

Article

At the Heart of the Medieval Catalan Navy: The Inhabitants of Castelló d'Empúries in Service of James II of Aragon in Sicily, an Example from the Late 13th Century (The Battle of Cape Orlando, 1299)

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Abstract

This article presents some information about the participation of nearly one hundred inhabitants of Castelló d'Empúries (currently located in the Alt Empordà region, province of Girona, in the northeastern corner of the Iberian Peninsula) in the Battle of Cape Orlando (coast of Sicily), which in 1299 pitted the fleets of James II of Aragon against those of his brother Frederick III of Sicily. The article provides the names of the participants and discusses several issues related to their involvement in this expedition. It also offers relevant information about the participation of the town's inhabitants in other military ventures and about the commercial navy of the Empordà region during the same period.

Keywords: late medieval maritime ports and commerce; medieval Empordà; ship ownership and leasing; battle of Cape Orlando; James II of Aragon

1. Introduction

The notarial records of Castelló d'Empúries contain extensive information on the formation of armed contingents during the late Middle Ages. These records cover the medieval period from the 1260s through the late 15th century, with particularly rich documentation around the year 1300, spanning the final decades of the 13th century and the first quarter of the 14th century. Hundreds of entries reveal the participation of numerous inhabitants of Castelló and the broader Empordà region in various military actions throughout the Mediterranean.¹

As detailed in the following pages, some information is missing, and the overall situation was more complex than the notarial records alone suggest. Nonetheless, the thousands of preserved documents—many of which refer directly or indirectly to these matters—and the ability to trace nearly every individual involved, give the Castelló records immense value, making them an outstanding source for studying the medieval Catalan navy.

From the data analyzed, the most significant military venture in terms of local participation occurred in the late 13th century, specifically in the year 1299. That year, more than a hundred inhabitants of Castelló—the most populous village in the domain of the Counts of Empúries—participated in the Battle of Cap Orlando in Sicily, serving King James II of Aragon.²

In fact, there were even more participants. As will be shown, some combatants on the Aragonese side remain unnamed; we only know of them through records related to their complaints about unpaid wages during the first third of the 14th century. Additionally,



Academic Editor: Helge Wendt

Received: 6 September 2025

Revised: 17 November 2025

Accepted: 3 December 2025

Published: 26 December 2025

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the names of Castelló and Empordà inhabitants who fought on the Sicilian side—led by Huguet, the brother of the Count of Empúries—are largely unknown. However, the one hundred documented inhabitants of Castelló already represents a significant number for the population of the village at that time. Recent historical estimates suggest that Castelló's population during its medieval peak, in the first half of the 14th century, ranged between two and three thousand inhabitants. Some of the latest studies even indicate that this number may have approached nearly five thousand inhabitants during that period.

2. A Favourable Local Context (1285–1305)

The enlistment of a relatively large number of people from Castelló in the Battle of Cape Orlando in 1299 took place within a favourable local context—favourable, that is, in terms of forming armed contingents—which spans from the late 13th century to the first quarter of the 14th century. During this period, many inhabitants of the comital town of Castelló d'Empúries are recorded as participating in various military events of differing nature.

We begin this timeline in 1285, when Peter the Great and his loyal subjects faced the incursion of a large Franco-Papal army through the Pyrenean passes of the Empordà region. Of course, the practice of arms was not unknown to some people of Castelló before this date. For example, it is highly likely that some took part in the comital assault on the nearby royal town of Figueres in 1274, when Count Hugh V stormed the town and carried away gates and stones from its walls to Castelló as a show of power in northeastern Catalonia—an illustrative case close to the dates under consideration. It is also probable that numerous men had joined other companies engaged in more localized conflicts. One such instance occurred on 10 April 1263, when Arnau Roig, Joan Pontós, Castelló Garriguella, Bernat Alenyà, and the castellan Pedro Valladolid formed a company to serve the Count of Empúries in his conflict against Ponç Guillem de Torroella.³ Due to the limited documentation preserved from before 1285 and the scale of the conflict between the Houses of Aragon and Anjou from that year onwards—which involved massive troop mobilization—we may take 1285 as a starting point to understand a reality later fully illuminated by the notarial records of Castelló: the substantial involvement of a significant portion of the population in military actions of various kinds and intensity; that, for many inhabitants of key towns, the profession of arms was neither foreign nor unusual; and, specifically for our topic, that enlistment aboard a galley was not—even for the most arduous tasks—a forced sentence, as it would become from the late 15th century onward and throughout the early modern period. Like any other form of naval military service, it was voluntary and compensated with a salary (Orsi Lázaro 2019, p. 211).

The first example from Castelló in this regard is privateering, specifically the outfitting of numerous corsair expeditions departing from Roses, the maritime port of the local comital town, headed toward the Occitan and Provençal coasts of the Kingdom of France as well as the Muslim territories of southern Iberia and the Maghreb. The earliest documented attacks against the French kingdom date to the period when King Philip the Bold of France began mobilizing troops in the plains of the Empordà and Gironès regions. To resist the French threat, King Peter the Great needed to disrupt their supply lines and hinder their southward advance. For this reason, as chronicler Bernat Desclot explains, while the main Catalan fleet remained stationed near Barcelona to defend it from potential attacks or landings, the king authorized certain corsairs to sail toward the Gulf of Lion and the coast of Girona to inflict as much damage as possible on the enemy. One of these corsairs was an Alicante native named Albesa who—according to Desclot—attacked Narbonne in mid-1285 (Soldevila 2008, cap. CLVII). He is likely the same Pere Albesa later documented in Castelló as promoting expeditions in subsequent years.

During the second half of the 1280s, the threat of French occupation persisted. Despite the failed French siege of Girona and the invading army's withdrawal, alongside the death of Philip the Bold near Castelló or Perpinyà, the war continued. For instance, the demolition of a house adjacent to one of Castelló's gates was ordered by the Count of Empúries in 1288, undoubtedly to improve the town's defenses (AHG, Ca 4, p. 46). Notably, the same count granted the Viscount of Rocafort permission the following year to dismantle the fortifications of Sant Climent Sescebes to prevent their use by potential French attackers; shortly thereafter, several Catalan knights and inhabitants of Peralada made a pact not to abandon the town (AHG, Fons Notarial de Peralada (Pe), 18 May 1033, and 4 June 1289). Corsair expeditions, however, continued and likely increased: Pere Albesa and the corsairs Guillem Castelló and Esteve Gaià sailed "in maris regis Francie" (1286); the Ibizan Bartomeu Coïres and the Castelló native Berenguer Sifreu sailed toward Muslim lands (1286); Albesa and Castelló, with the Castelló native Berenguer Egidió, raided against enemies of the King of Aragon (1287); Ferrer Mont-roig sailed again toward the south (1287); Berenguer Rostet, Pere Torre, and Joan Gosta operated against the infidels of "Yspania" (1287); Rostet and Guillem Ruix raided against the enemies of the king and count (1287); Esteve Gaià attacked the Provençal coast (1288); Gaià and the Torroella native Pere Aumar undertook another expedition in the same year and direction (1288), and Pere Torre and Berenguer Rostet again sailed toward Muslim lands (1288), among others.

As shown in the table (see Appendix A, Table A1), following the 1280s these expeditions were directed exclusively toward Muslim territories, resulting in hundreds of notarial records. These documents provide valuable insights into the financing of the expeditions, the value and specifications of the ships, the crew's wages, and related matters.⁴ We will comment further below, particularly on the participation of Castelló inhabitants in the Battle of Cape Orlando and their remuneration, with the understanding—presumably—that many participants in the battle also took part in corsair expeditions before or after.

Alongside privateering, the notarial records of Castelló offer abundant information on the formation of various mercenary companies. Among the best-documented companies were those led by the brothers Ponç and Domingo Saguer, who took part in the Aragonese conquest of Sardinia in 1323 (Gironella Granés 2025). Contracts signed by them and about thirty infantrymen to travel to the island in the service of Prince Alfonso of Aragon have been preserved, along with numerous references to the brothers themselves, who were true military professionals. Their careers began with piracy, continued with defending and/or accompanying the Count of Empúries locally and across the Mediterranean, and culminated in their integration into companies engaged in more intense warfare. Ponç, in particular, besides the Sardinian campaign, was one of four promoters of a corsair expedition in 1305 and organized at least one more in later years with a forty-four-oar ship he personally owned (1330). Around 1320, he captained a company of eight men—including his brother—to accompany the Count of Empúries to Sicily. He was also part of a company led by another Castelló native, Guillem Escarrer, who served as general bailiff of Catalonia during the early reign of James II and later as counselor to King Robert of Naples. Escarrer's company operated in Campania and Tuscany, advancing Robert's political interests in Italy in the early 1300s. As for Domingo, in addition to accompanying his brother to Sicily and Italy, he joined in 1315 a company of Christian mercenaries serving the King of Morocco, which we will discuss shortly. Most importantly to our topic, the Saguer brothers and their thirty men were not the only inhabitants of Castelló who participated in the conquest of Sardinia. Beyond those who served aboard galleys and other vessels, there were at least two infantry companies: one led by the crossbow-maker Bernat Despuig and another by Ramon Ferrer, who committed to providing 200 and 100 men, respectively. Evidently, Despuig and Ferrer recruited many of their men from outside Castelló's walls.

In fact, the only information we have on them comes from the royal expedition register; details about the members themselves—including whether they truly numbered 200 and 100—remain unknown.

Around the same time, during the second decade of the 14th century, we encounter the final references to a company of soldiers from Castelló and the Empordà who operated in the Maghreb for several years—initially in the service of the King of Tlemcen and later the King of Morocco. This group could be called the Seguí Company, after its leader, the knight Bernat Seguí from the Garrotxa and Empordà regions, along with several of his brothers and relatives (Gironella Granés 2024a).

The last mention of this group dates to 1359, when the remains of four Seguí family members were returned to Castelló for burial in their hometown, according to the document recording this event. However, most of their documented activities center around 1300: beginning in the late 1290s (1295–1296), when Bernat Seguí and his brother Guillem recruited various knights, squires, and even a jester to serve the King of Tlemcen—the latter serving Seguí personally, a vivid example of how a miniature feudal world was transplanted to African soil, likely to entertain the leaders and glorify them both abroad and back home. In 1303, another brother and additional knights departed again from Castelló for Morocco; and in 1315, Arnau Seguí followed the same path, having previously contracted Domingo Saguer among others.

Other companies existed for shorter periods, formed for specific events, and were led by less prominent figures than the Seguí, Escarrer, and Saguer families. For example, around December 1304, Bartomeu Blanc recruited a company of forty crossbowmen from Castelló and the surrounding county to serve the nobleman Guillem Esteve of Narbonne for one month (“XL ballisterios bonos et sufficientes et bene preparatos mecum insimul de villa Castilionis et comitatu Impuriarum”) (AHG, Ca 2094, 30 December 1304). Another example is Ramon Sabater, a sailor from Narbonne settled in Castelló, who was hired by the Genoese merchant Gaspare Ardivini, based in Aigues-Mortes, to sail with his galleys to La Rochelle. Two men from Castelló, Castelló Vilar and Bernat Montiró, initially committed to the voyage but ultimately failed to appear at the agreed departure point (AHG, Ca 12, 10 November, and 3 December 1299; AHG, Ca 2100, 12 July 1308).

Regarding Ramon Sabater, one might assume he was the same individual as the Castelló native of the same name who fought at the Battle of Cape Orlando in 1299 and the later unsuccessful siege of Almería led by James II in 1309. However, we know this is not the case, since the Narbonnese Sabater had already died by July 1308, when his widow, Dolça, collected money owed by Castelló Vilar for failing to show up for the voyage to La Rochelle. Meanwhile, the Sabater who fought at Cape Orlando and in Almería was still alive in 1327, when he granted power of attorney to collect the wages he was owed. This serves as a valuable reminder to exercise caution when dealing with identical names.

Finally, we can also highlight expeditions sponsored by the Counts of Empúries, lords of the town of Castelló. Among the most notable during the period under study—apart from the participation in the Battle of Cape Orlando—was the occupation of part of the Viscounty of Rocabertí, led by Count Ponç Hug IV in 1295. Contemporary sources mention more than a thousand troops—though this figure may be exaggerated—and confirm that inhabitants of predominantly rural parishes along the county–viscounty border purchased numerous crossbows (Gironella Granés 2019). This detail, well known in Girona historiography, illustrates the types of weapons local communities possessed during this period.

Years later, Ponç Hug IV, together with his brother Ramon, a distinguished knight of the Hospitaller Order, participated in an expedition with five galleys that sailed across the Mediterranean from Catalonia to the island of Rhodes, stopping at various points along

the North African and Sicilian coasts (see Appendix A, Table A4). The expedition included sailors and fighters from across the Crown of Aragon, including four from Mallorca, two from Eivissa, two from València, two from Tortosa, and one from Tarragona, all of whom enlisted for four months of service on 13 May 1310 (AHG, Ca 26, 13 May 1310). Participants also came from several towns within the county, particularly those along the coast (AHG, Ca 416, 21 November 1328). Among them were many from Castelló: seventy men or their sons and/or heirs who, nearly twenty years later (in 1327), were still receiving wages owed to them. Others had already been paid or would receive payment later.

3. The Participation of Castelló Inhabitants in the Battle of Cape Orlando in 1299

Having reviewed the information above, let us now turn to what is known about the inhabitants of Castelló who served under King James II of Aragon in the Battle of Cape Orlando in 1299. First and foremost, it must be acknowledged that some participants remain unidentified. As noted earlier, most of the surviving evidence consists of individual claims made by participants—or their relatives and heirs—to recover unpaid wages. Although multiple claims were often filed over the years (in some cases, three or four), and some collective legal actions are also documented, the full roster remains incomplete.

One particularly revealing document from 1322 records four men from Castelló—Ponç Oliveres, Castelló Giró, Pere Ceres, and Bernat Cabiscol—seeking compensation for a Muslim slave they captured during the battle, who was subsequently taken from them by an officer aboard the royal galley (Mallorquí Garcia, *forthcoming*). Of the four, however, only the claim for unpaid wages submitted by Cabiscol has been preserved. This does not imply that the total number of participants was four times the documented figure—such an estimate would likely be excessive. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume that the actual number considerably exceeded the roughly one hundred individuals listed in the Appendix A (see Table A2).

