepúlveda		Knight
405	Jaime de Ágreda		Knight
406	Juan Gallego		Knight
407	Jordán de Zorita		Knight
408	Sancho el Castellano		Knight ⁴⁰⁰
409	Gil Soriano		With crossbow and quiver
410	Sancho de Guadalajara		With crossbow and quiver
411	Juan Álvarez de Sevilla		With crossbow and quiver

399. From the company of Suero de Nava. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 193r.

400. From the company of Juan de Bardají. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 194r-195v.



412	Alfonso de Oropesa		With crossbow and quiver ⁴⁰¹
413	Gutierre de Santa Clara		Knight ⁴⁰²
414	García de Herrera		Knight
415	Gil García de Torija		Knight
416	Antón de Torija		Knight ⁴⁰³
417	Pedro de Guzmán		Knight ⁴⁰⁴
418	Juan Sánchez Salvatierra	Head of the exchequer of the kingdom of Castile ⁴⁰⁵	
419	Álvaro de Escobar ⁴⁰⁶		Knight
420	Gómez Gutiérrez de Ledesma		Knight
421	Pedro Jiménez de Ayllón		Knight
422	Juan Vázquez de Casasola		Knight
423	Ruy González de las Cuevas		Knight
424	Vasco Gómez de Vieja		Knight
425	Juan de Guzmán		Knight
426	Pero Díaz de Sandoval		Knight
427	Fernán Gutiérrez de Sandoval		Knight

401. From the company of Juan de Bardají. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 196v.

402. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 204v.

303. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 205r.

404. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 205v.

405. As taken from ACA., Cartas Reales, Fernando I, caja 12, n.º 2279, Corrao, Pietro. *Governare un regno. Potere, società e istituzioni in Sicilia fra Trecento e Quattrocento*, Naples: Liguori Editore, 1991: 566, was fighting with Ferdinand I in the siege of Balaguer against James of Urgell.

406. The names from this person onwards are in González Sánchez, Santiago. "1413, el año inédito...": 225-227 and 229-230.



428	Juan de Lución		Knight
429	Pero Gómez de Silva		Knight
430	Juan de Villodre		Knight
431	Gonzalo Gómez de Cumel		Knight
432	Fernán Sánchez de Vallejo		Knight
433	Rodrigo Álvarez de Santoyo		Knight
434	Fernán Gómez de Salcedo		Knight
435	Lope Iñíguez de Arévalo		Knight
436	Juan Ruiz de Sancebrían		Knight
437	Juan Gómez de Valderrábano		Knight
438	Ruy García de Villalón		Knight
439	Pero Rodríguez de Villalón		Knight
440	Ruy Gómez de Vozmediano		Knight
441	Ruy Sánchez de Torres		Knight



Appendix 3. Payments to Castilians in the service of the king of Aragon after the siege of Balaguer

	Captain and lances	Payment
1	Pedro Nuñez de Guzmán for twenty-eight lances	420 flo
2	Pedro de Guzmán for four lances	60 flo
3	Arias Gonzalvo de Rueda for two lances	30 flo
4	Fernando Sancho de Villegas for one lance	15 flo
5	Alonso Álvarez de Bolaños for two lances	30 flo
6	Juan de Pontes for one lance	15 flo
7	Álvaro Rodríguez for two lances	30 flo
8	Díaz de Carrión for one lance	15 flo
9	Pedro de Cilleruelo for one lance	15 flo
10	Juan de Cilleruelo for one lance	15 flo
11	Nuño Gonzalvo de Baños for one lance	15 flo
12	Esteban Sánchez de Ayllón for one lance	15 flo
13	Gonzalvo Rodríguez de Salamanca for one lance	15 flo
14	Gonzalvo Gutiérrez de ¿? for two lances	30 flo
15	Pedro García Gutiérrez (de Medina) for one lance	15 flo
16	Juan de Almazán for one lance	15 flo
17	Item a Luis y a Juan de Soria y Rodrigo Alonso squires to ¿? for three lances	45 flo
18	Juan Sánchez de Ayllón for one lance	15 flo
19	Sancho de Ayllón for Juan Ruiz del Vall for one lance	15 flo
20	Benito Sánchez caballero for two lances	30 flo
21	Ruiz Gonzálvez Berlanga for one lance	15 flo
22	Álvaro Gonzálvez de Sepúlveda for two lances	30 flo
23	Diego Sánchez de Soto for one lance	11 flo
24	Pedro Sánchez de Logroño for one lance	15 flo
25	Juan López de Molina for two lances	30 flo
26	Fernando de Villarreal for two lances	30 flo



