

EXTERNAL CONTRIBUTIONS

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE DIFFERENT SIEGES ON BARCELONA AND WARS IN CATALUNYA. 16th-18th CENTURIES

1. The War of the Spanish Succession

The sequence of conflicts that led to the War of the Spanish Succession has been seen by some historians as a world war in its truest sense. During the Modern age disputes between European powers for continental hegemony were constant. However, with the War of the Spanish Succession war fronts emerged in a number of different settings; Europe monopolised the epicentre, but there were also major episodes throughout the whole of the Americas.

The European struggle manifested itself in a number of different locations: the Duchy of Savoy; the Iberian peninsula on the Castile-Portuguese border, in Castile itself, and especially in the Crown of Aragon; in France, where the allied invasions penetrated different sections of the kingdom, especially in the south; in the Italian peninsula, both in the traditional setting of the Padana valley and in the kingdom of Naples; and in the centre of the continent, with a few campaigns rising in southern Germany and between the lands irrigated by the Moselle and the Rhine.

Even more remarkably Flanders, the great theatre of war of the Modern age, did not remain exempt to the harshness of the conflict. The most spectacular campaigns in terms of numbers, where each side came to battle with armies of between seventy and a hundred thousand soldiers took place in this area straddled between France and the Dutch Republic (or United Provinces). The battles of Ramillies (1706), Oudenarde (1708) and Malplaquet (1709) are good examples. Despite the fact that the origin of the international conflict was the Spanish throne, the greatest prestige and failure was at play in Flanders. Some of the great generals of the time led campaigns in that region, such as the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene of Savoy for the allied forces, and the Dukes of Vendôme and Villars for the Bourbon side. The four great generals of the Hague Alliance during the first few years of the dispute were the Duke of Marlborough, Prince

Eugene of Savoy, the Count of Peterborough and Louis William, Landgrave of Baden-Baden. The Duke of Marlborough was probably the best commander to take part in the War of the Spanish Succession. Generally he was in action in Flanders with important victories in the battles of Ramillies, Oudenarde and Malplaquet.

Prince Eugene of Savoy served the Romano-Germanic Empire throughout the dispute, leading meritorious actions in Turin and fighting beside the Duke of Marlborough. The Count of Peterborough managed to ensure that Archduke Charles of Austria was crowned on Spanish soil and took control of the Crown of Aragon in just over a year. Louis William of Baden-Baden was commander of the imperial army, leading it to victory in the Battle of Schellenberg.

2. Barcelona at the beginning of the eighteenth century

Barcelona at the beginning of the eighteenth century had a population of around thirty-five thousand inhabitants. The Rambla, marking the limit of the old medieval wall, already formed part of the urban area and was one of the avenues that divided the walled city. From the Rambla to the east was the more dynamic part of the city, heir to the splendour of its medieval past, and it organised into different neighbourhoods: Pi, Sant Pere, Framenors and Mar. The western side of Barcelona, the Raval, was less populated and despite the fact that the Tallers area attracted inhabitants, it was primarily an area of religious buildings and services, as well as a large agricultural area.

The city had dozens of qualified guild workers, an example of the broad offer of goods and services. The port was an area of prolific trading activity, bringing together goods from all over Catalonia to export around the world. Wine and liquor were highly valued, as were dried fruits, textiles and basketwork products. This dynamic activity led to the city having a significant foreign and visiting population. Barcelona was the hub for a Catalonia which, in socioeconomic terms, operated as a network.

Daily life was governed by the religious practices of the Ancien Régime where public acts of faith such as

processions and pilgrimages existed side by side with an urban society which enjoyed social celebration and leisure; this can be seen in the tremendous passion for games, music, dance, theatre and the hot chocolate parties held in the natural areas on the edges of the city. The best example has to be the carnival which, in the years around 1700, was one of the biggest in Europe.

But the prosperous Barcelona of the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century was to witness how the war affected the strength of its dynamism. Firstly, as a result of the Nine Years War, when the French armada bombarded the Catalan capital (1691) and when the city was placed under siege (1697); and above all during the War of the Spanish Succession when the face of the capital was changed forever as a result of the sieges of 1705 and 1705 and, in particular, the fateful events of 1713-1714.

3. The defence of Barcelona

The sixteenth century was the time when firearms and artillery warfare began to be used all over Europe. The new needs of war brought changes to the medieval cities, which had been fortified with high city wall and defence towers. From then on cities like Barcelona reinforced the walled perimeter with polygonal bastions for the storage of artillery to be used against invaders.

One of the first areas of the Catalan capital to adapt to the new defence structure was the maritime front, with the building of the bastions of Llevant, Migdia, Sant Francesc and, later, the King's bastion close to the Drassanes shipyard. The accesses towards Montjuïc and the Barcelona plain were also fortified with the bastions of Sant Antoni, Tallers, Àngel, Jonqueres, Sant Pere and Portal Nou. For the Spanish monarchy, ensuring the safety of Barcelona was vital given that it was a port city and one of the most important cities close to the French kingdom. The city's defence system was reinforced again in the mid-seventeenth century with the construction of the Castle of Montjuïc in the typical polygonal shape of the Modern age. Through the Portal de Santa Madrona a line of communication connected the mountain with the city.

The Catalan capital was surrounded by agricultural land known as the Barcelona plain, irrigated by the small rivers flowing down from the hills of Collserola. There were numerous farmhouses scattered across the plain as well as some religious buildings. One of the closest to the city was the Convent of Jesus which led to Barcelona along the Path of Jesus. The Capuchin convent was situated on Montcalvari Hill, half way to the Mas Guinardó farmhouse.

Dozens of small paths crossed the Barcelona plain, among which was the Camí Ral following the old Roman Via Augusta. Once it had crossed the River Besòs it continued towards Sant Martí de Provençals, crossed over the Rec Comtal by the Bigues Bridge and entered the city of Barcelona through Portal Nou. Within the city walls the path went down Carrer Carders towards the centre of the city, crossing the Rambla, down Carrer Hospital and leaving through the Portal de Sant Antoni.

The Rec Comtal water course in Barcelona, which also entered through Portal Nou, crossed the Sant Pere neighbourhood to continue down to the Mar neighbourhood and the sea. The water is carried was not suitable for drinking but was destined for the Barcelona textile industry. Outside the city walls, the channel fed the mills of Sant Andreu and Clot; inside the capital it was used, above all by textile manufacturers (dyers, bleachers and tanners).

4. Charles II

Charles II was the last monarch of the House of Austria. Son of Philip IV and Marianna of Austria, he reigned from 1665 to 1700. He was the only monarch of the Principality who did not swear in the constitutions of Catalonia. He never visit Catalan lands and never saw the courts of the lands over which he was sovereign. Despite the fact that at the end of the seventeenth century Catalonia was not experiencing any particular economic problems, it went through the 14 years of the Charles's reign in a state of permanent upheaval as a result of the interminable war with France, which threatened the borders of the Principality and the capital itself, which was besieged by the French in 1697. During the years of his reign, political instability, which also reached Catalonia, was further evidence of the continual

changes of viceroy –seventeen in all – almost all of whom were members of the Spanish aristocracy and military men. The episodes of war with France took place throughout his entire reign: 1667-1668, 1673-1678, 1648 and 1689-1697. One particularly influential person in politics was the old viceroy Philip IV, John Joseph of Austria. During the governance of viceroy Alexander of Bournonville (1678-1685) “the bourgeoisie made it clear that they would take a step forward and introduce new techniques and invest in companies that would establish the future Catalan textile industry. The Flemish ascendancy of the viceroy could well have encouraged the Catalans to follow the path of the prestigious textile factories in Flanders” (Morales-Sobrequés). Charles II died on 1 November 1770 in Madrid and was buried in the Escorial.

5. Philip V

Philip Duke of Anjou was born on 19 December 1683 at Versailles. He was the second son of the Grand Dauphin, heir to the French throne, and Maria Anna of Bavaria. His Spanish ascendancy came partly from his paternal grandmother, since his grandfather Louis XIV had married the Infanta Maria Teresa.

Thanks to the will signed by Charles II before he died in 1700, the Duke of Anjou was proclaimed his successor. Soon Louis XIV crowned his grandson king of the Spain, where he was known as Philip V.

The young king arrived in Madrid when he was just 17 years old and was surrounded by a circle of clearly French influence; so much so that Louis XIV closely controlled the first years of Philip's reign. The Spanish Crown of the Austrias had been characterised by a political system marked by the influence of royal councils and the counterpowers of the constitutional kingdoms. The new Bourbon influence evolved towards a more centralised and hierarchical policy where the orders came from the monarch's Secretary of Universal Office, or secretary of state.

Following the War of the Spanish Succession the uniformisation of the Spanish Crown took a further step forward with the Decrees of the Nova Planta which abolished

the old legal regimes of the Crown of Aragon (except in Sardinia which was handed over to Austria). The new ruling adopted the Spanish administration. Courts of Appeal known as Royal Audiences and Captaincy Generals proliferated around the country to control political, legal and military order from 1716 until well into the nineteenth century.

6. Archduke Charles of Austria

Charles of Austria, or Habsburg, was born on 1 October 1685 in Vienna and was the second son of the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, Leopold I, and Eleanore Magdalene of Neuburg. Emperor Leopold I was the son of one of the Spanish infantas, Maria Anna and so Charles's Spanish inheritance rights came from his paternal grandfather.

When Charles II died in Madrid in 1700, the emperor did not recognise the will of the Spanish king in favour of Philip of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV. In his last breath Charles II decreed that the French pretender would become his successor over any other candidate from the Viennese branch.

Leopold's anger coincided with the rejection of the Atlantic powers (England and the Netherlands), who wanted to intercede in the declining Spanish empire. Undoubtedly the choice of Charles II was the cause of the first continental power of the time, Louis XIV's France, reinforcing its leadership thanks to the enthronement of a Bourbon in Madrid.

The way that the succession process was closed suggested that a new international conflict was looming. On that occasion there was the additional opportunity to break into the Americas. The multiple trading possibilities that it offered, such as slave contracts, the introduction of new products and ample and abundant natural resources, also provided major motivation for the conflict.

When the War of the Spanish Succession was officially declared in May 1702, within a year Leopold I had proclaimed his second son Charles king of the Spanish monarchy. From that time on the Atlantic powers and the Holy Roman Empire recognised the young monarch as Charles III.