3.1. The Expedition's Participants

Regardless of the precise number, what is certain is that the inhabitants of Castelló who took part in Cape Orlando encompassed a variety of roles and responsibilities. Besides the Count of Empúries and other noblemen from the region, there were clear distinctions among the crews regarding their functions aboard the galleys as well as their social and economic status. Some held high-ranking positions, while others were common laborers—the essential workforce behind war and seafaring operations. Among them were rising members of the local community who viewed the Sicilian campaign as a prime opportunity to advance within the patronage networks of the ruling elite; others simply sought to earn a livelihood—particularly if the spoils of war could supplement their agreed wages (Orsi Lázaro 2018, 2019; Burguera-Puigserver 2024). In short, their backgrounds and motivations were diverse.⁵

Foremost among them was Guillem Escarrer, who held a prominent position aboard the galley carrying Admiral Roger of Lauria and the king himself (“in galeria [. . .] Guillelmus Scharrarii ducebat ad mandatum nobili Rogerii, almiralli domini rege, scilicet per I die ante quam batallia fiet usque dominus rex fuit in Barchinona reversus”).⁶ The Escarrer family had been documented in privateering activities in Castelló since the 1260s and maintained close ties to the comital family of Empúries—connections that clearly elevated their status both locally and beyond the Empordà region. I will not elaborate further here, as a comprehensive study by Elvis Mallorquí will be published soon, and he has generously allowed me. We can also speculate about the whereabouts of Pere Briolf, Pere Nicolau and Pere Teuler on 13 October 1300, 24 March access to the extensive documentation he has examined (Mallorquí Garcia, *forthcoming*). It is worth adding that other men from Castelló

and the Empordà are recorded aboard the royal galley; however, most embarked on Empordanese and Mallorcan galleys, suggesting both the training of these individuals and the fleet commanders' intent to staff the royal galley with an elite crew. Among these were Felip Cortil of Llançà, who served as lower-ranking officer;⁷ Pere Benet, a crossbowman; Bernat Malarç and Joan Sardina, a rowers.

Occupying roles comparable to Guillem Escarrer were Berenguer Sifreu, Joan Sacasa, and Berenguer Escolta, identified in documents as officers ("patrono sive comit", in the singular) of three galleys: Sifreu commanded the comital galley Catània alongside Bernat Martí; Sacasa captained another galley with En Farigola or Figuerola, from Torroella de Montgrí; and Escolta led a Mallorcan galley.⁸ As shown in one of the tables, the first two also organized privateering expeditions around the time of the Sicilian campaign. They thus occupied a social rank just below that of Escarrer in terms of the advancement military service and loyalty to feudal elites could bring. By 1300, the Escarrer family already counted among its members a general bailiff of Catalonia and a prior of Montserrat. Meanwhile, Sacasa had served as veguer of Castelló at least between 1287 and 1288; Sifreu was likely related to Guillem Sifreu, also veguer of the town between 1296 and 1298, and by 1305 Berenguer was involved in managing the customs of Cadaqués on behalf of the Count of Empúries.⁹ Regarding Escolta, although he commanded a Mallorcan galley, he is documented as a resident of Castelló in 1301, and his sister was married to another Castelló native, Castelló Lladó.

Just below them were four lower-ranking officers ("notxerio" in the singular): Guillem Bernat Bardoner and Joan Alaó aboard the galley of the aforementioned Sacasa; Berenguer Ferrer aboard the galley of Bernat Malgraner and Jaume d'Ordis (the latter from Roses), which apparently sustained the most damage and/or attacks during the expedition;¹⁰ and Guillem Soquer aboard the galley commanded by the previously mentioned Berenguer Sifreu and Bernat Martí. These four individuals possessed the experience necessary to assist the senior officers in navigating and managing the galleys, and they undoubtedly logged many hours of service aboard various vessels across the Mediterranean. Some likely had military experience as well, such as Bardoner, the brother-in-law of the aforementioned Guillem Escarrer (married to Bardoner's sister) and a member of a Castelló family involved in privateering since the mid-thirteenth century.

Berenguer Ferrer was the son of a jurist and the brother of one of the priors of the convent of Sant Domènec. As for Alaó, it is almost certain he was related to several individuals sharing the same surname who owned ships or shares in ships and engaged in commerce along the Catalan coast and throughout the western Mediterranean during this period. In the Appendix A, we include some information on shipowners and shipmasters from Castelló which—pending a comprehensive study compiling all available data from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries—suggest possible connections between the surnames of some of these individuals and those of certain participants in the Battle of Cape Orlando. Notably, the surnames Bianya, Gomarell, Malarç, and Sitjar stand out; to a lesser extent—at least based on the documents in question—we also find Noguera, Llorenç, Soquer, Blanc, Cerdà, Burgès, Escolta, Sabater, Serra, and Teuler. However, as already mentioned, the documentation has its limitations, and it is certain that some information eludes us (particularly concerning participants in the Sicilian expedition for whom we have no direct evidence of involvement). Therefore, a thorough study of Empordà's maritime activity during this period will be necessary to either confirm or refute these potential links.

The remainder of the participants served as crossbowmen and rowers (with differing contractual conditions in the case of the latter). Here we do find recurring names and surnames linked to individuals involved in privateering or other military enterprises mentioned earlier in the article. In some cases, the identification is certain—such as with

Pere Cerdà, whose wife attempted to collect money still owed from the Sicilian campaign on 7 October 1301, while Pere himself was “in Yspania sive Barberia contra sarracenos” on an expedition led by Joan Sacasa, who had also participated in the Sicilian campaign. In other cases, the identification is very likely, though the presence of homonyms must be taken into account to avoid confusion. For example, Pere Margarit, who went to Sicily as a crossbowman, failed to appear for a privateering expedition led by Guillem Castelló, Pere Albesa, and Berenguer Egidió against the French Mediterranean or Muslim territories a few years earlier (1287) (AHG, Ca 3, 31 March 1287). It is probable he was part of the crew on the privateering expedition organized by Pere Borrassà and Bernat Ram against Muslim lands with a vessel of about 20 oars (1305) (AHG, Ca 79, 27 September 1305). We also know that around February 1316, he purchased a cuirass and an iron helmet from another man from Castelló (AHG, Ca 89, 16 April 1316). Pere Ferrer, a crossbowman at Cape Orlando, had served as a lower-ranking officer on the 1287 expedition led by Castelló, Albesa, and Egidió (AHG, Ca 14, 15 May 1287). Guillem Cervià and Pere Ramon, rowers in Sicily, also participated in privateering in 1300 (AHG, Ca 75, 20 February 1301). Similarly, it is likely that Ponç Oliveres, Guillem Llorenç, Bernat Malarç, Joan Puig, and Guillem Rostell, who were present in Sicily in 1299, were related to various individuals sharing the same surnames who are documented in privateering activities before and after that year: Pere Oliveres (1288); Arnau Llorenç, Ponç and Guillem Malarç, Pere Puig, and Bernat Rostell (1305) (AHG, Ca 4, 8 July 1288; AHG, Ca 23, 25 February 1305; AHG, Ca 24, 12 July 1305; AHG, Ca 79, 27 September 1305).

We can also speculate about the whereabouts of Pere Briolf, Pere Nicolau and Pere Teuler on 13 October 1300, 24 March 1301, and 26 June 1308, respectively, when their wives attempted to collect their unpaid wages and declared that their husbands were absent from Empordà.¹¹ Even more intriguingly, we might wonder what Bernat Sardina, Berenguer Gomarell, and Bernat Bruguerol—who were also present in Sicily in 1299—were doing at the far end of the Mediterranean (“in partibus Romanie”) when, in April 1327, their wives requested payment of the amounts still owed to them by the royal administration. In the cases of Sardina and Gomarell, both women acted as administrators of their husbands’ estates as well as those of their three children. In Bruguerol’s case, his sister sought to recover his possessions in the East, as he had died there not long before (AHG, Ca 120, 18 April 1327). Were they there for commercial purposes? That is certainly possible. Although most notarial records from Castelló refer to commercial expeditions along the Catalan and Occitan coasts (see the Appendix A, Table A6), there is some evidence of men venturing farther afield. For example, in March 1296, Pere Giró prepared to travel to “Romanie” with 125 *lliures* entrusted to him by his father aboard a ship owned by the Castelló native Pere Sabater and his partners—the earliest known reference to such a voyage (AHG, Ca 10, 11 March 1296). Alternatively, could they have been there on military service? In truth, even Sardina’s wife was uncertain of his precise whereabouts, as her own words indicate: “nunc dicitur esse in partibus Romanie”.

What is certain is that the Gomarells, Sardinias, and Bruguerols all had strong maritime and military traditions in their families. Besides owning shares in various vessels (see the Appendix A, Table A5), we know that Ponç Gomarell promoted a privateering expedition in 1290 with Joan Egidi using a 40-oar ship; that in March 1287, both men jointly entrusted nearly 60 *lliures* worth of French cloths for sale in Mallorca; that Bernat Gomarell participated as a “notxerio” in a privateering expedition in 1295—even at an advanced age, given that he already had at least one grandson; and that Francesc Bruguerol was fined for drawing a sword during an incident in Castelló around 1308 and later joined the company of thirty infantrymen led by the Saguer brothers in the conquest of Sardinia in 1323, and before April 1316, Berenguer Bruguerol had sold a cuirass and an iron helmet to

the aforementioned Pere Margarit (AHG, Ca 3, 12 March 1287; AHG, Ca 358, 5 December 1290; AHG, Ca 17, 27 May 1295; AHG, Ca 2100, 4 July 1308; AHG, Ca 89, 16 April 1316). During this period (1327), a small Castelló community was established in Greece, between Athens and Thebes, likely a legacy of the Great Catalan Company led by Roger de Flor (Gironella Granés 2024a). This company had departed from Sicily in the early 14th century to fight the Turks in service of the Byzantine emperor—a story well known to historians. In Thebes, records mention Bernat Robert, who in 1326 and 1328 sold various properties in Castelló through his procurator. Shortly before 1331, Bernat Ram died there. Around the same time, there are records of four more individuals from Castelló residing “in vicariatu castri Levadie, in casali vocato Petrochio”: Francesc Marcó, his wife Ramona, their friend Beneta Cabiscola, and Guillem Belda.

We know that in the summer of 1328, Francesc briefly returned to Castelló to deliver 70 *sous* to Guillem’s mother—money sent by Guillem—and also managed matters regarding the properties of the two women. Notably, this shows that women from Castelló had settled outside Catalan lands. In the case of Beneta Cabiscola, it is plausible she was related to Bernat Cabiscol, a participant in the Sicilian expedition of 1299, since women’s surnames were commonly feminized during this period. Beneta may have been Cabiscol’s wife.

Finally, regarding the participants from Castelló in the Battle of Cape Orlando, we still have relevant information about the usual professions of some of them, as well as about the relationships they established, both in Sicily and in their daily lives in the Empordà region. As for the first point, we know that among the members of the expedition there were three tailors—Guillem Borrell, Arnau Far and Ramon Pere; two mattress makers—Guillem Cargol and Ramon Riera also known as Cargol; a weaver—Berenguer Font; a butcher—Bernat Martí; and a sailor—Pere Serra (see the Appendix A, Table A2). Although this represents only a small percentage of the total, it clearly supports the observation made at the beginning: that the profession of arms was an activity in which a relatively significant portion of society participated, at least at specific moments.

As for the ties among them, we have the example of the aforementioned group of four companions—Ponç Oliveres, Castelló Giró, Pere Ceres, and Bernat Cabiscol—who captured, among other things, a Muslim slave during the battle (Mallorquí, doc. 10 November 1322). This suggests the existence of such groupings within armies or companies of arms, formed not only for battlefield cooperation but also to facilitate financial arrangements, such as acting as guarantors for each other when money was distributed at enlistment. Two of these men, Oliveres and Giró, later joined the company led by Guillem Escarrer through Italy in service of Robert of Anjou. They also conducted business together after their return. On 11 December 1299, Ponç Oliveres, Castelló Giró, and a son of the late Bernat Cabiscol prepared to transport wheat and barley to Marseille on a galley belonging to the Count of Empúries, captained by Arnau Dalmau.¹² That same day, they settled accounts related to a shipment of cloth that Giró had purchased in Montpellier and Narbonne, which Cabiscol had transported and sold in Barcelona (AHG, Ca 12, 11 December 1299). Later, their paths diverged.

Bernat Cabiscol’s story has been discussed earlier. Regarding Ponç Oliveres, records show he financed or took part in a privateering expedition in 1305; in that same year, agreed to free two slaves for a set price; in 1310, together with four other men from Castelló, sold a vessel; and in 1319, engaged in the sale of textiles in North Africa, among other activities—though it cannot be confirmed all these references apply to the same person (AHG, Ca 78, 1 April 1305; AHG, Ca 79, 25 October 1305; AHG, Ca 26, 19 January, and 26 April 1310; AHG, Ca 2037, 28 June 1319). The problem of homonyms is even more pronounced for Castelló Giró. Of approximately twenty references dated between 1286 and 1327, we know he invested in or participated in privateering (at least in 1305), was involved in multiple slave transactions, served as one of the four leaders of the municipal council

in Castelló in 1317 and 1321, and acted as procurator of the local hospital for the poor in 1323 (AHG, Ca 2087, 6 March 1286; AHG, Ca 23, 18 December 1304, and 20 January 1305; AHG, Ca 78, 7 April 1305; AHG, Ca 78 bis, 7 and 17 May 1305; AHG, Ca 94, 25 February 1317; AHG, Ca 105, 26 September 1321; AHG, Ca 110, 6 May 1323). As noted, in 1326 he represented Bernat Robert legally in Thebes and in 1327 acted as arbiter alongside Ponç Oliveres in a dispute between a Valencian shipowner, Castelló Benet—likely related to the Benet family that had members fight at Cape Orlando—and a man from Castelló over a grain shipment from Roses to Aigües Mortes (AHG, Ca 120, 7 February 1327).