27	Vicente Marín de Olmedo for three lances	45 flo
28	Nuño Martínez de Olmedo for one lance	15 flo
29	Gonzalvo Gonzalbez de Niebla for one lance	15 flo
30	Martín Muñoz for one lance	15 flo
31	Juan Gonzalvez de ¿Arenas? for six lances	90 flo
32	Juan Gonzalvez de Portillo for one lance	15 flo
33	Pedro Fortuny for one lance	15 flo
34	Juan Velázquez de ¿sasola for eight lances	120 flo
35	To Sancho his son for two lances	30 flo
36	Fernán Nuñez de Olmedo for one lance	15 flo
37	Juan Ramírez de Olmedo for one lance	15 flo
38	González de Olmedo for three lances	45 flo
39	Item a ¿? Sánchez caballero for two lances	30 flo
40	Juan Martínez de Olmedo for one lance	15 flo
41	Toribio González for one lance	15 flo
42	Juan Sánchez son of ¿? Nuñez for one lance	15 flo
43	Diego López de Olmedo for one lance	15 flo
44	Lope Gonzalvez de Villaferruel for two lances	30 flo
45	Diego Martínez de Olmedo for two lances	30 flo
46	Juan de Valiença for one lance	15 flo
47	Alonso Sánchez de Olmedo for one lance	15 flo
48	Gonzalvo Esteban de Rocha for one lance	15 flo
49	Pedro Gómez de Ávila for one lance	15 flo
50	Alonso Martínez de Olmedo for one lance	15 flo
51	Juan González el ¿Polno? for one lance	15 flo
52	Ruy González de los ¿Roures? for six lances	90 flo
53	Juan García de los ¿Roures? for two lances	30 flo
54	Juan Sánchez de Carrión for one lance	15 flo
55	Ruy González de Villaferruel for two lances	30 flo
56	Rodrigo Álvarez de Ferrera for three lances	45 flo



57	Pedro Alonso de Salamanca for twelve lances	180 flo
58	Juan de Villaferruel for two lances	30 flo
59	Sancho Díez de ¿Arnenysi? for two lances	30 flo
60	Pedro Fernández Asturiano for two lances	30 flo
61	Tello de ¿Arnenysi? for one lance	15 flo
62	Fernando de la Fuente for one lance	15 flo
63	Gonzalvo García ¿Boraxos? for one lance	15 flo
64	Juan Arias de los ¿? for one lance	15 flo
65	Ferrán Rodríguez de Aguilar for one lance	15 flo
66	Pedro Martínez de Miranda for one lance	15 flo
67	García Álvarez de Vozmediano for one lance	15 flo
68	Juan González de Vozmediano for two lances	30 flo
69	García González ¿Alguazir? for nine lances	135 flo
70	Juan Ruíz de Colmenares for five lances	75 flo
71	Juan de Villapelerín for four lances	60 flo
72	Diego de Escobar for four lances	60 flo
73	Juan Fernández del Moral for two lances	30 flo
74	García Fernández de Moral for one lance	15 flo
75	Sancho Díez de Peñalosa for one lance	15 flo
76	Ruy González de ¿Begna? for two lances	30 flo
77	Juan de Pedrosa for two lances	30 flo
78	Álvaro Gómez de ¿Furones? for one lance	15 flo
79	Juan Fernández de Torre Humos for one lance	15 flo
80	Alonso Fernández de Torre Humos for one lance	15 flo
81	Pedro Fernández de Villalón el Moço for one lance	15 flo
82	Juan García de Revenga for one lance	15 flo
83	Ferrán Alfonso de Villazán for one lance	15 flo
84	Pedro Fernández Serón for one lance	15 flo
85	Alonso Pérez de Vilazán for one lance	15 flo
86	Pedro Fernández de Bovadiella for one lance	15 flo



87	Ruiz Sánchez for two lances	30 flo
88	Gonzalvo Fernández Frechos for one lance	15 flo
89	García Álvarez de ¿? for one lance	15 flo
90	Rodrigo Álvarez de Tiedra for one lance	15 flo
91	Lope de Porras for two lances	30 flo
92	Ferrán Ruyz ¿de Barra? for one lance	15 flo
93	Juan Martínez de Cuencha for one lance	15 flo
94	Ruy Martínez de Villarón for one lance	15 flo
95	Álvaro Fernández de Oviedo for one lance	15 flo
96	Diego de Ceriezos for one lance	15 flo
97	Alonso González de Villagómez for two lances	30 flo
98	Martín Álvarez de Escobar for two lances	30 flo
99	Gonzalvo Gutiérrez de Villapadierna for one lance	15 flo
100	Fernando de la ¿? for two lances	30 flo
101	Juan Gutiérrez de Villapadierna for two lances	30 flo
102	Arias González de Villaviella for one lance	15 flo
103	Juan González de Mayorga for one lance	15 flo
104	Juan de ¿Garo? for two lances	30 flo
105	García Martínez de Mayorga for one lance	15 flo
106	Alonso Pérez de Mieres for two lances	30 flo
107	Alonso Martínez Bergando for one lance	15 flo
108	Ruy Fernández de Berlanga for one lance	15 flo
109	Alonso Hernández de Quirós for one lance	15 flo
110	Alonso Fernández de Sant Felices for one lance	15 flo
111	Francisco de ¿Vergara? for one lance	15 flo
112	Juan Bernaldo for one lance	15 flo
113	Álvaro Sánchez de Valbuena for one lance	15 flo
1114	Rodrigo de Prado for one lance	15 flo
115	Alonso Ramírez de Aguilar for one lance	15 flo
116	Fernando González de Sisa for one lance	15 flo



117	Juan Marbán for one lance	15 flo
118	Francisco García de Valderas for one lance	15 flo
119	Alonso González de Mayorga for one lance	15 flo
120	Juan Gonzalvez de Vila ¿virenra? for one lance	15 flo
121	Fernando ¿Mellado? for one lance	15 flo
122	Gonzalvo Fernández de ¿Casalo? de Mayorga for one lance	15 flo
123	Pedro Fernández de Valderas for one lance	15 flo
124	Gonzalvo Serón for one lance	15 flo
125	Alonso Álvarez de Vozmediano for two lances	30 flo
126	Lope de Vozmediano for one lance	15 flo
127	Ferrán Álvarez de Vozmediano for one lance	15 flo
128	Alonso de Villaviciosa, García de Vozmediano and Martín ¿? for three lances	45 flo