The pretender left Vienna for the Iberian Peninsula, on a route very similar to that taken two hundred years previously by Charles V. At the beginning of 1704 Charles III visited Portugal but soon realised that it would be more in his favour to go to Catalonia and take control of the Catalan-Aragonese territories. At that stage in the war the Principality and Valencia had shown clear signs that they were in favour of the young Habsburg.

From the Bourbon siege on the Barcelona of Viceroy Velasco (August to October 1705) the Austrian pretender penetrated the Crown of Aragon, was proclaimed King Charles III and convened the General Court in Catalonia. Following that his rule expanded to other kingdoms in the peninsula and he was even crowned in Madrid on two occasions (June 1706 and September 1710). However, the social support that he received from the Castilian Crown was very small and any possibility of taking root in the imperial capital was out of the question. Aside from that, the allied army which supported him had problems of coordination, financing and provisions, elements that were essential for them asserting themselves over the Bourbon alliance of the Two Crowns (Spain and France).

When Charles III's army was going through one of its worst moments on the Iberian Peninsula (apart from the defeat at Almansa) the monarch's brother, Joseph I died on 17 April 1711. Emperor up until then, he died at the age of thirty five in Vienna and, despite having been married with three children, his only male descendent did not survive. This led to his brother Charles III ascending the thrones of Austria, Hungary and Bohemia by order of primogeniture and thus acquiring the imperial title. Charles II had to leave Catalonia to attend the official coronation which was held on 22 December 1711 in the Cathedral of Saint Bartholomew in Frankfurt.

Meanwhile, his wife, now the empress, remained in Barcelona as regent. The aim was to keep open the options of Spanish succession as well as demonstrating her commitment to the land. Despite the gesture of the new emperor – now crowned as Charles VI – while he was agreeing the international Treaty of Utrecht, the king ordered that the empress return to Vienna. At the same time he signed an armistice with France in an effort to continue the peace negotiations.

The treaty was finally ratified on 7 March 1714 at Rastatt and as a result Charles VI managed to consolidate his imperial political desire for the Italian peninsula. Instead of the Spanish Crown, the emperor took control of the kingdoms of Sardinia and Naples, the Duchy of Milan and the Tuscan State of the *Presidi*, as well as controlling Flanders and some central European enclaves.

Once the War of the Spanish Succession was over following the fall of Barcelona, Majorca and Ibiza, up to thirty thousand people of Spanish origin fled into exile. In Vienna, Charles VI created the Council of Spain to give refuge to the immigrants. Under the protection of the king himself, this body offered pensions to the exiles and remained in operation until 1729.

Several Catalan-Aragonese soldiers who had fought for the Habsburg side enlisted in the army of Charles VI to fight against the Ottoman Empire (Austro-Turkish War, 1716–1718). Similarly during those years of conflict the Austrians and the Bourbons crossed swords yet again in the war of the Quadruple Alliance (1718–1720), through which it was Philip V's desire to recover sovereignty of the kingdoms of Sardinia and Sicily. The resulting peace under the Treaty of Utrecht did not satisfy the Court of Madrid, given that the Crown had lost its territorial rights to the Mediterranean.

The final peace agreement between Charles VI and Philip V was achieved through the Treaty of Vienna in 1725. Through this agreement different aspects of the disputes between the two monarchs that had dragged on since the beginning of the century were resolved. Spain and Austria ratified the international treaties of Utrecht-Rastatt and London, and the emperor recognised Philip V as the Spanish king and renounced his own rights and those of his descendents to the throne of Madrid. At the same time an amnesty was agreed for Austrian supporters in exile and the reciprocal return of confiscated goods.

7. Austrian supporters and Bourbon supporters

The official entry of Philip V into Madrid took place on 14 April 1701 amid great popular clamour. Over the following three days there were many festive events and light

shows. Philip V was sworn in as the new king at the Courts of Castile and Leon on 8 May. The act of great solemnity took place in the Hieronymite Monastery in Madrid.

From the first moment of his reign the new political problem became evident. Cardinal Portocarrero, his main protector, became the king's right hand man, acquiring great power and promoting the formation of a secret council whose members were openly Francophile. The first years of Philip's reign were strongly marked by Louis XIV who managed to gain great influence over the Spanish government through a series of ministers he sent to Madrid.

During those first few months of 1701 expulsions began of some of the leaders who did not sympathise with the Bourbon side. The best example is the case of the Admiral of Castile who was head knight to the defunct Charles II and was replaced by the Duke Medina Sidonia. Similar episodes occurred elsewhere in the Crown with both the governor of Cartagena and the commandant of Cadiz losing their positions. In Catalonia, the clearest example is the dismissal of Prince George Hesse-Darmstadt as Viceroy of Catalonia; later he would become one of the main supporters of the Habsburg confrontation with the Franco-Spanish alliance.

Despite the fact that war had not been officially declared, the hostilities between the Bourbons and the Habsburgs had already begun in 1701. In the campaign in northern Italy Louis XIV deployed around twenty-five thousand troops. In the face of the existing climate of military escalation all the monarchies tried to attract possible allies by promising mutual support or arranging matrimonial alliances. So while the French king was making this show of strength, Marshal Tessé ensured the support of the Duke of Savoy on the Bourbon side. As a result Victor Amadeus II recognised Philip V as king of Spain, offered military support to Louis XIV and arranged the marriage between Philip V and his second daughter Maria Luisa of Savoy.

The future queen, then 13 years old, left Villefranche-sur-Mer (Nice) at the end of October 1701. The poor weather meant that she had to disembark in Marseilles and continue overland. From Barcelona, Philip V travelled to Figueres to receive the party of the his future wife, headed by her chief

lady-in-waiting, the influential Maria-Anne de la Tremoille, *Princesse Des Ursins*. On 2 November 1701 the young monarchs were wed in the Empordanese town.

The royal couple then moved down to Barcelona where their entry was met by a festive atmosphere. The city put on three days of firework displays and light shows. The Catalan authorities visited the Royal Palace – situated in the Pla de Palau – to pay their compliments to the young couple, while the Barcelona guildsmen competed to show off their best talents. There were processions through the city, which had been decorated for the occasion, The nobility of the Principality organised an tournament and balls to celebrate the marriage.

After the wedding celebrations between Philip and Maria Luisa, and once the monarchs were established in Barcelona, the Bourbon king continued with the Catalan Courts which he had opened the previous month. It is worth noting that this kind of legislative process had not been successfully carried out since 1599, given that the two attempts in 1626 and 1632 failed. The Catalan estates were insistent in their demands given that they wanted to update a range of aspects of the socio-economic and political fabric of the area.

8. The Catalan Courts of Philip V (1701-1702)

The General Catalan Courts were officially opened on 12 October 1701 in the Convent of Saint Frances and they lasted until 14 January 1702. As a result, some sectors received very favourable agreements, especially economic: the free port of Barcelona, free trade with the Americas, the establishment of a nautical and mercantile company, free trade of liquors and wines to other ports on the peninsula, protectionist measures on foreign products, and so on. This series of concessions was especially beneficial to the large Catalan businesses.

However, these measures were in stark contrast to some of the demands from the governing classes. Basically they lamented the fact that aspects of the legal and political arena which had been dragging out since the Catalan Revolt, remained unresolved. In particular there was the question of

regulating military lodgings, which had been such a problem in Catalonia since 1635, and the nomination of positions in the Diputació del General and the City of Barcelona.

On 8 April 1702 King Philip V left Barcelona for Naples. This marked the end of his days in Catalonia, since the purpose of his stay had been to marry Maria Luisa of Savoy and to establish Courts with the Catalan estates.

Philip's journey to Italy was surrounded by certain controversy because some sectors of the Court thought that the king should stay in the peninsula. On the other hand, Louis XIV created the opportunity for the new king to visit Italian possessions. Spanish pressure ensured, at least, that Maria Luisa did not make the journey. The queen travelled to Saragossa to hold the Aragonese General Courts.

Meanwhile, Philip V and his cortege made the necessary preparations to travel to the Italian peninsula. At the beginning of the War of the Spanish Succession northern Italy was one of the main theatres of war. Philip accompanied the army led by the Duke of Vendôme, who secured victory at the Battle of Luzzara.

9. Charles III arrives in Lisbon

Since the start of the dynastic crisis as a result of the death without issue of Charles II, the emperor Leopold I and his son Joseph had never renounced their inheritance rights to the Spanish Monarchy. Even though the main international powers advised that the heir should be the archduke Charles of Austria, the emperor did not recognise this.

On 13 September 1703 Leopold I finally renounced his right and that of his son to the Spanish throne and thereby officially approved the nomination of his second son. So Archduke Charles was recognised in Vienna as Charles III. Pressure from the allied forces persuaded the emperor to change his mind, especially since Portugal had joined the Hague Alliance. This facilitated military action which would make it possible for the Austrian pretender to enter the Iberian Peninsula.

Preparations were made so that Charles would travel to Lisbon and on 19 September 1703 the young king, just 18

years old, left Vienna for the Netherlands. On 3 November he arrived in The Hague and following a few days of audiences, among them one with the Duke of Marlborough, supreme commander of the allied army, he headed for England. At the beginning of December he and his party arrived at Windsor Castle to meet Queen Anne.

In London all the arrangements were made for the fleet, which would accompany Charles III to Portugal, to transport eight thousand English soldiers, four thousand Dutch and the necessary equipment to arm the thousand troops that Peter II had promised to recruit. Finally, on 9 March 1704, the great allied expedition entered the Tagus estuary.

The arrival of the archduke Charles of Austria in Barcelona was possible thanks to the fact that in June 1705 the English envoy in Genoa, Mitford Crowe, had secured an agreement with Catalan representatives for him to disembark in Catalonia. Under this pretext it was thought that the Principality would come up on the side of the monarchy and the presence of the allied army on the Crown of Aragon could be consolidated.

But this option was not well looked upon by the majority of commanders in the Habsburg alliance. As he was in Lisbon, Charles's advisors recommended that he should enter Spanish soil through Andalusia, suppressing Cadiz. This was the idea of the Admiral of Castile, who thought that if they were able to suppress the city and locate the Court in Seville, the total impact on the Castilian Crown would be greater, and they could gain control of the port with direct access to the Americas. On the other hand, if the allied army advanced through Catalonia, or the Crown of Aragon, it would be dangerous for the interest of the Habsburgs since, as the admiral warned, it could produce a civil conflict in the seat of the monarchy.