Undoubtedly, the information currently available raises important questions about the pitfalls of recurring names, yet these challenges also provide motivation and compelling reasons for further research.

3.2. *The Conditions of the Journey: Wages and Weaponry*

The records from the men of Castelló who took part in James II's expedition to Sicily in 1299 still offer valuable insights into the agreed wages, the roles each individual played aboard the ships, and the weapons they carried. Regarding wages, somewhat surprisingly, the data is sparse; formal claims for unpaid wages rarely specify the amounts owed and even less frequently detail the originally agreed terms. Occasionally, discrepancies appear—such as those involving Pere Nicolau and Pere Terrer—though it remains unclear whether these arose from errors or other unknown factors (see the Table A2 in the Appendix A).

One of the most detailed accounts concerns Bernat Martí, a butcher or meat seller, who reports that his salary as a rower for four months was 65 *sous*. This aligns with the wages of three other rowers from nearby towns around Castelló who also enlisted—earning 60, 66, and 68 *sous* for four months—and corresponds with the pay received by rowers contracted by the Empordà-based corsairs during the same period.¹³ These figures highlight disparities in pay even among participants holding similar positions, and they reveal that wages were lower than one might initially expect. Historiography has already noted that such wages point to motivations beyond salary for participants (Orsi Lázaro 2018; Burguera-Puigserver 2025).

In the case of privateering, these relatively modest wages—especially compared to pay for less risky activities—may have been offset by the opportunity to invest their earnings, or part of them, into the expedition. In the event of success, profits could increase significantly.¹⁴ Regarding the expedition to Sicily, the case of four men from Castelló who captured various goods and a Saracen slave suggests a similar reality of profit sharing. Unfortunately, our data remain limited. We know only that in November 1322, Ponç Oliveres, Castelló Giró, Pere Ceres, and one of the sons of the late Bernat Cabiscol (who served as a crossbowman on a galley captained by fellow Castelló native Joan Sacasa; no claims survive for the other three) petitioned the executors of Guillem Escarrer—also from Castelló and captain of the royal galley—for payment of 400 *sous*. This represented the value of a captive Escarrer had taken from the count's galley in his absence and kept for himself. Though details are incomplete, this suggests there was substantial booty to be divided among the crew. The 100 *sous* that each of these individuals would have received already represented a significant increase over their initial wages, especially when factoring in the sale or distribution of other spoils (“les altres cozes que en aquela batayla avien goanyades”).

Naturally, some crew members earned more than the simple rowers. For example, Bernat Malarç, a bow rower on the royal galley who died during the expedition, had an agreed salary twice as high—120 *sous* for four months. It is safe to assume that crossbowmen and other specialized positions such as lower-ranking officers received higher pay than rowers. Indeed, in 1305, each of the forty “bonos et sufficientes et bene preparatos” crossbowmen led by the Castelló native Bartomeu Blanc on an expedition to Narbonne

received 80 *sous* for one month of service. As for the “notxerios”, their pay undoubtedly reflected their maritime expertise and training. Among the Empordà corsairs, such crew members earned between 3% and 4% of the expedition’s profits, without bearing any risk of losses—on voyages that, as previously noted, might involve up to fifty people aside from the promoters.¹⁵

Regarding the second issue raised at the beginning of this section—the roles of the various individuals aboard the galleys and the weaponry they might have had at their disposal to face a foreseeable confrontation with the Sicilian fleet—we primarily have information about their occupations. In most cases, the claims specify the position held on board the ships, and often indicate whether the individual was assigned to the outbound or return galley. Apart from the “còmits” and “nauxers” mentioned in the previous section, we count forty-six crossbowmen, thirty-seven rowers, one servant, and several instances in which certain individuals are mentioned with two different roles in separate claims. We cannot determine whether these discrepancies are due to errors, homonyms that elude us, or changes resulting from crew transfers between ships. In some cases, individuals held multiple occupations, such as Ramon Bou, a notary from Castelló who enlisted as “ballisterio et scriptore” during the expedition led by the Count of Empúries and his Hospitaller brother at the beginning of the 14th century, as noted earlier.¹⁶

Concerning weaponry, the documents regarding the Sicilian expedition provide no specific details. However, information about some expedition members and their relatives offers partial insight. Notably, some individuals owned their own arms. For example, Pere Margarit owed 20 *sous* for iron cuirasses and an iron helmet sold to him by Berenguer Bruguerol in 1316 (AHG, Ca 89, 16 April 1316). Similarly, Francesc Bruguerol, a relative, had to borrow money from his uncle Castelló in 1308 to pay a fine imposed by comital justice for involvement in a sword-related incident or, at minimum, for brandishing a sword in public (AHG, Ca 2100, 4 July 1308). For those without personal weaponry, rentals were possible. Around September 1325, Joan Cames intended to enlist in a fleet of Mallorcan galleys and rented from Joan Calabró—possibly the same individual who participated at Cape Orlando in 1299—an iron helmet, a gorget, and some cloth-reinforced cuirasses valued at 45 *sous*, for six weeks at a price of 7 *sous* (AHG, Ca 368, 19 September 1325). Even non-combatants sometimes possessed arms, like Ponç Sunyer, a sailor and caulker, who, when hired for a one-year term by Arnau Dalmau in 1299, demanded delivery of “cohirasses et unum capellum” and insisted he not be compelled to go “in ligno armato contra sarracenos” (AHG, Ca 12, 22 November 1299).

In many cases, if not all, the organizers endeavored to supply some of the necessary weaponry. For instance, the Empordà corsairs in 1305 saw Guillem Canut purchase two dozen lances, while Pere Borrassà and Bernat Ram acquired one dozen lances and one dozen “ascones” among other items (AHG, Ca 79, 15 July 1305). Canut also acquired some cuirasses and an iron helmet, likely for his own use (AHG, Ca 79, 8 July 1305; AHG, Ca 24, 15 March 1306). Certain expeditions probably included the promoters’ heraldry as well, as may have been the case with the Seguí company at the close of the 13th century. Before departing from Castelló toward Tlemcen, Bernat Seguí owed at least 1000 *sous* to saddler Berenguer Duran (perhaps the homonymous rower present in Cape Orlando) and a painter from Castelló “ratione armorum per nos ad opus familie nostre a vobis emptorum” (for arms purchased by us for the work of our family) (Gironella Granés 2024a).

Lastly, information related to participants at Cape Orlando in 1299 and other military ventures mentioned herein provides insights into the arms market and prices during the period. In July 1297, Bernat Borrassà commissioned Berenguer Rostell to spend 630 *sous* on eighteen “cuhiraciis” and eighteen “gorgeriis” (AHG, Ca 20, 30 July 1297). In October of that year, the same Rostell sold ten “pulcras et novas” iron cuirasses to Grau Sardina, an

apothecary from Barcelona and likely a relative of the Sardina family referenced here, for 300 *sous* (AHG, Ca 20, 10 October 1297). In May 1305, Pere Sitjar purchased eight dozen crossbows from a crossbowman from Girona for 300 *sous* (AHG, Ca 78 bis, 17 May 1305). In July 1309, Pere Ferrer committed to making a suit of armor valued at 80 *sous* for a wealthy cloth merchant from Peralada who took part in the conquest of Almeria in the service of James II (AHG, Pe 11, 28 July 1309). Naturally, not all pieces of armor carried the same price. Some years later, for example, when the swordsmith from Castelló, Guillem Roca, purchased knives on credit worth 280 *sous* from a man in Barcelona, he pledged several items—“copertas de medalia equi et unum asuberch militis de medalia et unum capellum ferri militis et unum capellum ferri clientis et manegas de medalia”—valued at 267 *sous* (AHG, Ca 53, 26 March 1331). Clearly, everyone sought to equip themselves according to their individual needs and means.

4. Conclusions

In the previous sections, we have analyzed various issues concerning the inhabitants of Castelló d'Empúries who took part in the Battle of Cape Orlando in 1299. We have started by examining the local context of the late 13th and early 14th centuries, providing some information about the participation of a good number of residents of Castelló in other maritime and military ventures of varying intensity. We have uncovered several insights about members of the Sicilian expedition, both during the voyage and in their daily lives in the Empordà region or other Mediterranean areas. Finally, we have gathered some data on the wages paid to the members of the expedition and on the weapons they may have carried. All of this, with the intention of contributing to the knowledge of the Catalan war navy during the Late Medieval period.

For some, Cape Orlando was a brief exception in their everyday lives; others, despite having a trade, had already taken part in—or would later participate in—other military endeavors. Some enlisted for the pay or the possibility of sharing in a hypothetical booty; others saw it as a step forward in their advancement within the clientelistic networks of power, as an additional merit toward the longed-for political and social ascent. Motivations varied. In any case, it is a first-rate example of a reality widely known in historiography: the participation of broad sectors of the Late Medieval population in armed events of diverse nature and intensity.

There was certainly a risk. Some died. But the potential benefits could also be considerable. The case of Guillem Escarrer, who commanded the royal galley, serves as an example, as do other members of the Castelló town elite like the Sacasa, Sifreu, Bardoner, or Saguer, among others, for whom participating in this type of expedition was the perfect means to climb the clientelistic networks of power. And also in the case of the more modest individuals, such as the four companions who managed to capture a Saracen slave and other goods during the campaign, which significantly increased the initially agreed-upon wages.

These were not rootless individuals. Although we still lack a comprehensive study of all the participants (something that is actually possible due to the extensive documentation available—though homonymy poses a significant challenge), some questions remain unanswered. Still, we are not talking about wandering mercenaries. In addition to the data presented, we have information suggesting that some enlisted alongside friends, acquaintances, and/or relatives. We find four individuals with the surname Ramon; three with the surnames Benet, Bernat, and Ferrer; and two each with the surnames Cargol, Escolta, Jofre, Jover, Malarç, Martí, Puig, Sabater, Sardina, Soquer, and Terrades. Furthermore, nearly two-thirds of the outstanding wage claims were filed—from Castelló itself, by the men involved, or their wives, children, or other relatives—as late as the 1320s, particularly in 1327. Certainly, as noted, some led relatively nomadic lives or settled in distant Mediterranean

regions. Yet even in these cases, a degree of rootedness is evident. The reason we have information on inhabitants of Castelló who settled in Greece is, in fact, due to the ties they still maintained with their place of origin.

Finally, it should be highlighted here that in the Appendix A, two tables are included that provide valuable information about the commercial maritime activity of Empúries—specifically, ship prices, itineraries, and the crews and goods transported on board. We have not analyzed them here, as much of the related documentation remains unpublished, but we can draw some useful insights from them relevant to our topic. Regarding prices, for instance, we have data on the sale of three-quarters of the comital galley *Catània* just after its return from Sicily, as well as prices for some newly built smaller vessels. The price of a ship depended heavily on its usage, so having access to prices of new ships is particularly important.

As for maritime trade, we can observe a fleet largely composed of *llenys* (small vessels) that mostly sailed along the Catalan coast and the Gulf of Lion. Some went farther afield. We also have examples of ships from the Empordà region reaching the Mediterranean islands and North Africa. Still, the majority navigated the nearby coasts, typically with crews of five to ten sailors (sometimes more in the case of privateering, though not reaching very high numbers), braving natural hazards and other possible challenges. Lords of the sea, lords of war.

Funding: This research received no external funding.

Data Availability Statement: No new data were created or analyzed in this study.

Conflicts of Interest: The author declares no conflict of interest.

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in this manuscript:

AHG	Arxiu Històric de Girona
Ca	Fons Notarial de Castelló d'Empúries
Pe	Fons Notarial de Peralada
s.	Sous
d.	Diners

Appendix A

Table A1. Documented corsair expeditions planned in Castelló d'Empúries (1286–1319) ([Gironella Granés 2024b](#)).

Year	Promoters	Boats	Destination
1286	Guillem Castelló, Pere Albesa and Esteve Gaia (Torroella de Montgrí)	“Galiota” and “lignis suis”	“in mare regis Francie” and infidels
1286	Bartomeu Coïres (Eivissa) and Berenguer Sifreu	<i>Lleny</i> Sant Francesc	Infidels
1287	Guillem Castelló, Pere Albesa and Berenguer Egidió	<i>Lleny</i> Lo Joiós	Enemies of the king
1287	Ferrer Mont-roig	A 12-oar boat	Infidels
1287	Berenguer Rostet, Pere Torre and Joan Gosta	<i>Lleny</i> Sant Antoni, with 44 oars	Infidels of “Yspania”
1287	Guillem Ruix and Berenguer Rostet	A 24-oar boat	Enemies of the count and the king

Table A1. Cont.

Year	Promoters	Boats	Destination
1288	Esteve Gaià (Torroella de Montgrí)	Count's <i>lley</i> , with 42 oars	Provence and enemies of the count
1288	Esteve Gaià and Pere Aumar (Torroella de Montgrí)	Count's <i>lley</i> , with 42 oars	Provence and enemies of the count
1288	Pere Torre and Berenguer Rostet	<i>Lley</i> Sant Francesc	Infidels
1290	Ponç Gomarell and Joan Egidi	<i>Lley</i> with 40 oars	Infidels
1295	Guillem Rec (oriünd de Torroella de Montgrí)	<i>Lley</i> Sant Antoni, with between 36 and 40 oars	Infidels and enemies of the count
1295	Bernat Sastre (Tarragona) and Joan Sacasa	<i>Lley</i> Delfinet, with 40 oars	Infidels
1300	Joan Sacasa and Berenguer Sifreu	-	Infidels
1301	Joan Sacasa	-	"Yspania sive Barberia"
1303	Castelló Borrassà	<i>Lley</i>	Infidels
1303	Arnau Juià	-	Infidels
1304	Castelló Borrassà	<i>Lley</i> Sant Salvador, with 52 oars	Infidels
1305	Castelló Borrassà, Arnau Llorenç, Arnau Palau and Ponç Saguer	<i>Lley</i> Bonaventurós, with between 40 and 48 oars	Infidels
1305	Guillem Ller (Frontanyà) and Guillem Canut	<i>Lley</i> Leonet, with 52 oars	-
1305	Berenguer Romeu (Barcelona)	-	-
1305	Berenguer Bardoner and Bernat Llobet	<i>Lley</i> with 40 oars	Infidels
1305	Pere Borrassà and Bernat Ram	A boat with between 16 and 20 oars, purchased for 400 <i>sous</i>	Infidels
1306	Joan d'Alcanyís, Pere Sala (València) and Romeu Veler	A 12-oar boat Santa Margarida	Infidels
1319	Pere Just (Cadaqués) and Bernat Martí	A 12-oar boat, valued at 200 <i>sous</i>	Infidels

Table A2. The people of Castelló present at the Battle of Cape Orlando in 1299, based on the powers of attorney granted to claim unpaid wages ^a.