The admiral's opinion won majority support among those in Lisbon, although in the end the plan to enter via Catalonia won through, thanks especially to pressure by George of Hesse-Darmstadt. It would seem that the Landgrave of Hesse contacted directly with Charles to convince him. At the end of July 1705 the expedition transporting Charles III set sail from Lisbon harbour and by 22 August it had anchored in the Catalan capital.

10. The Habsburg siege of Barcelona in 1704

Although during 1703 the imposing allied troops had made their presence known in western Mediterranean waters, the Anglo-Dutch army did not attempt any significant aggressions. At Altea (Marina Baixa), the ships anchored to stock up with drinking water supplies, just as they would do again in 1704 and 1705. During these manoeuvres the allied commanders were able to see the warm welcome they received from the civil population at the coast.

In 1704, for the first time in the Mediterranean, the allies attempted an offensive to break into the territories of the Crown of Aragon. On 28 May, eighty embarkations, thirty of which were warships appeared in front of Barcelona. The main instigator of the operation was Prince George of Hesse-Darmstadt, who demanded obedience to Archduke Charles. The Bourbon Viceroy of Catalonia, Francisco Fernández de Velasco, decided to defend his situation and mobilised the *Coronela* forces of the city, while the allies disembarked close to three thousand men. The Landgrave of Hesse wanted to get inside the city walls and promote an uprising. A delay in these conspiratorial events led to a timid bombardment of Barcelona, and on 1 June the armada returned to the sea declaring the efforts a failure.

While in 1704 an Anglo-Dutch fleet led by George of Hesse-Darmstadt had intended to surprise Barcelona, the first major move in the War of the Spanish Succession was the allied siege of 1705.

11. The Habsburg siege of 1705

As a result of the Treaty of Genoa agreed between England and the local supporters of the archduke (*vigatans*) on 20 June 1705, the British monarchy promised to lead a disembarkation of a ten thousand men in Catalonia. In exchange, the Principality would have to offer military support, while seeing their Constitutions guaranteed. At the end of August that same year some hundred and fifty ships anchored in the mouth of the River Besòs. The expedition carried the archduke Charles himself as well as the Count of Peterborough and Prince George of Hesse-Darmstadt. The fleet had set sail from Lisbon on 28 July 1705. It then stopped at Gibraltar and set sail again from there on 5

August. After five days at sea the expedition docked at Altea and a week later took Dènia. At the coast the archduke was proclaimed king for the first time in Spanish territory.

The allied commander ordered the Bourbon viceroy Velasco to surrender while guaranteeing the exit of the military garrison from Barcelona. The lieutenant thought it opportune to defend the position as since the beginning of the summer Barcelona had received reinforcements and had sufficient provisions to resist an attack. In fact, the capacity of Velasco's troops, around six thousand men, made the allies rethink their offensive since despite arriving in Barcelona on 22 August the first attacks did not start until 14 September. During those days around a thousand Catalans started to gather in the disembarkation area – mainly *vigatans* – as well as reuniting other material necessary to begin the siege.

On 14 September 1705 the first military actions of the siege of Barcelona took place, when the allied camp considered it the right time to create a diversion tactic with the aim of attacking Montjuïc. At dawn that day George of Hesse-Darmstadt travelled over land, simulating his departure to Tarragona. The expedition was made up of three thousand men, led by the Count of Peterborough and James Stanhope. In parallel the allied fleet simulated a re-embarkation of the artillery and other materials, giving the idea that they would soon be setting sail and leaving Barcelona.

When the Landgrave of Hesse and his party reached the base of Montjuïc three columns attacked the mountain. One of the first actions was to take the Santa Madrona convent, while another involved cutting communication with the city.

After three days of fighting, in which George of Hesse-Darmstadt lost his life, on 17 September an allied bomb blew up the gunpowder in Montjuïc Castle. The explosion caused a breach in the city wall that was big enough for the Duke's forces to take over the stronghold.

During these operations the allied army was supported by an indeterminate number of militia from all over Catalonia. The Catalan nobleman Antoni de Peguera i Aimeric led them, and their actions concentrated on preventing the deployment of the Bourbon garrison, whether it be at Montjuïc or towards the Barcelona plain.

Once the mountain and castle of Montjuïc had been taken the troops initiated a second part of the offensive on Barcelona. Their strategic position made it possible to begin the necessity manoeuvres for a formal siege. The strategy forwarded by Peterborough consisted in destroying the western wall, between the Portal de Sant Antoni and the Torre de Sant Pau. The enormous capacity of the artillery of the Archduke's forces together with the inaction of the Bourbon Court meant that the number of cannons increased in a matter of days. The size of the breach increased every day as a result. While a storm of missiles was falling on the city, trenches were dug in the bombed quarters. That way, on the orders of the Count of Peterborough, the infantry could attack.

From the sea front the fleet closed off entry to the port and bombed both the urban fabric and the defensive positions of Barcelona. The technical and human superiority of the allied army was so evident that Viceroy Velasco could only prepare for a defence in case there was attack on the breach.

On the 3 October there was a ceasefire as the Count of Peterborough had demanded that the position surrender. Velasco, aware of his inferiority, apart from the impossibility of receiving help from Philip V accepted. The final agreement was signed on 9 October 1705. Barcelona, and during those weeks a good part of Catalonia, returned to Habsburg/Austrian control.

On 14 October 1705, two days after the city of Barcelona had surrendered to the allies, the garrison left. In the morning there had been a great fuss in the city because the rumour had been spread that the supporters of Charles III were to be executed and were being held in prison. Several citizens confronted the garrison and the prisoners were freed. The Count of Peterborough himself had to go to the city to put the viceroy Velasco out of danger as he feared for his life. With the retreat of the garrison and the city walls and gates occupied, calm returned. That day that the 4000-strong garrison left with their 500 horses, and on the morning of the 15 Viceroy Velasco followed, heading for Andalusia from where he would go to Madrid. On 21 the generals who had defended the city left; ministers from different tribunals and some Catalan families and other personalities who had supported Philip V. The inquisitors and all the bishops also left, with the exception of the Archbishop of Tarragona and the Bishop of Solsona.

The allied expedition that arrived in Barcelona at the end of August 1705 was made up of around a hundred and fifty ships, many of them men-of-war. Some had the capacity to carry ninety cannons, making the Anglo-Dutch armada the most feared during the entire War of the Spanish Succession. In terms of number and capacity it was only outdone by France, but once the naval Battle of Malaga had taken place on 24 August 1704 the allied control of the Mediterranean was undisputed. These impressive fleets also included transportation ships for both food and arms provisions, and soldiers. The allied fleet that arrived in Catalonia transported around ten thousand men in regiments of infantry, cavalry and marines.

When Montjuïc Castle was attacked on 14 September 1705 the main instigator, George of Hesse-Darmstadt, died in the crossfire. His loss was a great blow in military terms, given that he was a key figure in the amalgamation of Austrian support and the allied forces in Spanish territory. The death of the landgrave meant that the siege of Barcelona in 1705 was led by Charles Mordaunt, the third Count of Peterborough. Just after signing the instrument of surrender Barcelona experienced days of riots against the retreating Bourbon authorities (14 October). The Count of Peterborough was central to ensuring the safety of viceroy Velasco and his party, offering refuge and later providing them with the ships in which they would flee to Andalusia.

During the War of the Spanish Succession the Count of Peterborough was supreme commander of the allied army in the east of the peninsula. His command only lasted for two campaigns because in March 1707 because, as a result of the events where Barcelona suffered a forceful attack by the Bourbon troops against a very weak allied garrison, he was called back by the British parliament. In London he had to give an account of his conduct, for which he was declared incompetent as well as being accused of having abused his authority.

The events of the allied siege of 1705 went in favour of Archduke Charles who, from 7 November made his triumphal entry into Barcelona amid popular acclaim. The king lived in Sarrià in the Lledó tower from where he gave his first orders and received the authorities of the Principality. On 20 October in an official ceremony he was

congratulated first by the city councillors dressed in their consular robes, followed by the ministers of the Generalitat in representation of the Principality as a whole and then by the president of the military arm, accompanied by ninety-eight knights. It was the responsibility of the city's government to prepare the Royal Palace for the new king. On the 23 October Charles III entered the city incognito by the Portal del mar but he returned to Sarrià. From 5 November Barcelona would become the king's court until his departure in September 1711.

On 7 November 1705 Archduke Charles of Austria made his official entry into the city of Barcelona. The Catalan capital would become from that tie on the capital and the court of Charles III. At two in the afternoon he left the royal palace with all his courtiers. The party went as far as Sants, outside the city wall, where the ceremony began. The king entered by the gate of Sant Antoni accompanied by ministers and councillors of the city. As well as prayers to the ships, bell ringing and music there were cries of 'Long live the King of the people'. The streets of Barcelona were decorated with the best tapestries while flowers and perfume were thrown from the windows. As the king went through the current Plaça del Padró, where the pyramid to the city's patron, Saint Eulalia, was erected, a huge number of birds were freed which pleased the king immensely. After swearing the privileges of the city in the square of the convent of Sant Francesc he went to the Cathedral where he swore the privileges and immunities of the Church. After that the royal cohort moved on to the Carrer de Montcada and on to the Royal Palace. At eight o'clock in the evening the light shows, firework displays and music began in front of the Generalitat building. Lights were placed in all the bell towers, in the Castle of Montjuïc and the churches of the villages and small rural communities (known as *alqueries*) on the Barcelona plain. The celebrations lasted for three days during which all the nobles in the country visited the Royal Palace.

The new king, crowned as Charles III followed the route of the holy ceremonies: entering by the gate of Sant Antoni and going along Carrer Hospital as far as the Boqueria, then down the Rambla to Drassanes and finally to the convent of Sant Francesc to make his promise to respect the laws and privileges of the Principality. The official swearing in of the Constitutions of Catalonia took place on 28 November 1705.