Surname and First Name of the Participant	Galley or Officers ("Còmits") of the Outbound Galley ^b	Galley or Officers ("Còmits") of the Return Galley ^c	Rank
Alaó, Joan	Joan Sacasa and En Farigola	-	"Nauxer"
Barber, Guillem	Joan d'Ordis	-	Crossbowman
Benet, Castelló	Berenguer Batlle	Catània	Crossbowman
Benet, Jaume	Joan Sacasa	-	Crossbowman
Benet, Pere	-	Guillem Escarrer	Crossbowman
Bernat, Berenguer	Pere Blanc and Berenguer Escolta of Mallorca	-	Crossbowman

Table A2. *Cont.*

Surname and First Name of the Participant	Galley or Officers (“Còmits”) of the Outbound Galley ^b	Galley or Officers (“Còmits”) of the Return Galley ^c	Rank
Bernat, Francesc	Pere Pià and Miquel Dalmau of Mallorca	-	Crossbowman
Bernat, Joan	Joan Sacasa	-	Crossbowman
Bardoner, Guillem Bernat	Joan Sacasa	-	“Nauxer”
Bianya, Pere	Bernat Malgraner	-	“Alier” (bow rower)
Blanc, Pere	Joan Sacasa	-	Rower
Borrell, Guillem (tailor)	Joan Sacasa	Count’s galley, Bernat Martí i Berenguer Sifreu	“Proer” (bow rower) and Crossbowman
Bosc, Berenguer	Bernat Malgraner	-	Rower
Briolf, Pere	Jaume d’Ordis or Berenguer Sifreu and Bernat Martí	-	Crossbowman
Bruguerol, Bernat	Pere Pià and Miquel Dalmau of Mallorca	-	Crossbowman
Burgès, Pere	Pere Bonifaci	-	Crossbowman
Bruguera, Pere	-	Catània	Crossbowman
Cabiscol, Bernat	Joan Sacasa and En Farigola		Crossbowman
Calabró, Joan	-	-	Crossbowman
Carbonar, Pere	Jaume d’Ordis	Catània, Berenguer Sifreu and Bernat Martí	Crossbowman
Cardona, Guillem	Joan Sacasa	Bernat Martí	Crossbowman
Cargol, Guillem (mattress maker)	Catània	-	Crossbowman
Català, Guillem	Galey of Mallorca	-	Crossbowman
Cerdà, Pere	-	-	“Espatller” (stern rower)
Cervià, Guillem	Joan Sacasa and En Farigola	-	“Cruïller” or rower
Cursavell, Guillem	Joan Sacasa	-	“Cruïller” (bow rower)
Duran, Berenguer	Romeu de Llor	-	Rower
Escapa, Berenguer	Pere Blanc and Berenguer Escolta of Mallorca	-	Crossbowman
Escolta, Berenguer	-	-	“Còmit o patró”
Escolta, Pere	Berenguer Escolta of Mallorca	-	Crossbowman
Estanyol, Pere	Pere Bonifaci	-	Crossbowman
Far, Arnau (tailor)	Bernat Batlle of Torroella	-	Crossbowman
Ferrals, Bernat	Jaume d’Ordis	-	-
Ferrer, Berenguer	Bernat Malgraner and Jaume d’Ordis	-	“Nauxer”

Table A2. *Cont.*

Surname and First Name of the Participant	Galley or Officers (“Còmits”) of the Outbound Galley ^b	Galley or Officers (“Còmits”) of the Return Galley ^c	Rank
Ferrer, Pere (Avellana)	-	-	Crossbowman
Ferrer, Ponç (Avellana)	-	-	“Nauxer”
Fonolleres, Pere	Joan Sacasa	Catània	Rower
Font, Berenguer (weaver)	Berenguer Sifreu	Catània	“Alier” (bow rower)
Galliners, Bernat	Joan Sacasa	Bernat Martí	Crossbowman
Gomarell, Berenguer	Pere Blanc and Berenguer Escolta of Mallorca	-	Crossbowman
Gosall, Guillem	Joan Sacasa and En Farigola	-	Rower
Jofre, Joan	Pere Blanc and Berenguer Escolta of Mallorca	-	Crossbowman
Jofre, Ramon	Pere Blanc of Mallorca	-	Crossbowman
Jover, Berenguer	Jaume d’Ordis	Berenguer Sifreu and Bernat Martí	Rower
Jover, Ramon	Jaume d’Ordis	Berenguer Sifreu and Bernat Martí	Crossbowman
Malarç, Bernat	Royal galley	-	“Alier” (bow rower)
Malarç, Ramon	Berenguer Sifreu	-	Crossbowman
Malvestit, Berenguer	Joan Sacasa and En Farigola	Berenguer Sifreu and Bernat Martí	Crossbowman
Margarit, Pere	Joan Sacasa and En Farigola	-	Crossbowman
Martí, Bernat (butcher)	Bernat Martí and Berenguer Sifreu	-	Rower
Martí, Guillem	Guillem Martorell of València	-	“Alier” (bow rower)
Manerca, Guillem	Joan d’Ordis	Catània	Crossbowman
Milleres, Pere	Berenguer Sifreu and Jaume d’Ordis	-	Crossbowman
Mir, Ramon (fisherman?)	-	-	-
Mora, Ramon	Berenguer Mallol	Guillem [...]	Rower and “alier” (bow rower)
Noguera, Pere	Joan Sacasa	Berenguer Sifreu and Bernat Martí	Crossbowman
Nicolau, Pere	Jaume d’Ordis and Pere Bonifaci	-	“Alier” (bow rower) and “espatller” (stern rower)
Llorenç, Guillem	Pere Blanc	-	Servant
Llucià, Bernat	Bernat Batlle of Torroella	-	Rower
Oliver, Pere	Pere Bonifaci	-	Crossbowman
Oriol, Ramon	Pere Bonifaci	-	Crossbowman

Table A2. *Cont.*

Surname and First Name of the Participant	Galley or Officers (“Còmits”) of the Outbound Galley ^b	Galley or Officers (“Còmits”) of the Return Galley ^c	Rank
Proeta, Arnau	Pere Bonifaci	-	Rower
Puig, Joan	Pere Bonifaci	-	“Proer” (bow rower)
Puig, Andreu	Jaume d’Ordis	-	Crossbowman
Ramon, Bernat	Berenguer Mallol	-	Rower
Ramon, Francesc	Pere Blanc and Berenguer Escolta of Mallorca	-	Crossbowman
Ramon, Pere	En Farigola of Torroella	-	“Espatller” (stern rower)
Ramon, Pere (tailor)	-	-	Crossbowman
Regorderia, Pere	-	-	Crossbowman
Regorderia, Pere	Jaume d’Ordis	-	Rower
Riera, Ramon (mattress maker) àlies Cargol	Catània	-	-
Ripoll, Bernat	En Martorell of València and Pere Bonifaci	-	“Alier” (bow rower) and rower
Riumors, Jaume	Bernat Malgraner	-	Rower
Romeu, Guillem	Joan Sacasa	-	Rower
Rossinyol, Guillem	Jaume d’Ordis	-	Crossbowman
Rostell, Guillem	Jaume d’Ordis	Catània	“Cruïller” (bow rower)
Sabater, Ramon	Joan Sacasa	-	Crossbowman
Sabater, Pere	Jaume d’Ordis	Catània, Berenguer Sifreu and Bernat Martí	Crossbowman
Sacasa, Joan	-	-	“Còmit”
Salvany, Guillem	Berenguer Sifreu and Bernat Martí	-	-
Santjoan, Guillem	Berenguer Sifreu and Bernat Martí	-	Crossbowman
Sardina, Bernat	Jaume d’Ordis	Catània	Crossbowman
Sardina, Joan	Royal galley	-	Rower
Sarment, Berenguer	Jaume d’Ordis	-	Rower
Serra, Pere (sailor)	-	-	Rower
Sifreu, Joan	Bernat Malgraner and Romeu Llor	-	“Proer” (bow rower)
Sitjar, Pere	Berenguer Escolta of Mallorca	-	Crossbowman
Siurana, Guillem	Pere Bonifaci	-	Rower
Soquer, Guillem	Bernat Martí	-	“Nauixer”
Soquer, Pere	Bernat Martí	-	Cruïller (bow rower)
Terrades, Berenguer	Bernat Martí and Berenguer Sifreu	-	-

Table A2. *Cont.*

Surname and First Name of the Participant	Galley or Officers ("Còmits") of the Outbound Galley ^b	Galley or Officers ("Còmits") of the Return Galley ^c	Rank
Terrades, Guillem	Bernat Martí	-	Crossbowman and "proer" (bow rower)
Pere Terrer	Bernat Malgraner	-	Rower
Teuler, Pere	Bernat Martí	-	Crossbowman
Torrent, Pere	Pere Bonifaci	-	Rower
Trobat, Pere	Romeu de Llor	-	Rower
Vajol, Guillem	Romeu de Llor	-	Crossbowman
Vanover, Miquel	Joan Sacasa	-	Rower
Vila, Arnau	Joan Sacasa	-	Rower
Vivó, Pere	Bernat Malgraner and Romeu de Llor	-	"Proer" (bow rower)

^a Joan Alaó: AHG, Ca 19, 13 March 1301; AHG, Ca 22, 29 May 1302; AHG, Ca 38, 11 June 1321; AHG, Ca 46, March 6, and 6 April 1327. Guillem Barber: AHG, Ca 120, 11 April 1327. Castelló Benet: AHG, Ca 22, 29 May 1302. Jaume Benet: AHG, Ca 120, 14 April 1327. Pere Benet: AHG, Ca 2092, 9 March 1300. Joan Bernat: AHG, Ca 46, 16 and 17 April 1327. Guillem Bernat Bardoner: AHG, Ca 75, 25 March 1301. Pere Bianya: AHG, Ca 2100, 26 June 1308. Bernat Blanc: AHG, Ca 46, 13 April 1327. Guillem Borrell: AHG, Ca 75, 9 and 25 March, 18 May 1301; AHG, Ca 122, 1 October 1326. Berenguer Bosc: AHG, Ca 77, 26 November 1303. Pere Briolf: AHG, Ca 19, 13 October 1300; AHG, Ca 46, 13 April 1327. Bernat Bruguerol: AHG, Ca 2099, 8 January 1300; AHG, Ca 21; 10 November 1299. Pere Burgès: AHG, Ca 19, 13 March 1301; AHG, Ca 22, 29 May 1302; AHG, Ca 2094, 26 January 1305. Pere Bruguera: AHG, Ca 46, 19 Març 1327. Bernat Cabiscol: AHG, Ca 12, 12 December 1299; AHG, Ca 2100, 21 February 1308; AHG, Ca 46, 13 April 1327. Joan Calabró: AHG, Ca 38, 11 June 1321. Bernat Calabró: AHG, Ca 44 bis, 26 June 1326. Pere Carbonar: AHG, Ca 44 bis, 23 May 1326; AHG, Ca 46, 6 and 8 April 1327; AHG, Ca 58, 29 December 1333. Guillem Cardona: AHG, Ca 2100, 24 March 1308. Guillem Cargol: AHG, Ca 22, 28 May 1302; AHG, Ca 44 bis, 7 November 1326; Guillem Català: AHG, Ca 115, 12 October 1324; Pere Cerdà: AHG, Ca 75, 7 October 1301. Guillem Cervià: AHG, Ca 46, 13 April 1327. Guillem Cursavell: AHG, Ca 120, 11 April 1327. Berenguer Duran: AHG, Ca 46, 17 April 1327. Berenguer Escapa: AHG, Ca 21, 9 December 1299; AHG, Ca 46, 16 April 1327. Berenguer Escolta: AHG, Ca 75, 20 February 1301; AHG, Ca 46, 15 April 1327. Pere Escolta: AHG, Ca 46, 15 April 1327. Pere Estanyol: AHG, Ca 2092, 9 March 1300; AHG, Ca 22, 29 May 1302. Arnau Far: AHG, Ca 19, 20 November 1300; AHG, Ca 122, 14 November 1326. Bernat Ferrals: AHG, Ca 46, 15 April 1327. Berenguer Ferrer: AHG, Ca 75, 13 March 1301; AHG, Ca 77, 13 December 1303; AHG, Ca 2100, 4 July 1308. Pere Ferrer: AHG, Ca 120, 16 April 1327. Ponç Ferrer: AHG, Ca 120, 16 April 1327. Pere Fonolleres: AHG, Ca 22, 29 May 1302; AHG, Ca 120, 9 April 1327. Berenguer Font: AHG, Ca 120, 8 January 1327. Bernat Galliners: AHG, Ca 75, 7 March 1301; AHG, Ca 2100, 20 February 1308; AHG, Ca 46, 13 April 1327. Berenguer Gomarell: AHG, Ca 120, 15 April 1327. Guillem Gosall: AHG, Ca 91, 1 June 1317. Joan Jofre: AHG, Ca 21, 3 December 1299; AHG, Ca 35, 10 April 1319; AHG, Ca 120, 8 April 1327. Ramon Jofre: AHG, Ca 35, 10 April 1319. Berenguer Jover: AHG, Ca 75, 10 April 1301. Ramon Jover: AHG, Ca 77, 16 April 1304; AHG, Ca 2100, 20 February 1308. Bernat Malarç: AHG, Ca 75, 12 April 1301. Ramon Malarç: AHG, Ca 120, 17 April 1327. Berenguer Malvestit: AHG, Ca 75, 9 March 1301; AHG, Ca 92, 1 June 1317. Pere Margarit: AHG, Ca 19, 13 March 1301; AHG, Ca 22, 29 May 1301. Bernat Martí: AHG, Ca 22, 21 May 1302, and 26 June 1303; AHG, Ca 78, 9 March 1305; AHG, Ca 120, 17 April 1327; AHG, Ca 46, 27 April 1327. Guillem Martí: AHG, Ca 23, 23 January 1305. Guillem Manerca: AHG, Ca 120, 11 April 1327. Pere Milleres: AHG, Ca 19, 5 March 1301; AHG, Ca 44 bis, 17 April 1326; AHG, Ca 46, January 27, and 28 March 1327. Ramon Mir: AHG, Ca 58, 29 March 1334. Ramon Mora: AHG, Ca 22, 26 June 1303. Pere Nicolau: AHG, Ca 19, 24 March 1301; AHG, Ca 22, 6 June 1302; AHG, Ca 77, 24 December 1303; AHG, Ca 120, 11 April 1327. Pere Noguera: AHG, Ca 75, 25 March 1301; AHG, Ca 2100, 26 June 1308; AHG, Ca 120, 3 and 16 April 1327. Guillem Llorenç: AHG, Ca 19, 10 January 1301. Bernat Lluçà: AHG, Ca 75, 25 March 1301; 2100, 26 June 1308. Pere Oliver: AHG, Ca 21, 11 December 1299. Ramon Oriol: AHG, Ca 22, 4 June 1302, and 26 June 1303. Berenguer Perona: AHG, Ca 2100, 6 July 1308. Arnau Proeta: AHG, Ca 2093, 19 November 1301. Joan Puig: AHG, Ca 1299, 19 November 1326. Andreu Puig: AHG, Ca 120, 11 April 1327. Bernat Ramon: AHG, Ca 22, 29 May 1302. Pere Ramon: AHG, Ca 22, 5 and 11 June 1302; AHG, Ca 2090, 14 November 1303; AHG, Ca 2105, 9 April 1331. Francesc Ramon: AHG, Ca 21, 17 October 1299; AHG, Ca 120, 16 April 1327. Pere Regorderia: AHG, Ca 46, 17 April 1327; AHG, Ca 120, 17 and 20 April 1327. Ramon Riera: AHG, Ca 22, 27 May 1302. Bernat Ripoll: AHG, Ca 75, 25 March 1301; AHG, Ca 46, 19 March 1327; AHG, Ca 419, 19 August 1328. Jaume Riumors: AHG, Ca 75, 14 March 1301; AHG, Ca 22, 31 May 1302. Guillem Romeu: AHG, Ca 120, 14 April 1327. Guillem Rossinyol: AHG, Ca 102, 18 November 1321.