Once Charles III had made his oath just a week later he convened the Courts. With this new legislative process established on 5 December in the Palace of the Diputació del General, the agreements established with Philip V were modified. In general terms the result of the process was satisfactory for the Catalan institutions where a good part of the economic measures that had been established under the Bourbons were reconfirmed, such as trade with the Americas. In the political arena the agreement was also favourable since Charles III promised to reincorporate the counties of Roussillon and Cerdanya. The most significant measure, however, was the agreement to regulate the military lodgings and return the nomination of posts in the Catalan institutions (sortition), although the Habsburg king was given the right of reservation.

12. The Bourbon siege of Barcelona in 1706

After the defeat of Barcelona and the coronation of Charles III many sectors of the Bourbon Court called for a sudden attack to nip the Austrian control of Catalonia in the bud. So, just five months after the coronation of Archduke Charles there was a double Franco-Spanish offensive against Barcelona. From Madrid, following the royal route, a detachment led by Philip V himself entered the Principality through the Torres de Segre. From Roussillon, French troops who had concentrated under the orders of the Duke of Noailles and the Marshal of Tessé also headed towards the capital. Both parties arrived in Barcelona on 3 April with a huge army of 28,000.

The operation was organised overland with the support of the French armada. On 28 March the fleet of the Count of Toulouse set sail from Toulon. In total there were between twenty and thirty ships of the line, plus other smaller frigates and a large number of transportation vessels. Barcelona was blockaded by both land and sea.

For the sieges that took place in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to try to defeat the kind of military bases such as Barcelona, completely walled and protected by bastions, it was essential to attack with artillery fire. For that reason the European armies in those centuries recruited numerous engineers concerned with applying mathematical

and geometrical knowledge, in celebration of the progressive rationalisation that was occurring in the continent.

The first step for any attacking army was to prepare batteries of cannons and mortar as the Bourbon troops had done in the 1706 siege of Barcelona. Some of these firearms were very powerful as they could comprise more than thirty pieces. The artillery had the objective of making a sufficiently large breach in the wall to enable an attack. The cannons focussed on a specific point on the surface of the city wall to break it down and open up a breach. In the siege of 1706 the breach, close to the Sant Antoni bastion, was significant from the first few days in May, according to different sources.

To counter the attacks, in the squares there were attempts to build a *cortadura* – a construction consisting of a trench and a parapet, as was the case in the Barcelona sieges of 1705 and 1706. The *cortadura* was the main defence strategy that besieged cities had when there was a break in the walls. The defensive line was built to encircle the breach through which the attacking infantry would come. The defenders could therefore open fire and protect their position.

The determination of the forces in the Bourbon siege was so strong that in the afternoon of 3 April 1706 a detachment took the Capuchin convent of Santa Madrona, situated at the foot of Montjuïc. Meanwhile, Philip V established his residence in Sarrià, the army camped on the Barcelona plain, from Besòs to Sant Andreu del Palomar, Sant Martí, Gràcia, Sants and Llobregat. The operation had been designed to attack Barcelona severely thanks to a numerous army and large artillery capacity. The siege would have to last at least two months according to the reckoning by the Bourbon Court in terms of food provisions. On the other hand, the Franco-Spanish side knew perfectly well that reinforcements would be sent from London and they wanted to avoid this by capturing the position before it was too late.

The first movements of the Franco-Spanish army consisted exclusively of preparations for later bombardments. First they fortified Santa Madrona, while groups of a thousand workers prepared the roads for transporting the artillery convoy to Montjuïc Castle. The cavalry and the infantry worked to make sandbags to protect the trenches and the

French fleet unloaded various materials at the tower of the River Llobregat. In parallel, also using groups of one thousand workers and six battalions of infantry a trench was dug under the supervision of a brigade of engineers. This work was begun from Santa Madrona in the direction of the fortress and as was the case in the allied siege of 1705, the Castle of Montjuïc was the first target for attack.

During the first two weeks of April skirmishes between the two sides were constant and took place around the castle. On 15 April a powerful thrashing from the Bourbon side resulted in their control of an outer section of the fortress. But the definitive attack took place on the 21 April when, following a three pronged attack by the Franco-Spanish army (trench, breach in the bastion of Sant Felip and the outer fortifications) forced the archduke's army to abandon the castle.

The following day the news shook Barcelona given that everyone knew the strategic importance of the mountain and the consequences that could ensue if the Bourbons took control of it. The bells of the city rang out in warning. The atmosphere was intense and there was collective commotion, as seen in the hanging of banners of Sant Jordi and Santa Eulàlia, the patrons of Catalonia and Barcelona respectively. Later the crowd asked permission from Charles III to be able to fight at Montjuïc, a request which he agreed to and he nominated the *vigatan* Jaume Puig de Perafita to lead them. Following the flags, around ten thousands civilians, together with six battalions of infantry attacked the Bourbon soldiers in the trenches at the mountain. The church bells of Barcelona had alerted the Spanish camp who mobilised four thousand foot soldiers. After a full day of fighting the people of Barcelona retreated back to the city having lost more than four hundred men.

Once the Bourbon troops had controlled the whole of Montjuïc they began preparations to break through the city wall. Their strategy was the same as the one they had employed against the allied forces just six months previously: to take control of the fortress first and then attack the city from the west.

From the first moment that the Franco-Spanish army set foot in the Principality news of the siege spread throughout

the territory. Charles III and his Court sent communications to all parts of Catalonia asking for the help of men and materials for war. Throughout the month of April many local councils began to mobilise groups of militia who gradually took up position in Collserola and the pathway connecting with the Barcelona plain. The sum of forces culminated in an impressive contingent of armed civilians. Some sources have estimated between ten and fifteen thousand men.

The *miquelets* and militias from all over Catalonia set up camp from Sant Cugat to the path leading to the monastery of Sant Jeroni (Collserola). At the start the Count of Cifuentes led the popular mobilisation bit at the end of April, as the result of a brief return from the kingdom of Valencia, the Count of Peterborough led the contingent together with a number of regular troops.

The type of warfare carried out by these soldiers aimed to thrash the Bourbon side, try to upset the operation of the siege and delay the final assault. From Collserola made surprise attacks on the camps at Gràcia, Sant Andreu, Sant Martí etc. stealing horses, beasts of burden and ammunition, killing enemy soldiers or taking them as prisoners to Barcelona. Although this strategy did not enable them to defeat the Bourbon army, the constant pressure it was under meant that it had to divert troops to keep guard.

From 25 April 1706 Philip V's army, which now held the entire mountain of Montjuïc, began preparations to attack Barcelona with infantry. It attacked the same western sector as it had done in September and October 1705, although on this occasion the curtain wall to be attacked was bigger, from the Portal de Sant Antoni to the line of communication with the Castle of Montjuïc. In parallel, engineers were designing trenches and reinforcing their artillery batteries to prevent the allied army from fortifying on top of the wall.

From inside Barcelona the situation looked worse and worse. Charles III changed his residence to the monastery of Sant Pere de les Puel·les, which was furthest away from the attacks. During the last days of April and the first of May pressure on the Habsburg king to abandon the city was constant since the most probable attack by the Bourbons would be to capture Charles III.

Given the lack of food provisions in the city and the widening of the breach in the city wall, the Generalitat made an urgent request to the Count of Peterborough to take some foreign action to put off the attack. The situation was such that Barcelona may have to surrender at any time.

However, on 4 March the events turned. Barcelona received news of the sighting of troops in Tarragona waters. Confirmation of the possible arrival of help came when the Count of Toulouse lifted the maritime blockade to return to Toulon.

Inside the Catalan capital Charles III had very few forces left as most of the army had been deployed to different areas of the Crown of Aragon. Counting the Barcelona Coronela (4,500 soldiers) Charles' army totalled around 6,000 infantrymen and 600 horses. During the siege, however, the allied forces sent reinforcements by sea. They arrived in Barcelona in barges from the ports of the Maresme.

The Bourbon siege of 1706 and the constant departure of troops to Roussillon was very chaotic: this lack of control can be clearly illustrated by the enormous amount of material and number of soldiers who were abandoned in the camps in Barcelona. The hurried departure meant that the Two Crowns left injured and ill soldiers in campaign hospitals in the convent of Gràcia and in various houses in Sarrià. Although it is difficult to put an exact figure to the number of convalescents it could have been as high as two thousand men. Similarly the war materials were also abandoned: a hundred and six bronze cannons, more than five thousand barrels of gunpowder, five hundred barrels of musket and rifle bullets with a large quantity of lead, over two thousand bombs, a thousand royal grenades and countless hand grenades, eight thousand picks, spades and shovels, more than four thousand artillery shells, seventeen thousand sacks of flour, a large quantity of wheat and rye, more than ten thousand pairs of shoes, many iron ovens, medicine and medical equipment and a long list of other things which were discovered as the days went by. By chance just before the retreat Europe saw a total eclipse of the sun. The allegories surrounding the war, the siege of Barcelona and Charles' victory went all around the continent, as seen in plates 111, 115, 116, 118, 121, 130, 133 and 137.

From the Bourbon point of view the siege had been a complete failure and one of the most damaging on the peninsular front. It was only the disorganisation and improvisation of the allied forces that meant things had not turned out worse for Philip V.

On 8 May 1706, when Barcelona had been under siege for five weeks, an allied fleet from Gibraltar managed to arrive in the Catalan capital. The Anglo-Dutch flotilla led by Admiral Leake was made up of eighty sailing ships carrying a back up of six thousand men, as well as food and war provisions. From the Habsburg point of view the arrival of reinforcements was very fortuitous as the siege was well advanced and the breach being opened in the wall was almost ready for the attack to take place. So much so that the Habsburg kings, envisaging the possible fall of Barcelona, was making the nectar preparations to continue the struggle in Tarragona.

From the Bourbon point of view, however, the allied relief made them rethink their war plan and at a war council presided over by Philip V they decided to lift the siege and make their way to Roussillon (11 May 1706). Their departure to Perpignan was very traumatic with them setting fire to Catalan towns and having their rearguard lambasted by the allied troops.

On 12 May 1706 the siege of Barcelona ended. The city had resisted for two interminable months and was on the point of falling. When all seemed lost the Anglo-Dutch fleet appeared in the port of Barcelona on 8 May. Given the change of direction in the campaign, the high commander of the Bourbon army decided to order the retreat. The triumph of the allied army and the retreat of the Bourbon side to Roselló animated the allies to think that they could gain control of all the territories of the crown. This was what one of the king's councillors, Anthony of Lichtenstein, to the count of Goetz on 12 May 1706: "Judging by the movement of the enemy it seems to be heading towards Roussillon, and that means that Spain has lost and that it has no hope of sustaining Spain any longer (...) the Duchess of Anjou has retreated to Pamplona as the whole of Spain is in a state of great confusion". That victory allowed Charles III to annex

himself to other territories of the Crown of Aragon as far as Madrid. However, Philip V, with the help of Louis XIV, would reorganise his armies and return to Spain.

13. Royal wedding in Barcelona (1708)

Elisabeth Christine of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel was born in 1691 and was the first daughter of the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg. When the Princess Elisabeth Christine was accepted to become the wife of Charles III, she travelled to Vienna to visit the Court of the emperor Joseph I, brother of her future husband. On 18 August 1707 the marriage was announced in Barcelona and only the Battle of Almansa delayed the arrival of the bride.

In April 1708 Elisabeth Christine left the imperial capital for the Genoese coast. In Vado Ligure the fleet of Admiral Leake, with almost a hundred and fifty ships, was waiting to take her to Barcelona. The expedition set sail on 14 July and after a few complications sighted the Catalan coastline at the end of that month.

Elisabeth of Brunswick disembarked in Mataró to rest after the voyage. Charles, keen to keep the princess away from the turbulence in Barcelona, thought that the peacefulness of the town, the climate and the landscape would be ideal for her recuperation. Charles III went to Mataró on 28 July to meet her personally.

The entry of the young princess into the Catalan capital took place on the last day of the month amid a festive atmosphere. Barcelona was all decked out for the occasion and when the princess entered there was great joy; the members of the Court and the representatives of the Catalan institutions were in their best outfits, the artillery at the Castle of Montjuïc fired a salute and all the church bells in the city rang in unison. Finally the ceremony was held on 1 August 1708 in the Gothic basilica of Santa Maria del Mar. After that the church became the royal chapel. In the queen's honour the Neapolitan composer Antonio Caldara presented for the first time his opera *Il più bel nome*, one of the first operas to be performed on the peninsula.

14. Archduke Charles leaves Barcelona (1711)

On 17 April 1711 the War of the Spanish Succession took a decisive turn, not from any meritorious military action but as a result of the death of the Holy Roman Emperor Joseph I. Since Joseph had no male heirs, the pretender to the Spanish throne, and younger brother of the deceased emperor, presented himself as the new emperor. That way Charles III would be able to unite the Spanish and imperial inheritance. The shadow of the new Charles III of Spain and IV of Germany was an equal or bigger threat to European balance than the Franco-Spanish Bourbon alliance.

Apart from these events, which occurred in the Court of Vienna, London was also experiencing significant political changes as the Tory majority took over in the British parliament. The Conservative party thought it was the time to finish the war once and for all as it was taking its toll on the countries' coffers. So the death of the emperor Joseph enabled the Tories to begin peace talks. In order to do this the contact between England and France was carried out in secret meetings.

Meanwhile, in the Principality all of these events were very worrying since they directly affected the king for whom the Catalans had fought. From the moment they heard about the death of Joseph I, Barcelona was afraid that Charles III would abandon their land at any time. In the end the date fixed for his departure was on 27 September 1711. He embarked in the port of Barcelona in an atmosphere of confusion and uncertainty.

When Charles III left Barcelona at the end of September 1711, as a sign of his commitment to the land and the Spanish throne, he thought it would be good for Elisabeth of Brunswick to stay in Catalonia as regent. Marshall Starhemberg recommended this measure to the king because he thought that Catalan society and its institutions would be less angry and would continue to support the House of Austria.

From the port of Barcelona, Charles III sailed to Marquesat del Final – now Liguria – from where he proceeded to Frankfurt. On 22 December 1711, before the other German princes and just on the day that the Austrian forces broke the siege in Cardona, the king was made Holy Roman Emperor and crowned as Charles IV.

During the final stage of the war (1711-1714), the new emperor continued with his desire to recover the Spanish throne, even after signing the international Utrecht Peace. However, during the Catalan resistance of 1713-1714 Charles had a more ambiguous attitude and did not hesitate to remove imperial troops from the Principality.

Charles VI renounced his Hispanic aspirations after the Treaty of Vienna in 1725. It was only then that the emperor recognised Philip V officially. Through the treaty an amnesty was also established for the allied exiles who had abandoned Catalonia and the Balearic Islands after the defeat of 1714-1715.

15. The Utrecht Peace of 1713

The Utrecht Peace treaty (11 April 1713) basically pacified the two great powers involved in the War of the Spanish Succession; France and Great Britain. In doing so the peace between the two monarchies went on to produce further agreements between other countries involved in the conflict.

Thanks to the treaty Great Britain was able to initiate a process of expansion that would lead to international hegemony for decades afterwards. The British monarchy gained control of some American enclaves and was able to ensure a presence in the Mediterranean in Minorca and Gibraltar. France, for its part, consolidated continental borders and ensured that Philip V remained on the Spanish throne.

Philip also maintained control of the overseas colonies. On a European level, Italian possessions and the prosperous Flemish territories were handed over to other power (Savoy and Austria), confirming the dynamic of decline that the Spanish king had been dragging behind him since the Treaty of the Pyrenees of 1659. The United Provinces of the Netherlands assured the possessions of the Barrier – a line of fortifications which guaranteed the integrity of the territory in the case of a new incursion by France. The kingdom of Portugal slightly increased its American domains, securing the Sacramento colony and obtaining part of French Guyana. The Duke of Savoy recovered territories that had been occupied by France, secured Sicily and the hereditary rights of the monarchy in the case that the Bourbon line of Philip V should end.

It should be remembered that the Utrecht agreements ended the War of the Spanish Succession on an international scale. In Catalonia, Majorca and Ibiza, however, the dispute continued since under the new status quo these territories could not see how to resolve their legal status under the monarchy of Philip V.

16. Evacuation of the allied troops from Catalonia in 1713

The evacuation of the allied forces from Catalonia was gradual, from the autumn of 1712 to the summer of 1713, when the Principality was left isolated from the Two Crowns.

The first signs of evacuation were in 1711 when there were secret meetings for peace talks between France and Great Britain. In 1712 the talks opened officially in Utrecht. One of the decisions from that meeting was the truce agreed in August of the same year, by which France and Great Britain accepted an armistice of four months. This meant that, still in the mid-campaign, the English regiments in Cervera were called back to the Catalan coast to board ship. During the months of October and November 1712, the British army, which was essential to the success of Charles III, left Catalonia.

The peace negotiations continued to prosper and as the weeks passed there were more agreements. One of them, an armistice between Portugal and the Two Crowns achieved the removal of the Portuguese troops deployed in Catalonia at the beginning of 1713. During the evacuation process a cry could be heard throughout the streets of Barcelona; *The English have failed us, the Portuguese have signed, the Dutch will sign, and in the end we will hang!*

After Utrecht (11 April 1713), the remaining forces in the Principality continued to leave. The last soldiers to set sail were those from the empire. The final scene could not be more important since on the day of Starhemberg's departure from Barcelona, on 9 July 1713, the Diputació del General announced the decision adopted by the Catalans: to declare war on Philip V and Louis XIV.

17. Siege of Barcelona 1713-1714

Once the Utrecht Treaty between France and the powers supporting the Hague Alliance had been signed (11 April 1713), countries that still had troops in Catalonia withdrew them. Immediately after that Austria and France signed an armistice agreement in which the imperial troops would also leave the front. Catalonia was relying on its luck. During the international peace negotiations one of the most important issues in the Principality, the preservation of the Catalan Constitution, had not been satisfactorily resolved. The Junta General de Braços called an urgent meeting to discuss the continuation of the conflict.

The meetings began on 30 June 1713 in the Palau de la Diputació del General. There were representatives of the three estates of Catalan society with a very high presence of the military and royal arms. The discussion was intense and argued for both surrender and defence. Finally on 6 July, the Junta decided on its position: proclaim war on Philip V and Louis XIV at any cost.

While these groundbreaking events were happening, the Bourbon army, led by the Duke of Populi, were taking up positions in the principals strategic points of Catalonia. The turn taken by events as a result of the decision of the Catalan Braços had decided the troops of Philip V to besiege Barcelona again, at the same time as the fortresses of Cardona and Castellciutat had also opted to resist. From the maritime rearguard, the islands of Majorca and Ibiza continued their support for the Catalan capital, being essential for the provision of food.

18. A long fourteen-month siege (June 1713-September 1714)

The Bourbon army closed the siege cordon on the Catalan capital on 25 July 1713. They managed to set up their encampment in the same way as they had in 1706. The Spanish troops situated themselves in Gràcia to the west towards Sants and the Llobregat where they unloaded their materials, and the French troops located themselves from Mas Guinardó towards the East, and the houses of Clot, Sant Martí, Sant Andreu del Palomar and the Besòs.

The first batteries to be established had the cordon itself available to them so the bombs barely affected the city. During those first months above all the positions most affected by the Bourbon artillery attacks were the advance ones prepared by the Barcelona resistance (such as Creu de Sant Francesc and the Caputxins de Montcalvari convent).

in the spring of 1714 the Franco-Spanish artillery gained ground and the Bourbon engineers placed new batteries of mortar between the houses of Clot and Mas Guinardó. The explosives fired from that position reached the inside of the city and affected the neighbourhoods of Sant Pere and Mar. From Barcelona Antoni de Villarroel organised missions outside the city to destroy the batteries but the Franco-Spanish managed to gradually reinforce them.

The deployment of Philip's troops on the Barcelona Plain was accentuated thanks to the capture of the Caputxins convent at the end of May 1714. From that position the resistance had managed to contain the Bourbon advance but now, with control of the convent, they were able to place more batteries even closer to the city.

Because of the proximity between the city and the convent the bombs had an even greater impact on the population. During the last week in May and the whole month of June 1714, the Duke of Populi aimed at the urban fabric with the sole intention of punishing the civil population. Instead of opening up a breach in the walls to enable an assault he concentrated on propagating terror with an incessant stream of bombs. Some chroniclers have noted that just one month after the Bourbon forces took the convent; Barcelona received more than eleven thousand bombs.