Guillem Rostell: AHG, Ca 2100, 26 March 1308. Ramon Sabater: AHG, Ca 120, 8 April 1327; AHG, Ca 46, 14 April 1327. Bernat Sabater: AHG, Ca 122, 15 November 1326. Joan Sacasa: AHG, Ca 92, 3 June 1317. Guillem Salvany: AHG, Ca 75, 9 March 1301. Guillem Santjoan: AHG, Ca 19, 13 March 1301. Bernat Sardina: AHG, Ca 22, 29 May 1302; AHG, Ca 120, 11 April 1327. Joan Sardina: AHG, Ca 120, 15 April 1327. Berenguer Sarment: AHG, Ca 120, 6 April 1327. Pere Serra: AHG, Ca 46, 15 April 1327. Perpinyà Serrador: AHG, Ca 11, 26 June 1298 (document preceding the departure). Joan Sifreu: AHG, Ca 120, 26 January 1327. Pere Sitjar: AHG, Ca 12, 9 December 1299. Guillem Siurana: AHG, Ca 22, 14 February 1322. Arnau Solà: AHG, Ca 2100, 26 June 1308. Guillem Soquer: AHG, Ca 75, 25 March 1301. Pere Soquer: AHG, Ca 75, 25 March 1301; AHG, Ca 120, 8 April 1327. Berenguer Terrades: AHG, Ca 19, 3 March 1301. Guillem Terrades: AHG, Ca 19, 13 March 1301; AHG, Ca 46, 15 April 1327. Pere Terrer: AHG, Ca 19, 16 October 1300, and 13 March 1301; AHG, Ca 120, 17 April 1327. Pere Teuler: AHG, Ca 75, 25 March 1301; AHG, Ca 2100, 26 June 1308. Pere Torrent: AHG, Ca 75, 9 March 1301. Pere Trobat: AHG, Ca 120, 11 April 1327. Guillem Vajol: AHG, Ca 120, 6 April 1327. Miquel Vanover: AHG, Ca 19, 10 March 1301. Arnau Vila: AHG, Ca 75, 9 March 1301. Pere Vivó: AHG, Ca 19, 5 March 1301. ^b In cases where two outbound galleys are listed, we assume the second was for the return journey, even though the documents do not make this clear. ^c In cases where nothing is mentioned about the return galley, we assume there were no changes compared to the outbound one.

Table A3. Claims for outstanding wages (1299) referring to the amounts owed.

Participant	Rank	Money that Was Owed ^a	Year
Alaó, Joan	“Notxer”	180 s.	1301
Llorenç, Guillem	Servant	50 s.	1301
Malarç, Bernat	“Alier”	120 s. for four months	1301
Margarit, Pere	Crossbowman	140 s.	1301
Martí, Bernat (butcher)	Rower	73 s. for five months, at a rate of 65 s. for four months	1302
Martí, Guillem	“Alier”	What remained of 150 s.	1305
Milleres, Pere	Crossbowman	135 s.	1301
Nicolau, Pere	“Espatller”	90 s.	1301
	“Alier”	80 s.	1302
Puig, Joan	“Proer”	53 s. and 5 d.	1327
Terrades, Guillem	Crossbowman	360 s.	1301
Terrer, Pere	Rower	80 s.	1300
	Rower	81 s. and 3 d., for five months	1301
Vanover, Miquel	Rower	87 s. and 5 d. for five months, apart from the time for which he was paid	1301
Vivó, Pere	“Proer”	Five months, at a rate of 140 s. for four months	1301

^a In *sous* (s.) and in *diners* (d.). Each *sou* was worth twelve *diners*.

Table A4. List of men from Castelló in the expedition to Rhodes and amounts they were paid in 1327 ^a.

Participant	Money Paid	Collected
Anglès, Pere	37 s. and 6 d.	His widow, Ermessenda
Armentera, Pere	18 s. and 9 d.	His widow, Guilleuma
Barber, Bernat	18 s. and 9 d.	His daughter Sibil·la
Besalú, Castelló	20 s.	
Blanc, Miquel	20 s.	
Bosc, Berenguer	37 s. and 6 d.	
Bosc, Camprodon	18 s. and 9 d.	His son Guillem
Bressol, Pere	18 s. and 9 d.	

Table A4. Cont.

Participant	Money Paid	Collected
Carbonar, Arnau	20 s.	His widow, Berenguera
Caselles, Jaume	20 s.	
Cerç, Bartomeu	50 s.	
Citó, Joan	20 s.	His widow, Maria
Closells, Gispert	20 s.	
Closells, Joan	17 s. and 6 d.	His widow, Guilleuma
Comte, Guillem	18 s. and 9 d.	
Cot, Guillem	20 s.	His widow, Ramona
Espanya, Bartomeu	37 s. and 6 d.	
Far, Bernat	18 s. and 9 d.	His daughter Guilleuma
Figueres, Bartomeu	18 s. and 9 d.	
Fonolleres, Pere	18 s. and 9 d.	
Font, Berenguer	18 s. and 9 d.	
Gleda, Andreu	18 s. and 9 d.	
Golters, Pasqual	37 s. and 6 d.	
Granolleres, Guillem	20 s.	
Hostoles, Pere	18 s. and 9 d.	
Jordà, Pere	37 s. and 6 d.	
Julia, Bernat	30 s.	
Llobató, Bartomeu	20 s.	
Malarç, Jaume	18 s. and 9 d.	
Mallol, Guillem	17 s. and 6 d.	His widow, Berenguera
Manera, Guillem	37 s. and 6 d.	
Martí, Bernat	18 s. and 9 d.	
Martí, Pere	20 s.	
Miquel, Guillem	19 s. and 9 d.	His widow, Guilleuma
Moner, Guillem	17 s. and 6 d.	
Mornell, Llorenç	20 s.	
Negre, Guillem	20 s.	
Oriol, Ramon	35 s.	His daughter Estela
Palera, Pere	20 s.	
Patau, Guillem	20 s.	
Pellisser, Guillem	20 s.	
Pere, Bernat (pescador)	20 s.	
Pere, Castelló Guillem	17 s. and 6 d.	His daughter Francesca
Pere, Guillem (pescador)	16 s. and 3 d.	
Perpinyà, Jaume	20 sous	Bernat Tallaferro
Ram, Jaume	37 s. and 6 d.	Germana Dolça, widow of Francesc Ramon
Ramona, Bernat	20 s.	

Table A4. Cont.

Participant	Money Paid	Collected
Riba, Guillem	37 s. and 6 d.	
Ribes, Bernat	20 s.	
Rieres, Bernat (paraire)	33 s. and 9.	
Roanes, Bartomeu	17 s. and 6 d.	His father, Guillem
Roanes, Berenguer	40 s.	His father, Guillem
Roanes, Guillem	40 s.	
Roca, Guillem	18 s. and 9 d.	
Romanyà, Joan	20 s.	His wife, Maria
Ros, Pere	18 s. and 9 d.	His wife, Cecília
Sabater, Ramon	40 s.	
Salat, Joan	20 s.	His widow, Dolça
Salvador, Pere	40 s.	
Salvany, Bernat	18 s. and 9 d.	
Sastre, Dalmau	18 s. and 9 d.	His widow, Dolça
Soriguer, Ponç	35 s.	His wife, Ermessenda
Tallaferro, Bernat	18 s. and 9 d.	
Taravaus, Bernat	17 s. and 6 d.	
Tata, Bernat	18 s. and 9 d.	His sister Guilleuma
Tomàs, Guillem	18 s. and 9 d.	His widow, Elisenda
Torroella, Ramon	20 s.	
Tortosa, Alegret	20 s.	
Vanover, Guillem	17 s. and 6 d.	
Vidal, Miquel	37 s. and 6 d.	His widow, Ermessenda

^a AHG, Ca 2120, 31 July 1311; AHG, Ca 29, 27 October 1311; AHG, Ca 125, 14 August 1327; AHG, Ca 370, 17 and 27 August 1327; AHG, Ca 416, 21 November 1328.

Table A5. Various details about boats from Empúries (1287–1327) ^a.

Year	Informations	Prices
1287	Berenguer Vaquer owns a quarter of a boat belonging to En Marí de Roses	-
1287	Bernat Gomarell has a half-share in a boat captained by En Marí de Roses	-
1287	Castelló Simó sells an eighth of a boat to Guillem Escolta	50 s.
1287	Bernat Ramon, from Barcelona, lent a boat to Guillem Renard	-
1287	Ferrer Mont-roig sells a 12-oar boat to Pere Patau	116 s.
1287	Pere Patau sells a boat he bought from Francesc Alot to Guillem Bernat Vilar	70 s.
1287	Pere Patau sells half of the boat he bought from Ferrer Mont-roig to Guillem Bernat	60 s.
1288	Joan Alaó rents an 8-oar boat to Bartomeu Albert, Mateu Bosc, and Berenguer Rostell, who are fishermen, until Easter for 19 <i>sous</i> . In case of loss, they must pay 85 <i>sous</i>	85 s.
1288	Joan Alaó and Guillem Rosic are commissioned by Ponç Ferrer to take a third of a “careu”, which includes two fishing nets and a “bolig”, to Valencia	

Table A5. Cont.

Year	Informations	Prices
1288	Ramona Rafard, acting as a proxy with Bernat Gomarell for Bernat Febrer, arranges the sale of half of a 25-oar lleny owned by Febrer, Pere Albesa, and Guillem Castelló to Grau Rostet	
1290	Guillem Boniró sells a new fishing “careu” to Nicolau Carbonell, which he will build by Christmas for 93 <i>sous</i> , enclosed with Tortosa cairat planks	93 s.
1290	Arnau Dalmau sells half of an 18-oar boat they bought from Guillem Escarrer to his brother, Castelló Dalmau, for 160 <i>sous</i>	160 s.
1290	Castelló Dalmau acknowledges to Castelló Ninet the ownership of an eighth of the 18-oar boat he bought with his brother Arnau, and receives 40 <i>sous</i> as his share of the price	40 s.
1290	Pere Bardoner had a sixteenth share of a <i>lley</i> captained by Castelló Pere, which was shipwrecked	-
1293	Berenguer Bartomeu, from Cadaqués and now living in Castelló, appoints Pere Egidi as his proxy to sell an eighth share of a 400 quintar <i>lley</i>	-
1293	Guillem Boniró promises to build a boat for Bernat Mallol	-
1293	Bernat Adam Bafarí acknowledges to Bernat Gomarell, a shopkeeper and son of the farmer Guillem Gomarell, the ownership of a quarter-share of a 16-oar boat	-
1294	Jaume Gorners sells a 20-oar boat to Guillem Oliveres, a merchant from Barcelona. Gorners had bought it from Oliveres’ brother, Bernat, when it had 18 oars, for 640 <i>sous</i> , of which 400 <i>sous</i> were still owed	640 s.
1294	Guillem Pià, from Cadaqués, acknowledges to Castelló Giró an eighth-share in a 350 quintar cargo boat, for which he receives 87 s. and 6 d.	87 s. i 6 d.
1294	Guillem Pià, from Cadaqués, acknowledges to Ramon Malarç an eighth-share in a 350 quintar cargo boat, for which he receives 87 s. and 6 d.	87 s. i 6 d.
1297	Castelló Giró has a two and a half sixteenths share in a cargo <i>lley</i> captained by Bernat Martí, from Tarragona, which was previously captained by Arnau Dalmau	-
1297	Guillem Renard is commissioned by Pere Santpere, a money changer from Barcelona, to take a 20-oar lleny to Sardinia for trade or privateering	-
1298	Guillem Boniró promises to build a cargo boat for Guillem Pasqual and Guillem Ruix	-
1299	Guillem Ferri of Cadaqués acknowledges to Llorenç Font the ownership of an eighth-share in a cargo boat that the former is building in Canet	-
1299	Nadal Massot, from Llançà, hires two servants for his galley	-
1299	Arnau Dalmau hires a servant and a master caulker for his <i>lley</i>	-
1299	Bernat Simó, a mail-maker, receives 500 <i>sous</i> on behalf of the Count of Empúries from Pere and Nadal Massot of Llançà. This was the remaining payment of 1500 s. for the sale of three-quarters of the count’s galley, the Catània	1500 s.
1300	Bernat Llampiaes, an apothecary, promises to Pere Noguera the payment for a quarter-share of a new boat to be built	-
1300	Pere Barrau and his wife, Sibil·la, who was married to Pere Patau in her first marriage, appoint Ferrer Vic from Barcelona as their proxy to receive 112 s. from Joan Olot, from the same city, which is the remaining payment for a “lley” that belonged to Patau	-
1301	Guillem Bartomeu commissions Bernat Mallol to build a galley called Francesca, with ten free quintars of cargo space for Mallol	-
1301	Pere Ramon Noguera acknowledges to Bernat Llampiaes, an apothecary, the ownership of a quarter-share of a new 22-oar <i>lley</i> that he and his partners own	-

Table A5. Cont.