19. The final battle July - September 1714. The Generals. The Duke of Berwick

James Fitz-James, first Duke of Berwick and from 1707 Duke of Liria and Jérica, was born in France in 1670 and was the illegitimate son of James II, the Catholic candidate for the British throne. His mother, Arabella Churchill, was sister of the Duke of Marlborough. Despite the fact that he was of British origin, the duke's education and protection by King Louis XIV himself led him to fight always on the side of France.

The first campaign in which the duke had a role was beside Philip V. In 1704 the Bourbon king designated him general commander of the Franco-Spanish army fighting on the Portuguese front. The following campaigns were fought in different settings: the south of France against the Protestants and to take the Savoyan city of Nice, in Castile to destroy the allied army at Almansa; and later in Flanders to support the Duke of Vendôme. From 1710 he became the governor of the Dauphiné with the task of strengthening communications in the Alps.

The Anglo-French commander arrived in the Barcelona camp in July 1714. From that time on the siege of the Catalan capital intensified, with increased land and sea blockades. The Duke of Berwick began the operations necessary to carry out a formal siege, which after two failed attempts in mid-August; he managed on 11 September 1714.

20. Antoni de Villarroel

Antoni de Villarroel i Peláez (Barcelona, 1656 - La Coruña, 1726) was commandant-in-chief of the Catalan army during the last few months of the Barcelona siege (1713 - 1714). Following the family tradition - his father was a Spanish officer posted in the Catalan capital - Villarroel followed in his steps. In 1695 he took part in the siege of Ceuta, where he was injured. From that time on he made continual advances in his career. As general of the artillery he was governor of the Castle of Cardona and was soon promoted to master in the field. Someone who could be considered a hero of the War of the Spanish Succession actually served Philip V early on in the conflict, enabling him to achieve the position of general lieutenant in Philip's army in 1708. It was not until after the allied victories at Almenar (27 July 1710) and Saragossa that Villarroel changed to the side of Charles III. His undeniable value as an officer gained him the trust of the archduke who made him supreme commander of the Catalan forces, a post from which he would defend Barcelona against the powerful Franco-Spanish army in the last chapter of the War of the Spanish Succession. A realistic analysis of the situation of Barcelona under siege, in line with a purely military analysis, shows that on 1 September 1714 Villarroel was in favour of surrendering - an opinion which was not shared by the

Catalan civil authorities. Despite his resignation on 5 September being accepted, albeit in secret, he decided to stay in Barcelona and resume command of the position. With the aim of avoiding the total sacking and destruction of the city, when all was lost Villarroel, who had been injured, took the decision on 11 September 1714 to surrender before the Duke of Berwick, the head of the Bourbon army who had entered the city on the 12 September. By not complying with the conditions of the surrender Villarroel was arrested and imprisoned on 22 September. He was held at the Castle of Alicante and in November at the Castel of San Antón in La Coruña where he remained until the Treaty of Vienna (7 June 1725), which ended the hostilities between Austria and Spain, meant approval of the amnesty and his freedom. His years in prison in inhuman conditions affected his health badly and Villarroel died in La Coruña on 22 February 1726. His defence of Barcelona earned him the respect and admiration of large sectors of Catalan society in the nineteenth century, who erased his Bourbon past and his willingness to surrender in the final hours of the last major siege in the war that proved so fateful for Catalonia.

21. The attack of 12-14 August 1714

Following the Treaty of Rastatt (7 March 1714), under which France and Austria signed a definitive peace agreement, the French monarchy was free to actively collaborate in the blockade and siege of Barcelona. Louis XIV considered that the international affair known as the “Case of the Catalans” had been dragging on for too long. So he dealt a final blow in the offensive by forcing his grandson Philip V to accept one of his best generals, the Duke of Berwick, to replace the Duke of Populi in leading the siege.

From the spring of 1714 numerous French battalions and squadrons were mobilised to set out for the Catalan capital. This process meant that, counting the troops under Philip V who were already there, the total number of Franco-Spanish was around ninety thousand. In general terms, forty thousand of the fighters surrounded and carried out actions

on Barcelona while the other fifty thousand took positions around Catalonia.

The military occupation process was complete on 7 July 1714, the day on which the Duke of Berwick arrived in the city. From that moment the siege intensified in military terms since operations began to open up trenches towards the curtain wall and concentrating artillery fire on specific points of the defence network. Apart from that the French fleet in the Mediterranean also had a presence in the port of Barcelona, reinforcing the maritime blockade which had been irregular up until then. The ships from the Balearic islands that had been able to enter provisions a little at a time found that this was now impossible. For the people of Barcelona the summer of 1714 was the worst moment of the conflict and they experienced pitiful conditions.

When the Duke of Berwick arrived in Barcelona, he went with his engineers, the lieutenant generals George Prosper Verboom and Dupuy-Vauban to check the city walls on the ground. After analysing the different surveys and listening to the military officers’ opinion, he finally opted to attack the eastern section and in particular the curtain wall from Portal Nou to the bastion of Santa Clara.

The idea for this strategy was that of Flemish engineer Prosper de Verboom who, from 1710 to 1712, had been a prisoner in Barcelona and had been able to study the defence of the city in detail. The curtain wall in which there was a large gap (the Royal Breach) did not have any means of protection and in addition the moat was very shallow moat.

Along with the Duke of Berwick came ten French battalions to add to those who arrived at the end of June. Most of the accompanying French army contingent were the general lieutenants Dillon, Geofreville, Cilly, De la Croix and Guerchy; field marshalls Maulevrier, Gavaret, de Bourg, de Broglie, Crevecoer, Rochchouart and Damas, and brigadiers Courten, Sauneboeuf, Sanzay, Jousse, Balincourt, Espourch, Rubercy, Nonant, Roussy and Valliere. The regiments were made up of Normandie, Vielle-Marine, Anjou, La Reine, Orleans, La Couronne, La Marche, île de France, Ponthieu, Courten and Castelart, among others.

The French engineers were under the direction of lieutenant general Dupuy-Vauban, cousin of the engineer Vauban, assisted by the engineer Lozières-Dastier and the brigadiers Desroces, Duverger, de Biancolelly, de Chelays and Thibergean. The French artillery consisted of more than eighty cannons and thirty mortars, while the French fleet led by Admiral Ducasse blocked the maritime access to the city. The deployment of Philip’s army in the Barcelona left no exit from a city unless it received help.

In Catalonia he reinforced the troops throughout the territory and pursued the resistance parties of the Marquis of Poal as well as making new calculations for the garrisons. In Barcelona he ordered a stronger maritime blockade, with a cordon of ships that closed off the waters between the towers of the Rivers Llobregat and the mouth of the Besòs day and night. In fact it was precisely during those days in July that the Bourbons were able to intercept more than twenty ships from Majorca loaded with provisions. Only some of the lighter vessels with smaller cargoes were able to avoid the blockade and get through to the port of Barcelona.

From the moment the twenty thousand-strong troops of Philip’s army began the blockade and siege of Barcelona, the bombardments of the city and the surrounding area were constant. Sometimes the missiles were fired from the sea but mostly from the batteries prepared outside the city walls with the aim of damaging the urban structure or attacking the few defensive positions set up on the Barcelona plain. The bombardments lowered the morale of the civil population and left some of the city’s neighbourhoods abandoned, especially in the area of Sant Pere and the old Mar quarter where hundreds of houses were destroyed. In general, it is calculated that Barcelona received between thirty and forty thousand missiles over the thirteen months of the siege.

One of the first things the Duke of Berwick did when he arrived in Barcelona was to dig trenches and support trenches. This was the most logical course of action given that the Duke of Populi had tried to bombard the city for weeks without attempting to attack the city walls. So the Duke of Berwick applied the basic principles of any formal

siege operation, where everything was designed for a single objective: open a breach to be able to attack the position.

The first step for the operation was to dig a large trench parallel to the curtain wall. From there communication channels were constructed perpendicular to the city walls in a zigzag fashion to prevent the target from having the opportunity to fire. If the distance from the first parallel trench and the wall was large (as was usually the case, given that it was safer) then one or two more parallel trenches were dug. The first parallel trench was therefore dug five hundred metres from the city wall of Barcelona.

The trench work began on 12 July 1714 in the eastern sector. The works were generally carried out at nightfall when there was little moonlight, partly so that the excavators could work without the discomfort of the heat but especially because the darkness of the night protected them from the continual gunfire from Barcelona.

The first attack on the wall took place on 12 August 1714 in a double manoeuvre which attempted to take the bastions of Portal Nou and Santa Clara. At first light that day the Duke of Berwick's troops exploded a mine in the Portal Nou sector, allowing Philip's troops to reach the platform of the bastion. The defenders had predicted this possibility and prepared a second line of defence to be able to fire at the attackers from a safe position. The artillery from the neighbouring bastion of Sant Pere helped to wipe out the soldiers climbing up the ruins of Portal Nou.

During the fighting the bastion of Santa Clara also suffered an attack from the Bourbon side. The French grenadiers, who were elite infantry, were the first to climb up the rubble of Santa Clara despite the oncoming gunfire from the resistance. As in the case of the other bastion the attackers managed to reach the platform but the defenders, from the safety of the parapet, were able to defend themselves with a line of barricades. The Viscount of Puerto led the incursion of the ten companies of grenadiers through the open breach. It was fairly wide and not very high which went in favour of the Franco-Spanish troops. Once they had managed to scramble up the rubble the Bourbon troops were faced with three companies of La Coronela: the law students, the tailors and the swordmakers. Again, they were able to fight the enemy directly and drive them out.

Hand-to-hand combat with bayonets was not usual in this kind of siege operation where the priority was strategy and to ensure the positions of the attacking soldiers, but in Barcelona the fight against the enemy ordered by the authorities meant that this kind of combat took place with all its rage and cruelty. In the attack of 12 August the Bourbon troops lost nine hundred men.

Every single attack made on 12 August was knocked back, to the astonishment of the Bourbon command. The Duke of Berwick had seen the defeat with his own eyes from the second parallel trench where he was observing the movements of his army. The defeat did not faze the French commander who had an idea for a new attack on the city. The very next day, while the resistance was trying to rebuild the eastern wall the Franco-Spanish troops resumed their offensive.

The manoeuvre planned by the Duke of Berwick took place at ten o'clock on the night of 13 August. Although it seems to focus on the Royal Breach, which was the biggest, the aim was to take the bastion of Santa Clara. La Coronela detected movement and managed to counterattack the platform of the bastion in an attempt to prevent it being taken by the enemy.