Year	Informations	Prices
1301	Ramon Serra, with the consent of Bernat Pere Guillem, sells a cargo boat to Bernat Llampas for 400 s.	400 s.
1301	Pere Feliu gives his brother, Ponç Feliu, a half-quarter share of the <i>lley</i> they own with Pere Noguera and Pere Teuler	-
1302	Pere Joan, a fisherman, and his wife, Guilleuma, give a fishing net and a share of a “careu” and a boat they own with Ramon Begudà to their son Guillem on the occasion of his marriage	-
1302	Ponç Sarger hires Guillem Sallent to work as a servant on his boat	-
1302	Berenguer Llaquet, from Castelló and now a resident of Valencia, acknowledges having a commission of 40 <i>sous</i> from Bonavia Adalbert. Adalbert will fish with Llaquet in Valencia until Easter	-
1302	Arnau Bianya has a cargo boat in the port of Roses	-
1302	[...] rents a “xàvega” and a “panestell” to Pere Rostell for two years for 15 s. annually	15 s.
1302	Arnau Dalmau sells an eighth-share of a 12-oar boat to Francesc Ramon	-
1302	Bernat Espertí and his wife, Berenguera, and Bartomeu Riba owe money to Bernat Ruix from the sale price of a boat	-
1303	Guillem Pià, from Cadaqués, acknowledges to Castelló Resola, from Roses, the ownership of a sixteenth-share in a cargo boat called Sant Antoni, with the right to carry three sacks of grain for free and to work on it as a sailor for the usual wage	-
1303	Dalmau de Treballs sells an eighth-share of a cargo boat to Arnau Bianya for 120 s.	120 s.
1303	Arnau Bianya sells a 600 quintar cargo boat, with two sails and four iron fittings, among other things, to Guillem Valliter, from Collioure, for 1150 s.	1150 s.
1304	Ponç Soriguer gives his son Ponç a quarter-share of a boat on the occasion of his marriage	-
1304	Pere Bofill, from Torroella, promises to build a 48-oar <i>lley</i> for Castelló Borrassà in the port of Roses	-
1304	Pere Mallol sells half of a boat he owns with Guillem Soquer to Guillem Ruix from Barcelona for 200 s. Ruix has also bought the other half from Soquer	200 s.
1304	Bernat Borrassà sells two shares of a boat to Ramon Vaquerisses and Bernat Fromit, from Barcelona, for 100 s. The remaining third share belongs to Pere Lavador	100 s.
1304	Castelló Borrassà sells a 16-oar boat named Sant Salvador to Francesc Tomàs	-
1304	[...] from Castelló sells a cargo boat with a mast, two sails, and four iron fittings, among other things, to Bernat Miquel, from Torroella de Montgrí, for 940 s.	940 s.
1305	Arnau Llorenç sells a third-share of the 40-oar <i>lley</i> Sant Antoni to Berenguer Bardoner and Bernat Llobet for 133 s.	133 s.
1305	Pere Noguera captains a <i>lley</i> in which Bernat Maurí owns three sixteenths and gives him an accounting of its profits	-
1305	Pere Vilagut sells various shares of a cargo boat called Sant Andreu to Pere Arnau, Berenguer Bertran, Castelló Milleres, and Pere Esteve from Mallorca (three sixteenths to Esteve, a quarter to Arnau, another to Bertran, and another to Milleres) for 2000 s.	2000 s.
1305	Ponç Soriguer acknowledges having received a quarter-share of a cargo boat from his father, Ponç Soriguer, which was sold to Bernat Miquel of Torroella	-
1305	Arnau Milleres, the king’s bailiff in Murcia, sells a 16-oar a pla boat to Pericó Borrassà and Bernat Ram. The boat belonged to Bartomeu Quintana from Valencia, who had taken it from Muslims in Elx and Crevillent and abandoned it in La Pelosa	-

Table A5. Cont.

Year	Informations	Prices
1308	Ramon Malarç sells an eighth-share of a cargo boat belonging to Arnau Bianya to Dalmau de Treballs for 110 s.	110 s.
1308	Arnau Bianya acknowledges to Pere Bou the ownership of three-quarters of a cargo boat, sold for 600 s.	600 s.
1308	Guillem Amfòs sells half of a lleny he owns with Bernat Gomarell, named Sant Antoni, to Joan Bernat for 340 s.	340 s.
1310	Ponç Oliveres, Pere Caldes, Guillem Malarç, and Guillem Bonacasa sell a lleny called Sant Antoni to Domènec and Guillem Ferrer from Barcelona for 1020 s.	1020 s.
1311	Jaume Albesa commits to informing Dalmau Seguí, who has invested 150 s. in the construction of a lleny that the former is building in Castelló, before selling it	-
1311	Jaume Albesa owes Dalmau Seguí 300 s., which were used in the construction of the 48-oar lleny that the former is building in Castelló	-
1311	Jaume Salat and Pere Sitjar sell two-thirds of a boat to Jaume Pere, a merchant from Barcelona, for 106 s.	106 s.
1312	Pere Anguilet sells a sixteenth-share of a lleny to Bernat Borrassà for 50 s. The captain of the lleny is Guillem Ruix	50 s.
1317	Guillem Roellose, from Roses, acknowledges to Pere Corredor the ownership of a quarter-share of a cargo boat that the former bought from Arnau Pellisser of Canet, valued at 235 s.	235 s.
1317	Arnau Bianya and his wife, Sibil·la, owe 50 sous to Guillem Seguí, the veguer of the county, which is the remaining payment for the sale of an eighth-share of a lleny captained by Arnau himself	-
1318	Pere Vaquer sells a lleny named Sant Nicolau to Pere Avinent, from Valencia, for 2000 s.	2000 s.
1318	The executors of Pere Lavador sell half of a cargo boat to Arnau Dalmau for 84 s. The other half belongs to Arnau Vall, from Barcelona	84 s.
1319	Bernat Moles sells half of a riverboat he owns with Francesc Ramon to Ponç Soriguer for 75 s.	75 s.
1319	[...] Martí, son of Guillem Martí, sells half of a cargo boat to Guillem and Castelló Tolosà for 110 s. The boat is captained by the former and Guillem Carbonell, who owns the other half	110 s.
1319	Pere Just, from Cadaqués, sells half of a 12-oar boat to Bernat Martí for 110 s.	110 s.
1319	Castelló Ruix acknowledges to Dolça, wife of Ramon de Palau, the ownership of an eighth-share of a lleny called Sant Nicolau, which the former built a year ago in Graells	-
1319	Castelló Ruix acknowledges to Mateu Goba the ownership of a sixteenth-share of a lleny called Sant Nicolau, which the former built a year ago in Graells, valued at 235 s.	235 s.
1319	Gueraula, wife of Guillem Carbonell, sells half of a riverboat she owns with her husband and Martí [...] to Joan Ram, a boatman, for 120 s.	120 s.
1321	Francesc Feliu sells half of a cargo boat to Pere Burgès for 95 s. The other half belongs to Pere Millarer.	95 s.
1321	Pere Niell sells a quarter-share of a lleny called Sant Martí to his brother, Arnau Niell. He bought it from Bernat Martí of Narbonne for 320 s.	320 s.
1322	Joan Ram, a boatman, appoints Joan Alaó as his proxy to sell a quarter-share of a boat he has in Roses and to pay the rent for the new Oven of Castelló	-
1322	Pere Sitjar hires Pere Bord from Cervera as a servant on his boat for a term of four years	-

Table A5. Cont.

Year	Informations	Prices
1322	Ponç Oliveres sells a quarter-share of an <i>lley</i> called Sant Antoni to Castelló Sardina, a cloth merchant, for 250 s. Sardina had previously sold it to Oliveres. The other three shares belong to Bernat Rec, from Mallorca, who is the owner and captain	250 s.
1323	Pere Niell sells a quarter-share of the three-quarters he owns in a <i>lley</i> to Bernat Arrufat for 250 s. The captain is his brother, Bernat Niell	250 s.
1324	Castelló Benet, from Castelló and a resident of Valencia, hires Francesc Mora as a servant on his <i>lley</i> for a term of one year	-
1324	Pere Albert, from Roses, sells half of an <i>lley</i> called Sant Nicolau, along with half of the ownership, to Pere Ferran for 441 s. Immediately afterward, Ferran sells three-quarters of his half to Joan Alaó, son of Joan Alaó, for 338 s.	441 s.
1324	Pere Andreu sells an eighth-share, without ownership, of an <i>lley</i> called Sant Salvador, newly built in Tortosa, to Joan Alaó for 448 s. and 6d.	448 s. and 6 d.
1324	Pere Andreu acknowledges to Berenguer Casaiau the ownership of a quarter-share of an <i>lley</i> called Sant Salvador: an eighth bought from the former and another eighth bought from Bernat Moler and his wife, Ermessenda	-
1324	Pere Andreu acknowledges to Joan Alaó the ownership of a quarter-share of an <i>lley</i> called Sant Salvador: an eighth bought from the former and another eighth bought from Bernat Moler and his wife, Ermessenda	-
1324	Bernat Moler and his wife, Ermessenda, acknowledge to Pere Andreu that the quarter-share their son had in Andreu's <i>lley</i> called Sant Salvador has been sold by the couple to Joan Alaó and Berenguer Casaiau	-
1324	Bernat Moler acknowledges having received 465 s. from Joan Alaó for the sale of an eighth-share of an <i>lley</i> called Sant Salvador that his son, Castelló Moler, owned	465 s.
1325	Joan Ram, son of Bernat Ram, and Pere Ruix sell a quarter-share of a <i>lley</i> called Sant Antoni to Francesc Roger, from Roses, for 135 s. The former had bought it from Guillem Botet, from Sant Feliu de Guíxols	135 s.
1325	Bernardí de Cabrera, Guillem de Pau, and Jofre de Treballs, who are knights, and Berenguer Savarrés receive two <i>lleys</i> from Castelló Ruix and Pere Vaquer to be used for the fleet of Philip of Mallorca, who is the tutor of King James of Mallorca. They promise to give them a fair rental fee, to be determined by two sailors	-
1326	Berenguer Camps, from Menorca, sells a sixteenth-share of an <i>lley</i> called Sant Cristòfol to Berenguer Roger for 200 s. "melgoresos", equivalent to 250 s. of Mallorca	250 s.
1326	Castelló Comes sells half of a cargo boat to Guillem Assalit	-
1327	Nicolau Tintorer and Ramon Sabater appoint Jaume Campllong from Sant Feliu de Guíxols as their proxy to demand ownership of a cargo boat from Bernat Sitjar, who is the captain. Tintorer owns half of it and Sabater owns a quarter	-
1327	Guillem Gacelm, from Llançà, sells a 12-oar boat to Arnau Bianya for 135 s.	135 s.
1327	Pere Niell acknowledges to his brother, Bernat Niell, who is the captain of both their <i>lleys</i> and that of their partners, the payment of 82 s. for the purchase price of an anchor	-
1327	Guillem Dalmau of Roses sells his share of an <i>lley</i> to Pere Riba, who is the captain, for 150 s.	150 s.
1327	Pere Niell sells a quarter-share with ownership of an <i>lley</i> called Sant Martí to Guillem Nadal for 600 s. The captain is Bernat Niell, the brother of the seller	600 s.

^a AHG, Ca 3, 28 March, 17 May, 5 June, 10 August, and 4 November 1287; AHG, Ca 14, 20 July, and 5 August 1287; AHG, Ca 4, 22 July, and 13 October 1288; AHG, Ca 358, 2, 3 and 5 October, and 11 December 1290; AHG, Ca 7, 10, 27 and 30 December 1293, and 16 January, and 30 June 1294; AHG, Ca 364, 3 January 1297; AHG, Ca 20, July, 1297; AHG, Ca 2098, 6 July 1298; AHG, Ca 12, 20, 21 and 22 November, and 13 December 1299; AHG, Ca 19, 1 and 27 December 1300, and 17 March, and 1 April 1301; AHG, Ca 75, 25 February, 17 March, and 1 May 1301; AHG, Ca 2093, 16 January 1302; AHG, Ca 22, 10 July, 14 August, 8 September, 7 and 10 October, and 14 November 1302,

and 26 February 1303; AHG, Ca 77, 3 December 1303, 9 and 28 January, 4 March, and 24 April 1304; AHG, Ca 2090, 31 December 1303, and 11 January 1304; AHG, Ca 2094, 17 December 1304; AHG, Ca 78, 1, 2 and 29 March 1305; 24, 4 June 1305; AHG, Ca 78 bis, 15 June 1305; AHG, Ca 2100, 27 and 29 July 1308; AHG, Ca 83, 13 September 1308; AHG, Ca 26, 19 January 1310; AHG, Ca 29, 9 August, and 13 September 1311, and 8 February 1312; AHG, Ca 92, 13 May, and 5 June 1317; AHG, Ca 97, 1 October, and 3 November 1318; AHG, Ca 35, 4 January 1319; AHG, Ca 2037, 18 June, 28 August, and 24 September 1319; AHG, Ca 69, 31 December 1319; AHG, Ca 103, 20 May 1321; AHG, Ca 105, 16 September 1321; AHG, Ca 39, 4 February 1322; AHG, Ca 365, 20 September, and 11 October 1322; AHG, Ca 113, 31 August 1323; AHG, Ca 367, 2 January 1324; AHG, Ca 111, 18 and 20 April, and 25 June 1324; AHG, Ca 2137, 18 February 1325; AHG, Ca 368, 29 October 1325; AHG, Ca 118, 5 April 1326; AHG, Ca 122, 24 September 1326; AHG, Ca 120, 2 March 1327; AHG, Ca 46, 13 May 1327; AHG, Ca 370, 16 and 22 September 1327.

Table A6. Commercial voyages of Empordà vessels (1287–1327) ^a.

Year	Owner	Shipowner	Vessel and Crew	Itinerary	Transport
1287	Berenguer Ferri (Cadaqués)	Pere Vidal	“Barca”, 5 sailors and 1 servant	Banyuls—Barcelona	Wine
1289	Castelló Simó	Pere Vidal	“Barca”, 5 Sailors	Torroella de Montgrí o Roses—Barcelona	Wine
1295	Guillem Simó	Jofre de Pontils, knight	-	Alacant—Massagran (Magrib)	The knight and his servants
1295	Bernat Adam Bafarí and Bernat Ruix	Pere Carbó	“Barca”	Roses—Narbona i Narbona—Roses	-
1296	Bernat Mallol	Joan Oliver	400-quintal capacity “barca”, 5 sailors and 1 servant	Roses—Montpellier	Tanners’ tree
1297	Arnau Arbossera (Tortosa)	Bernat Gomarell	“Barca”, 6 sailors and 2 servants	Roses—Barcelona	Wheat and barley
1297	Guillem Bonacasa	Ferrer Mont-roig	“Barca”, 7 sailors and 1 servant	Agde—Roses, Barcelona o Mallorca	Wine
1298	[...] Garriga, de Cadaqués	Bernat Cavalls and Bernat Lladó	“Barca”, 6 sailors	Roses—Agde o Aigües Mortes	Tanners’ tree
1300	Pere Ferrer (Cadaqués)	Pere Castelló	200-quintal capacity “barca”, 4 sailors	Roses—Narbona	-
1301	Miquel Solà (Tortosa)	Bernat Culull and Berenguer Egidió	“Barca”, 7 sailors and 1 servant	Roses—Mallorca o Magrib (Massagran o Bugia)	-
1301	Berenguer Torre (Mallorca)	Joan Gibelí (Peralada)	24-oar <i>lley</i> , 8 sailors	Roses—Mallorca	Grain
1301	Bernat Sitjar and Bernat Llorenç	Pere Carbó	“Barca”	Roses—Narbona i Narbona—Palamós	Tanners’ tree and salt
1301	Guillem Pasqual	Guillem Borrassà and Guillem Verges	“Barca”, 6 sailors and 1 servant	Roses—Barcelona o Mallorca	Wine
1301	Pere Bonifaci (Barcelona) and Bernat Isern (Mallorca)	Pere Contestí	Galley Sant Antoni, 30 sailors and 10 servants	Roses—Mallorca o Gènova	Wheat and barley
1302	Guillem Valliter (Llançà)	Berenguer Ledars	400-quintal capacity “barca”, 5 sailors	Roses—Aigües Mortes	Tanners’ tree
1302	[...] Sitjar	Francesc Tomàs and Castelló Ruix	“Barca”, 5 sailors and 1 servant	Roses—Marsella o Gènova	Wheat and barley
1303	Arnau Bianya	Bernat Cabra	“Barca”, 6 sailors and 1 servant	Roses—Barcelona	Wheat and barley

Table A6. Cont.

Year	Owner	Shipowner	Vessel and Crew	Itinerary	Transport
1303	Bernat Comte (Narbona)	Joan Niell	“Barca”, 5 sailors	Roses—Narbona	Tanners’ tree
1304	Pere Astruc (Sant Cebrià)	Pere Carbó	“Barca”, 5 sailors	Roses—Narbona	Tanners’ tree
1305	Dalmau Portes (Mallorca)	Ponç Escarrer	<i>Lleny</i> , 13 sailors	Roses—Mallorca	Wood and others
1305	Esteve Bonet (Torroella)	Bernat Cavalls, Berenguer Ledars and Miquel Lladó	“Barca”, 5 sailors and 1 servant	Roses—Aigües Mortes	Tanners’ tree
1305	Esteve Bonet and Pere Cubelles (Torroella)	Castelló Cocó	“Barca”, 5 sailors and 1 servant	Aigües Mortes—Roses o Barcelona	Wine
1305	Guillem Amfòs	Pere Manent (Narbona)	“Barca”, 4 sailors	Narbona—Roses	Irona and oil
1306	Jaume Franc (Cotlliure)	Pere Carbó	“Barca”	Roses—Narbona i Narbona—Roses	Tanners’ tree and salt
1308	Pere Vilagut	Arnau Riba and Joan Puig	“Barca”	Roses—Aigües Mortes	Tanners’ tree
1308	Arnau Bianya	Castelló Tolosà, Bernat Martí and Guillem Dosat	“Barca”, 6 sailors and 1 servant	Roses—Barcelona, Tarragona o Tortosa	Grain
1308	Guillem Bonacasa	Ramon Berenguer (Girona)	<i>Lleny</i> , 5 sailors	Mallol—Narbona, Aigües Mortes, Gènova o Niça	Wheat
1308	Guillem Soquer and Pere Mallol	Bernat Cerdà	“Barca”, 4 sailors	Roses—Menorca i Menorca—Roses	-
1308	Guillem Amfòs	Bernat Cerdà	“Barca”, 4 sailors	Roses—Menorca i Menorca—Roses	Pilgrims
1308	Pere Vilagut	Pere Santjoan (Ullà)	“Barca”	Mallol—Narbona, Aigües Mortes, Marsella, Niça o Gènova	Wheat and barley
1308	Guillem Gacelm (Llança)	Castelló Cocó	<i>Lleny</i> , 6 sailors	Roses—Aigües Mortes, Marsella, Niça o Gènova	Wheat and barley
1308	Guillem Gacelm (Llança)	Joan Niell	<i>Lleny</i> Sant Julià, 5 sailors and 1 servant	Roses—Aigües Mortes	Wheat
1308	Berenguer Sobrevila (Llança)	Joan Niell	<i>Lleny</i> Sant Vicenç, 4 sailors	Sant Pere Pescador—Narbona o Aigües Mortes	Wheat
1309	Bernat Conc	Arnau Poc	“Barca”	Roses—Palamós	-
1309	Castelló Giró	Nicolau Ramon (Girona)	<i>Lleny</i> , 7 sailors	Mallol—Aigües Mortes	Wheat and barley
1311	Pere Vaquer, barquer	Bernat Font and Berenguer Casaiau	“Barca”, 4 sailors	Agde o Aigües Mortes—Roses	Wine
1311	Pere Vaquer, barquer	Pere Esteve (Albons)	“Barca”	Mallol—Canet	One lion
1312	Arnau Bianya, barquer	Pere and Berenguer Egidi	“Barca”, 4 sailors and 1 servant	Sant Feliu—Narbona	Leathers, rice and raisins
1313	Arnau Bianya, barquer	Abraham Maimó and Asmió Vidal	<i>Lleny</i> Sant Antoni, 4 sailors and 1 servant	València o Morvedre—Canet	Wine

Table A6. Cont.

Year	Owner	Shipowner	Vessel and Crew	Itinerary	Transport
1317	Jaume Maimó i Bernat Carbó (Barcelona)	Guillem Pasqual	<i>Lleny</i> Sant Pau, 10 sailors and 2 servants	Tortosa—Aigües Mortes	Wheat
1317	Eimeric Jornet (Llançà)	Pere Andreu	<i>Lleny</i> , 4 sailors and 1 servant	Tortosa—Roses, Cotlliure, Narbona o Aigües Mortes	Wheat
1317	Guillem Ferriol (Llançà)	Arnau Vall	<i>Lleny</i> , 5 sailors	Roses—Narbona, Serinyà o Aigües Mortes	Barley
1317	Joan Ram	Joan Sala	<i>Lleny</i>	Mallol—Narbona o Aigües Mortes	Wheat and barley
1318	Eimeric Jornet (Llançà)	Bernat Floreta	<i>Lleny</i> , 4 sailors and 1 servant	Empúries—Cotlliure, Narbona, Serinyà, Agde o Aigües Mortes	Wheat
1319	Guillem Bonacasa, barquer	Guillem Potoll (Sant Feliu)	<i>Lleny</i> Sant Llorenç, 5 sailors	Sant Feliu—Aigües Mortes	Tanners' tree
1319	Ramon Antoni (Roses)	Pere Niell	<i>Lleny</i>	Roses—Aigües Mortes	Tanners' tree
1320	Ferrer Xidó (Llançà)	Pere Niell	<i>Lleny</i> Sant Joan	Roses—Narbona o Aigües Mortes	Tanners' tree
1321	Pere Vaquer	Berenguer Casaiau and Bernat Font	<i>Lleny</i> Sant Nicolau, 5 sailors and 1 servant	Banyuls—Mallorca o Menorca	Wine
1321	[...] Antoni (Roses)	Ponç Blanc and Joan Alaó	<i>Lleny</i> Sant Antoni, 6 sailors and 1 servant	Tortosa—Roses o Narbona	Wheat
1321	Guillem Calvó (Cadaqués)	Berenguer Casaiau	<i>Lleny</i> , 3 sailors and 1 servant	Agde—Roses	Wine
1322	Bernat Calvó (Roses)	Guillem Pere	<i>Lleny</i> Sant Nicolau, 4 sailors and 1 servant	Alacant—Cotlliure o Marsella	-
1322	Ramon Oliver (Palamós)	Ramon Cerola	"Barca", 3 sailors	Palamós—Roses	Coal
1322	Bernat Mascaró (Lloret)	Guillem and Castelló Tolosa	<i>Lleny</i>	València—Roses	Wool
1322	Eimeric Jornet (Llançà)	Pere Niell	<i>Lleny</i> Sant Vicenç, 4 sailors and 1 servant	Roses—Aigües Mortes i Aigües Mortes—Roses	Tanners' tree and salt
1323	Guillem Vilallonga (Santa Maria del Mar)	Castelló Moler and Joan Alaó, barquer	"Barca", 3 sailors	Agde—Roses	Wine
1323	Bernat Calvó (Roses)	Joan Niell	<i>Lleny</i> Sant Nicolau, 4 sailors and 1 servant	Roses—Narbona	Tanners' tree
1323	Joan Mercader (Agde)	Castelló Moler and Joan Alaó	"Barca", 4 sailors and 1 servant	Agde—Roses	Wine
1323	Guillem Puig (Barcelona)	Castelló Moler and Joan Alaó	<i>Lleny</i> Sant Joan, 4 sailors and 1 servant	Tortosa—Roses o Cotlliure	Grain
1323	Ramon Menescal (Agde)	Pere Feliu	"Barca" Antònia, 3 sailors and 1 servant	Agde—Roses	Wine
1323	Guillem Darig (Agde)	Bernat Canelles o Guillem Tallada	"Barca", 4 sailors	Agde—Roses	Wine
1323	Guillem Carbonell (Mallorca) i Bernat Renard	Pere Verdura (Roses) and Bernat Torroella	<i>Lleny</i> Sant Antoni, 3 sailors and 1 servant	Tortosa—Roses, Cotlliure o Narbona	Wheat

Table A6. Cont.