Despite their attempts, the resistance was unable to knock the enemy back and they managed to get inside the bastion. Fighting went on until midday on 14 July. It was then that Villarroel carried out a multiple attack that he had been planning all morning. It consisted of combined artillery fire, rifle shots from the neighbouring Torre de Sant Joan and a general hand-to-hand skirmish against the Bourbon soldiers who were still occupying the bastion. One of the keys to this operation was to lambast the access through which the Bourbon reinforcements were coming from the trenches and the moat, which they were able to do thanks to the skill of the leaders Captain Ortiz and Lieutenant Colonel Tomeu. Once again, the Bourbon commanders were astonished at seeing the defeat of their troops who had held out for hours in one of Barcelona's bastions.

The Bourbon side also attacked the Portal Nou bastion. Exploding amine they managed to get access to one of the sides of the bastion. Fifteen companies of grenadiers led by cavalryman Reves scaled the bastion. Portal Nou was

guarded by two companies of La Coronela, the tailors captained by Magi Ninot and the jarmakers, panmakers, hangermakers and matressmakers under Antoni Berardo. Ninot's men fired from the parapets that they had constructed and managed to contain the Bourbon attack. Then, Villarroel sent reinforcements and once there were large numbers behind the barricade they went out in blocks to fight hand-to-hand against the Bourbons who were still occupying one side of the bastion. The combat by bayonet forced the retreat of the attackers.

On 14 August commander Villarroel decided that a new daylight offensive could be carried out at Santa Clara and prepared for it with artillery in different sectors of the city that were prepared to lambast the Bourbons by cannon fire (in the Ribera area). At midday the strategy was put into practice and although it was one of the bloodiest actions of the entire siege it succeeded.

In the final phase of the siege one of the keys to understanding the resistance of Barcelona is in its urban militia: La Coronela. This civilian-military corps was made up of five thousand men organised according to their guild (bakers, druggists, public notaries, students, shoemakers and many more). The courageous – and fearful – actions of La Coronela were essential for fighting off the troops of the Duke of Berwick. The fighters at Santa Clara are the best example.

In the fighting on 13 and 14 August the losses were much higher, demonstrating the cruelty of the events. On both sides there were up to three thousand dead and injured.

22. 11 September 1714

With the arrival of Berwick in the summer of 1714 the siege on Barcelona acquired a pattern of normality in military terms since the priority was a regulated assault and the commander mitigated the attacks on the civil population by abandoning the random bombings of the urban centre. Although the duke attacked the city walls on several occasions, one of his aims before doing so, as was common in Europe at that time, was to demand the surrender of the position to avoid both military losses and civil violence.

On 4 September 1714 the Lord of Asfeld, in the name of the Bourbon army, came to the Royal Breach to demand the surrender of Barcelona. Since the fighting at the Santa Clara bastion in mid August the Bourbon army had perfected its assault strategy and before carrying it out it made this proposal to avoid unnecessary carnage. Inside Barcelona the city authorities (the councillors, members of parliament and some members of the Braç Militar) decided to continue the fight.

The decision did not please Villarroel who was in favour of surrendering in view of the state of Barcelona and the violence that could ensue if the Bourbon troops got inside the city walls. For that reason he resigned and his resignation was accepted.

Barcelona's response resulted in the Duke of Berwick launching a final attack on the capital just one week later. At half past four in the morning, at the first light of day on 11 September, around eighteen thousand Bourbon soldiers charged the eastern sector of the wall from the Portal Nou bastion to the redoubt of Santa Eulàlia next to the sea. Inside the city walls the bells rang out to call the people to fight. The assault planned by Berwick was carried out simultaneously on the eight existing breaches.

From around seven in the morning the immense strength of the Bourbon forces resulted in them reaching the first lines of houses in front of the wall, in areas like the Lull plain and the convent of Sant Agustí. However the urban destruction in the area contributed to the troops digging in.

From the moment the Barcelona authorities decided to continue the stand against Philip V one of the possible outcomes was that if the Bourbon forces entered the city it would be sacked and destroyed. During the war years several places in the Crown of Aragon had seen similar situations, such as Xàtiva, which was virtually razed, its people subjected to reprisals and its name changed (to San Felipe until 1812). In Catalonia, one of the bloodiest examples was in Lleida in October 1707 when the city was occupied by the forces of the Duke of Orleans who allowed its sacking over a week.

Despite the fact that Villarroel had decided to leave his post, on 11 September he had still not left Barcelona for Majorca and so did not hesitate to return to lead the forces of the

resistance. He personally led the defence of the Lull plain and the Born, where he led the cavalry charge and was wounded.

In comparison with the Mar neighbourhood, in Sant Pere the fighting was ferocious and positions were successively lost and regained by both sides. At around seven in the morning when the fighting did not seem to be going in favour of one side or the other, the Councillor-in-Chief Rafael arrived at the bastion of Sant Pere carrying the banner of Santa Eulàlia. At the beginning of the eighteenth century carrying the banner of the city's patron on the front line meant that the people of Barcelona had to make a final effort to defeat the enemy. Rafael Casanova headed the charges of La Coronela at the bastion of Sant Pere, managing to force back the enemy but falling wounded in the thigh.

The fighting continued through the streets of Barcelona until at three in the afternoon the resistance were forced to make tactical decisions. The Bourbons were superior in military terms, above all in numbers. The fighting ceased and the authorities accepted the conditions of the Duke of Berwick: general disarmament; surrender of the position; cession of the port, the Drassanes and the castle of Montjuïc; and the surrender of the Castle of Cardona, which took place a week later.

If Barcelona was able to avoid its total sacking and destruction on 11 September, it was down to the fierce fighting over more than ten hours, which resulted in a huge number of deaths and leading the fighters down an unexpected blind alley. When the resistance succumbed to agree the terms of the submission the Duke of Berwick assured the lives and properties of the civil population in exchange for the final surrender. So as agreed, on 13 September, the Bourbon troops entered the city of Barcelona to take possession of it in an atmosphere of unseemly normality given the events of the previous thirteen months.

However, the human consequences of the blockade and siege of Barcelona were much more far-reaching taking into account the events. Between the two sides it is estimated that there were over twenty thousand deaths throughout the siege not to mention the civil population who suffered incalculably and a city irreparably damaged.

23. Repression and exile

When Barcelona fell into the hand of the Bourbons, the city's governing institutions were abolished (Diputació del General, Consell de Cent, Audiència Reial). José Patiño y Rosales, intendant of Philip V's army, became the head of the *Real Junta Superior de Justicia y Gobierno*, set up provisionally on 15 September 1714. That way, under the argument of the "right of conquest" the legal and political structure that had ruled Catalonia for more than four centuries could be abolished.

The new Bourbon regime for the Principality was defined through the Nueva Planta decrees of 16 January 1716. The set of laws was inspired in models that had been implemented in Valencia and Aragon since 1707, but in this case they were more severe in terms of taxation and militarisation of the civil life.

The Nueva Planta decrees meant setting up a new model of the State which broke with the medieval and modern traditions. The result was an absolutist and hierarchical political system. The highest authority in the land was the General Captain who directed the government and army of Catalonia. Justice was handled by the new Royal Audience, which also had some government functions. The territory, instead of being divided into the traditional *veguerías*, was split into twelve co-regiments controlled by a *co-regidor* assisted by the *alcalde mayor*. The intendant managed the new tax system which, from 1715, was increased on the imposition of the cadastre, a tax that was only collected in territories of what had been the Crown of Aragon.

José Patiño Rosales (Milan, 1666 - La Granja de San Ildefonso, Segovia, 1736) was the main ideologist and creator of the new Bourbon order in Catalonia following the events of 1714. After twelve years in the Company of Jesus, he left and once in Spain enlisted in the military order of Alcantara. He was incorporated into the Bourbon administration and then given various post in Castile. In 1713 at the height of the War of the Spanish Succession he was named Superintendent of Catalonia and given the specific mission to collect money to maintain the army operating in the Principality, a task that led him to collaborate with the Duke of Populi, head of the Bourbon troops. Both carried out extremely harsh policies of

repression against the Habsburg supporters. In the last part of the conflict, the siege of Barcelona of 1713–1714, in occupied Catalonia Patiño promoted the establishment of new taxes for financing the Bourbon army. This led to a revolt by the people who were already impoverished because of the war. After 11 September 1714 the new military chief, the Duke of Berwick, on considering “the Principality of Catalonia as if it had no government” created Government and Justice, together with Catalan Bourbon sympathisers, with the objective of governing Catalonia until its definitive political institutionalisation. José Patiño would be head of the Junta (1714–1716). From that position he introduced the sealed paper tax and took responsibility “for the Royal Heritage, taking care of the resources of the Generalitat and the Consell de Cent, managing confiscated properties and setting up the cadastre contribution” (Martínez Shaw). Together with the collaborator Francesc Ametller he inspired the famous and terrible Nueva Planta decrees (1716). Later he would be responsible for the Navy, the Indies, the Tax Office (1726) and War (1730). In 1733 he was made secretary of state. In fact, between 1726 and 1736 Patiño acted just like a prime minister of Philip V’s Bourbon regime. His foreign policy prioritised the Mediterranean and his main concerns were the recovery of Minorca and Gibraltar, and the influence on Naples and Sicily. Patiño occupies a very dark place in the minds of the Catalan people and has been considered on the country’s greatest enemies for his close involvement with the Bourbon repression following 1714.

24. The Citadel

Once the troops of Philip V had taken control of the Catalan capital, one of the first things they did under the new Bourbon order was to build a military citadel. The great fortress was planned in 1714 by engineer Prospero de Verboom and four years later the work was almost finished. The Spanish monarchy was keen to punish Barcelona and the whole of Catalonia severely by building an impregnable fort to control the rebel city. Of the old defences on the eastern side only the Torre de Sant Joan was rebuilt, which remained inside the citadel and became one of the emblems of repression.

With the building of this large Citadel, the advanced Fort Pius and the existing Castle of Montjuïc, the Spanish monarchy had all the necessary infrastructures to subdue Barcelona again any time it needed to.