Year	Owner	Shipowner	Vessel and Crew	Itinerary	Transport
1323	Andreu Garriguella (Barcelona)	Castelló Esquiró	<i>Lleny</i> , 3 sailors and 1 servant	Tortosa—Roses, Cotlliure, Narbona, Aigües Mortes o Agde	Grain
1323	Bernat Calvó (Roses)	Joan Alaó	<i>Lleny</i> Sant Salvador, 4 sailors and 1 servant	Tarragona o Sitges—Narbona	-
1323	Bernat Valordí (Llança)	Bernat Torroella	<i>Lleny</i> Sant Vicenç, 5 sailors and 1 servant	Roses—Narbona o Aigües Mortes	Wheat
1323	Castelló Ruix	Bernat Nadal	<i>Lleny</i> , 7 sailors and 1 servant	Tortosa—Roses	Wheat and barley
1323	Bernat Valordí (Llança)	Castelló Esquiró	<i>Lleny</i> Sant Vicenç, 5 sailors and 1 servant	Tortosa—Roses o Cotlliure	Wheat
1323	Bernat Martí (Llança)	Guillem Tolosà	<i>Lleny</i> of Bernat Gasselm, Llança	Roses—Narbona	Grain
1323	Bernat Falcó (Llança)	Pere Niell	<i>Lleny</i> , 6 sailors and 2 servants	Tortosa—Roses, Cadaqués, Narbona o Aigües Mortes	Wheat
1323	Bernat Valliter (Llança)	Joan Alaó	<i>Lleny</i> , 5 sailors and 1 servant	Tortosa—Roses, Cadaqués, Narbona o Aigües Mortes	Wheat
1323	Andreu Garriguella (Barcelona)	Joan Niell	<i>Lleny</i> , 4 sailors and 1 servant	Tortosa—Narbona o Aigües Mortes A Cotlliure, esperar la sortida de la caravana	Wheat
1323	Guillem Ferrer (València)	Guillem Tolosà	<i>Lleny</i>	València—Roses	Grain and raisins
1323	Guillem Miquel (Llança)	Castelló Esquiró	<i>Lleny</i> Sant Vicenç, 5 sailors and 1 servant	Tortosa—Cotlliure, Narbona, Agde o Aigües Mortes	Wheat
1323	Guillem Ferriol (Llança)	Pere Blanc	<i>Lleny</i> , 7 sailors and 1 servant	Roses—Narbona o Aigües Mortes	Wheat
1323	Bernat Pinyol (Peníscola)	Joan Tinter	<i>Lleny</i>	Borriana—Roses	-
1324	Pere Riba, barquer	Bernat Huguet	“Barca”, 3 sailors	Mallol—Cotlliure	Wheat
1324	Bernat Valordí (Llança)	Bernat Nadal	<i>Lleny</i>	Roses—Narbona o Aigües Mortes	Wheat and tanners’ tree
1324	Guillem Prat (Llança)	Joan Alaó	<i>Lleny</i> Sant Vicenç, 6 sailors and 2 servants	Roses—Narbona o Aigües Mortes	Price for a full load: 540 s.
1324	Pere Andreu	Joan Alaó	<i>Lleny</i> Sant Salvador, 5 sailors and 1 servant	Tortosa—Roses, Cotlliure, Narbona o Aigües Mortes	Wheat
1324	Ramon Antoni (Roses)	Ponç Blanc	<i>Lleny</i> Sant Antoni, 6 sailors and 1 servant	Tortosa—Roses, Cotlliure, Narbona o Aigües Mortes	Wheat
1324	Guillem Calvó (Cadaqués)	Berenguer Casaiu	<i>Lleny</i> , 4 sailors	Roses—Aigües Mortes	Tanners’ tree
1324	Pere Closes (Cadaqués)	Bernat Borrassà	<i>Lleny</i> , 3 sailors and 1 servant	Roses—Aigües Mortes	Grain
1324	Bernat Valordí (Llança)	Bernat Nadal	<i>Lleny</i>	Roses—Narbona o Aigües Mortes	Wheat and tanners’ tree
1324	Guillem Prat (Llança)	Joan Alaó	<i>Lleny</i> Sant Vicenç, 6 sailors and 2 servants	Roses—Narbona o Aigües Mortes	Price for a full load: 540 s.
1324	Pere Andreu	Joan Alaó	<i>Lleny</i> Sant Salvador, 5 sailors and 1 servant	Tortosa—Roses, Cotlliure, Narbona o Aigües Mortes	Wheat

Table A6. Cont.

Year	Owner	Shipowner	Vessel and Crew	Itinerary	Transport
1324	Ramon Antoni (Roses)	Ponç Blanc	<i>Lleny</i> Sant Antoni, 6 sailors and 1 servant	Tortosa—Roses, Cotlliure, Narbona o Aigües Mortes	Wheat
1324	Guillem Calvó (Cadaqués)	Berenguer Casaiau	<i>Lleny</i> , 4 sailors	Roses—Aigües Mortes	Tanners' tree
1324	Pere Closes (Cadaqués)	Bernat Borrassà	<i>Lleny</i> , 3 sailors and 1 servant	Roses—Aigües Mortes	Grain
1324	Bernat Valordí (Llançà)	Bernat Nadal	<i>Lleny</i>	Roses—Narbona o Aigües Mortes	Wheat and tanners' tree
1324	Guillem Prat (Llançà)	Joan Alaó	<i>Lleny</i> Sant Vicenç, 6 sailors and 2 servants	Roses—Narbona o Aigües Mortes	Price for a full load: 540 s.
1324	Pere Andreu	Joan Alaó	<i>Lleny</i> Sant Salvador, 5 sailors and 1 servant	Tortosa—Roses, Cotlliure, Narbona o Aigües Mortes	Wheat
1324	Ramon Antoni (Roses)	Ponç Blanc	<i>Lleny</i> Sant Antoni, 6 sailors and 1 servant	Tortosa—Roses, Cotlliure, Narbona o Aigües Mortes	Wheat
1324	Guillem Calvó (Cadaqués)	Berenguer Casaiau	<i>Lleny</i> , 4 sailors	Roses—Aigües Mortes	Tanners' tree
1324	Pere Closes (Cadaqués)	Bernat Borrassà	<i>Lleny</i> , 3 sailors and 1 servant	Roses—Aigües Mortes	Grain
1324	Bernat Valordí (Llançà)	Bernat Nadal	<i>Lleny</i>	Roses—Narbona o Aigües Mortes	Wheat and tanners' tree
1324	Guillem Prat (Llançà)	Joan Alaó	<i>Lleny</i> Sant Vicenç, 6 sailors and 2 servants	Roses—Narbona o Aigües Mortes	Price for a full load: 540 s.
1324	Pere Andreu	Joan Alaó	<i>Lleny</i> Sant Salvador, 5 sailors and 1 servant	Tortosa—Roses, Cotlliure, Narbona o Aigües Mortes	Wheat

^a AHG, Ca 2, 2 April 1287, and 11 September 1289; AHG, Ca 8, 18 August 1295; AHG, Ca 9, 4 December 1295; AHG, Ca 16, 20 March 1296; AHG, Ca 20, 5 August, and 2 October 1297; AHG, Ca 2098, 15 September 1298; AHG, Ca 2092, 10 March 1300; AHG, Ca 19, 1 January 1301; AHG, Ca 75, 22 March, 3 May, 23 October, and 14 November 1301; AHG, Ca 2093, 9 January, and 23 February 1302; AHG, Ca 22, 19 April 1303; AHG, Ca 2090, 7 September 1303; AHG, Ca 77, 14 February 1304; AHG, Ca 23, 6 and 25 February 1305; AHG, Ca 78, 18 March 1305; AHG, Ca 78 bis, 12 May 1305; AHG, Ca 24, 2 May 1306; AHG, Ca 2100, 20 February, 8 March, and 12 and 16 April 1308; AHG, Ca 142, 3 April 1308; AHG, Ca 83, 22 and 30 April, 17 May, and June 1308, and 13 February 1309; AHG, Ca 1501, 28 February 1309; AHG, Ca 29, 17 June, and 18 August 1311, and 27 January 1312; AHG, Ca 30, 11 May 1313; AHG, Ca 94, 15 April 1317; AHG, Ca 92, 25 June, and 25 August 1317; AHG, Ca 97, 31 October 1317; AHG, Ca 88, 21 January 1318; AHG, Ca 35, 30 March 1319; AHG, Ca 2037, 25 September 1319; AHG, Ca 98, 3 January 1320; AHG, Ca 103, 11 May 1321; AHG, Ca 102, 20 October, and 10 November 1321; AHG, Ca 365, 18 May, 26 August, and 3 September 1322; AHG, Ca 40, 21 August 1322, and 26 February 1323; AHG, Ca 110, 21 and 24 March, 2 and 7 April, 20 and 30 May, 3 June, and 6 July 1323; AHG, Ca 113, 16 and 30 August, 7 and 21 October, and 8 November 1323; AHG, Ca 367, 17 November, and 2, 8, 15, 24 and 27 December 1323, and 20 January 1324; AHG, Ca 43 bis, 31 December 1323; AHG, Ca 111, 31 March, and 7, 18 and 20 April 1324; AHG, Ca 115, 13 November 1324; AHG, Ca 368, 6 September, 2 October, and 11 December 1325, and 13 and 21 January, and 21 February 1326; AHG, Ca 118, 7 February, and 21 March 1326; AHG, Ca 122, 27 October, and 22 and 30 December 1326; AHG, Ca 120, 1 and 20 April 1327; AHG, Ca 370, 22 October 1327.

Notes

- The notarial records in question are kept at the Arxiu Històric de Girona (hereinafter AHG), within the Fons Notarial de Castelló d'Empúries (hereinafter Ca).
- Regarding the battle and its historical context, see, for example, [Abulafia \(2017\)](#), *La guerra de los doscientos años. Aragón, Anjou y la lucha por el Mediterráneo*, Barcelona: Ediciones de Pasado y Presente. As for the history of the County of Empúries—one of the northernmost Catalan counties, which during the period under study covered an area of approximately seven hundred and fifty square kilometres in the northeastern corner of the Iberian Peninsula—see [Gifre \(2000\)](#), *Història de l'Alt Empordà*, Girona: Diputació de Girona. The latter contains most of the information about the County of Empúries and the wider Empordà region referenced in this article.

- ³ 1 AHG, Ca 156 bis, 10 April 1263. The last four were associated with Roig to serve and follow him “in misterio tuo armorum”.
- ⁴ Regarding financing, we later discuss the fact that some of the oarsmen and crossbowmen who took part in the expeditions invested part of the wages they had agreed upon with the organizers. Beyond these, the investors could be quite diverse. In the 1330 expedition led by Ponç Saguer, we know the occupations of some of those who invested in it, although we do not know whether they took part in the expedition: the knight Berenguer de Fortià, 50 *sous*; the apothecary Bernat Peitaví, 120 *sous*; the merchant Pere Simó, 150 *sous*; the cloth dresser Bernat Maurí, 50 *sous*; and the vannier (basket-maker) Berenguer Terrades, 69 *sous*, among others whose professions remain unknown. In some cases, the investors were prominent figures. In 1286, for example, in the expedition of Guillem Castelló and Pere d’Albesa, the Count of Empúries and the notary Pere Barrera each equipped a quarter of a sixteenth (presumably a sixteenth of the cost of outfitting and of the distribution of the booty). In the expedition of Bartomeu Coïres and Berenguer Sifreu that same year, Guillem Escarrer and Ramon Malarç—truly important figures in the town—invested one sixteenth; the knights Gispert Alquer and Guillem Llobet each invested half a sixteenth, and the comital bailiffs of Roses and Quermançó invested a quarter of a sixteenth and half a sixteenth, respectively. In the 1287 expedition of Berenguer Rostet and Pere de la Torre, two clerics invested: the prior of Sant Tomàs de Fluvià, 100 *sous*, and Bernat Rostet, Berenguer’s uncle and sacristan of Santa Maria de Castelló, whose contribution is unknown. In the 1305 expedition of Berenguer Bardoner and Bernat Llobet, the Jew Mair Escapat invested 30 *sous*. That same year, 1305, Pere Serra, from Pedret i Marzà, a rural settlement a few kilometers from Castelló, invested 120 *sous* in the expedition of Pere Borrassà and Bernat Ram, and on August 17 of that year a slave was sold for 465 *sous*, which may have been his share of the booty.
- ⁵ More generally, regarding the medieval catalan Navy, see, for example, [Garcia Sanz \(1977\)](#); [Garcia Sanz and Coll Julià \(1994\)](#); [Morro Veny \(2005\)](#); [Salicrú i Lluch \(2019a, 2019b\)](#).
- ⁶ Ca 2092, 3 March 1300. Pere Benet granted power of attorney to his brother to claim the remaining amount of his salary for serving as a crossbowman on this galley.
- ⁷ As for Cortil, see AHG, Ca 2090, 15 October 1303.
- ⁸ Escolta is the one referred to as “patrono sive comit”. Sifreu and Sacasa are referred to in the documents as “comit”, in the singular. See, for example, [Coll Julià \(1965\)](#).
- ⁹ AHG, Ca 3, 6 August 1287, and 4 February 1288; AHG, Ca 10, 10 March 1295; AHG, Ca 2098, loose sheet; AHG, Ca 78, 25 February 1305.
- ¹⁰ As far as we know, only Berenguer Ferrer, a shipmaster on the galley that carried Jaume d’Ordis; Guillem Barber, a crossbowman on the same vessel; and Bernat Malarç, a rower on the royal galley, died during the voyage. However, we also have documentation showing several individuals who had travelled on Ordi’s galley returned on other galleys. See Table A2 in the Appendix A.
- ¹¹ On occasion, when the men who were owed money from the Cape Orlando expedition were outside the county, it was their wives who granted powers of attorney to third parties to demand the payments from the royal administration.
- ¹² The document does not disclose Dalmau’s name; however, a document dated 12 November of the same year allows us to infer it. AHG, Ca 12, 12 November, and 11 December 1299.
- ¹³ As for de rowers, see AHG, Ca 22, 14 February 1303, AHG, Ca 2090, 8 November 1303; AHG, Ca 2094, 2 February 1305. Concerning privateering, see AHG, Ca 3, 12 May 1287; AHG, Ca 24, 12, 13 and 17 May, and 9 September 1305; AHG, Ca 79, 27 September 1305; AHG, Ca 52, 12 and 13 April 1330; AHG, Ca 132, 6, 8 and 19 July 1333.
- ¹⁴ See the previous note.
- ¹⁵ AHG, Ca 2087, 11 June, and 2 July 1286; AHG, Ca 14, 15 May, and 26 June 1287; AHG, Ca 4, 8 and 11 July 1288. Two documents from the late 13th century refer to the collection of a proportional share by those who invested “minus de quinta et de notxeria”, which could relate to the wages of the “notxerios” and the fifth part reserved by the Count of Empúries: AHG, Ca 156 bis, 28 July 1263; AHG, Ca 2087, 26 November 1286. Regarding the year 1263, this concerns the expedition organized by Dalmau de Treballs “contra sarracenos in Ispania”. In the same year, we document the expedition of Pere Bardoner and the brothers Guillem and Ponç Escarrer: AHG, Ca 156 bis, 16 March 1263. Several other documents refer to the promotion of the expeditions “minus de quinta”: AHG, Ca 2087, 15 February, and 16 and 25 May 1286; AHG, Ca 14, 3 April 1287; AHG, Ca 3, 8 May 1287. On the other hand, we know that Pere Figuerola, from Valencia, who served as “piloto” in the expedition organized by Guillem Canut in 1305, would receive 4% of the profits: AHG, Ca 79, 2 July 1305.
- ¹⁶ AHG, Ca 92, 23 September 1317. In 1305, Pere Corredor also joined “pro scriptore” in the privateering expedition that Guillem Canut and Ramon Ller were preparing with a galley of fifty-two oars: AHG, Ca 24, 2 July 1305. In 1333, Bernat Canelles ceded the “scribania” of the galley with eighty-four oars that he owned and intended to direct towards the central Mediterranean to trade and/or engage in privateering to Guillem Pere: AHG, Ca 132, 4 August 1333.

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