The Ribera neighbourhood, situated in the areas of what today is the Born and Santa Maria del Mar was one of the main scenes of military action by both besiegers and besieged during the siege of Barcelona in 1713–1714. The area of Portal Nou and Santa Clara was the scene of some of the heaviest fighting. The breach opened in the bastions of Portal Nou and Santa Clara was one of the priority objectives for the Bourbon army during the final assault. The Llevant bastion in the extreme east of the city shared that tragic honour during the siege. With the aim of building a fortress to dominate the city, when the war ended the Bourbon authorities did not hesitate to demolish a large part of the Ribera neighbourhood. About a thousand houses were pulled down – housing for between four and five thousand people, or seventeen per cent of the total urban fabric of Barcelona. The construction of the Citadel was possible as a result of the destruction of the area of the city inhabited by merchants and fishermen who gave life to the city’s economy. That is how the Bourbons took their revenge on a part of Barcelona that had stood up so strongly to them during the siege.

In order to build the Citadel, Philip V ordered the demolitions of the eastern sector bordered by the Rec Comtal, which contained a thousand houses (most of them in the old Mar neighbourhood and the areas of the convent of Sant Agustí and Santa Clara). The demolished site was one of the most dynamic parts of Barcelona with its own character and a high density of population. The old Mar neighbourhood was an area of ordinary people and one of the most significant in the siege of 1714.

When the Citadel was built people’s daily lives changed completely as they saw how a huge citadel had shattered the centre of their city.

The Citadel also changed the physical aspect of the capital since it cut off one side of the Born square, which had been the socio-economic centre of Barcelona since medieval times. On the other hand, the area where the Rec Comtal

had flowed (now obliterated as a result of the demolitions) there were solid pre-industrial buildings and a large number of the trades and services destined for the port.

As a result of these changes to the socio-economic structure during the 1700s, other areas of Barcelona gained importance. The Raval, a neighbourhood from the Modern era which had been largely ignored became a productive entre. Also, the Rambla was built up and gradually gained popularity. The better off families wanted to be part of this new process and that was the reason for the grand neoclassical palace such as the Palau Marc, the Virreina and the Palau Moja.

The military Citadel remained standing until 1869 when, under the Sixth Democratic, General Prim gave it to the City Council of Barcelona which decided to pull it down to build a park to complement the urban project of the Eixample. Of the old citadel only three buildings remain: the former arsenal, today the Catalan Parliament building, the governor’s palace and the military chapel.

25. The flags of the Catalan army

During the Ancien Regime the different armies identified their military units with flags, which also served to rally the troops. The flag was an important element of the age, with an almost religious quality. Among the chronicles, the loss of flags signified the numbers of dead in battle. If it could the winning army would take the flags of its enemy and lay them before the altar. For example, during the War of the Spanish Succession on several occasions the Bourbon forces offered the pennants of the allied army to the Virgin of Atocha, in the sanctuary of Madrid.

For the Catalan institutions the two main flags were that of the Generalitat, represented by the cross of Sant Jordi, and the Barcelona flag, which showed the martyr Santa Eulàlia, patron of the city. The latter was raised by the Councillor Rafael Casanova on the day of 11 September. The gesture was intended to push the people of Barcelona in the final battle in the emergency situation where the Bourbons had already entered the city. During the Bourbon siege of 1706, the people also used flags to show that they

had lost the Castel of Montjuïc. Consequently a multitude went up to the fortress following the standards and fought strongly against the Franco-Spanish army.

When Berwick's troops occupied Barcelona on 13 September 1714 one of the first things they did was to confiscate the forty-two flags of La Coronela and also the flags of Sant Jordi and Santa Eulàlia. The duke sent them to Philip V, but the king would not accept the flags of rebels and ordered that they be returned to Barcelona to be burned in public. That action, charged with symbolism, sums up the nature of the repression that would come over the following years.

26. Catalan authorities during the final siege. Rafael Casanova

Rafael Casanova i Comes (c. 1660 – Sant Boi de Llobregat, 1743) studied civil and canonical law. In 1706 he was made third councillor of Barcelona and the following year King Charles III conferred on him the status of honourable citizen. He was on the committee that received Elisabeth Christine when she arrived from Mataró in 1708 to marry King Charles. During the siege of Barcelona he was a member of the Junta de Braços and the Junta de Secrets, made up of five members to discuss important questions. He was accompanied in this by the military officer Antoni de Villarreal. In the election of 30 November 1713 he was elected councillor-in-chief of Barcelona, a position that also carried the rank of colonel of the La Coronela and so the highest military position in the defence of Barcelona. When the Bourbon attack occurred on 11 September, Casanova was wounded by a bullet in his thigh while he hoisted the flag of Santa Eulàlia. He had sworn on the flag to defend Barcelona to the death. Casanova was transferred to the hospital of the Mercè. To avoid his arrest, imprisonment and exile he was admitted as dead and registered as such in the hospital of Santa Creu. When the war was over he fled in disguise and took refuge in his wife's country house in Sant Boi. In 1719 he returned to practice as a lawyer and continued until 1737, when he retired to Sant Boi where he died and was buried on 2 May 1743. During the Catalan Renaixença period Casanova became a patriotic symbol of

resistance to Philip V, and he has continued to be so to this day, with the exception of the Franco dictatorship period.

After the Diputació del General had made public in Barcelona the decision of the Catalan Braços to resist at all costs (9 July 1713), all the institutions immediately set to work preparing for war. In particular the Consell de Cent made sure that anyone capable of fighting should form part of the defence. La Coronela, made up of forty-two companies that were too difficult to manage, were reorganised into six battalions. In total, the urban militia of Barcelona comprised five thousand fighters. At the same time, the able-bodied men who did not form part of a regiment in the new army and were not in the Coronela were conscripted in what were called *Neighbourhood* battalions, thereby completing the militarisation of the city.

With the aim of spurring on the resistance and giving them solemn respect, on 24 July 1713 the standard of Santa Eulàlia was raised in public. The ceremony, which was charged with symbolism and attended by many people, closed with the exhibition of the flag at the main door of the Casa de Caritat. This kind of event only happened at times of great public commotion, as was the case in Barcelona from July 1713 and September 1714.

On one side of the flag, which was made of crimson damask, was the image of Santa Eulàlia, the patron saint of Barcelona; on the other there was chalice with a host and the motto *Exurge, Deus, judica causam tuam* (Rise up, Lord, judge your cause). The Consell de Cent decided to form a battalion of a thousand men to guard the flag. It was made up of the young men in the guilds who, once the siege was over, would be rewarded with the title of Guild Master.

The year 1714 began and the whole of Catalonia was under the control of Philip V's army. The Catalan military positions had a permanent Bourbon garrison as well as many of the inland cities. The occupation of the Principality was almost complete. Only Barcelona and Cardona, under the order of Manuel Desvalls i de Vergós, continued to hold out.

As a result of this situation the Consell de Cent of Barcelona put pressure on the Diputació del General to allow them to manage the defence. Under military occupation the

Generalitat was unable to recover taxes from the whole of Catalonia and so the weight of the resistance needed the Consell de Cent and, in an economic capacity, the powerful traders merchants of Barcelona. On 26 February 1714 in the meeting hall of the Consell the change in powers was made official. However, when it came to major political-military matters the representatives of the Generalitat and the president of the Braç Militar would still take part in the discussions.

The Consell de Cent ordered the new government to be formed in three committees: War; Means and Provision. The new government of Barcelona, known as the *vint-i-quatrena* (the twenty-four) after the number of its members, gave a markedly popular tone to the question of resistance, given that many of the nobles, the ecclesiastical hierarchy and some of the merchants had already left the city. A good example of this is the growing importance of La Coronela and the decision not to accept the offer of the Duke of Berwick on 4 September 1714.

27. The standard of Santa Eulàlia

The standard of Santa Eulàlia was one of the most powerful elements for the Catalans, and especially for the people of Barcelona. There was nothing else like it to bring the people together for a specific cause and so it was only brought out in situations of extreme emergency as a consequence of war.

During the War of the Spanish Succession the standard was brought out for the first time during the Bourbon siege of 1706 when, after the allied troops had left the Castle of Montjuïc on 22 April, crowds from Barcelona demanded that the standard be brought out to charge the Franco-Spanish troops who were surrounding the castle. As a result around two thousand men followed the flag up the mountain of Montjuïc.

The most famous episode of the standard of Santa Eulàlia was during the final combat on 11 September 1714. As a result of the simultaneous attack by the Two Crowns, Antoni de Villarreal demanded that the standard be brought out of the Casa de la Caritat to rally the fight of the

defenders. The highest authority of Barcelona, Councillor-in-chief Rafael Casanova raised the flag to carry it to the Jonqueres bastion. He was accompanied by a committee of officials, the sixth battalion of the Coronela and some other companies from the third battalion. As they progressed through the streets people of all classes and conditions joined them. The standard of Santa Eulàlia presided over the counterattacks by the Barcelona soldiers throughout the morning of 11 September, until Antoni de Villarroel, forced by the circumstances of the battle, surrendered.

28. Santa Madrona

According to tradition, Santa Madrona was originally from Thessalonica in Greece, where she was martyred for being a Christian around 300AD. Merchants carried her remains

to Marseilles, but on the way they stopped at San Bertran beach in Barcelona due to the bad weather. To protect the remains of the martyr, the merchants deposited them in the neighbouring chapel of Sant Fruitós, at the foot of the mountain of Montjuïc. Each time they attempted to set sail the storm drove them back and so they deduced that Santa Madrona wanted to stay in Barcelona.

During the medieval and Modern ages, the relics of Santa Eulàlia were moved on different occasions and it thought that they were finally deposited in Sant Pau del Camp. In 1558 a church was named after Santa Madrona in Montjuïc, which became a Capuchin convent. During the War of the Spanish Succession the convent of Santa Madrona was very important in the three sieges that took place in the capital. During the last (1713-1714), it was badly damaged and the relics were transferred to the cathedral.

In 1563, the Consell de Cent declared the day of Santa Madrona on 15 March a religious holiday and also made her co-patron of Barcelona, alongside Santa Eulàlia. The women of the city especially were very devoted to her and made processions from Barcelona to the convent of Montjuïc. Sailors and navigators also showed great devotion and she is considered to be the martyr protector of the inclemencies of the sea.

Adrià Cases, Mercè Morales and Jaume Sobrequés